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Origen

On First Principles

Volume II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

JOHN BEHR



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I The Apostolic Preaching

Quia unus est deus legis et prophetarum et domini nostri Iesu Christi pater

2.4.1. His per ordinem prout potuimus breuiter digestis, consequens est secundum id, quod ex initio proposuimus, confutare etiam eos, qui putant alium deum esse patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi praeter illum, qui Moysi
5 responsa legis dabat uel prophetas mittebat, qui est deus patrum Abraham, Isaac et Iacob. Oportet enim primo in hac nos fidei ratione firmari. Considerandum ergo est illud, quod frequenter in euangeliis dicitur et singulis quibusque domini et saluatoris nostri gestis adiungitur: *Vt impleatur quod dictum est per prophetam* illum uel illum, cum manifestum sit quia prophetae
10 illius sunt dei, qui mundum fecit. Ex ipsa ergo consequentia concluditur quoniam qui prophetas misit, de Christo quae praedicenda erant ipse praedixit. Et dubium non est quod haec non alienus quis ab eo, sed pater ipsius praedicebat. Sed et illud, quod frequenter exempla de ueteri testamento a saluatore proferuntur uel ab apostolis eius, non aliud indicat nisi quod
15 auctoritas ueteribus a saluatore et ab eius discipulis adhibetur. Sed et illud, quod ad benignitatem prouocans discipulos suos saluator dicit: *Estote perfecti, sicut et pater uester caelestis perfectus est, qui solem suum oriri iubet super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos*, cuiuis etiam exiguae intellegentiae uiro euidentissimum suggerit intellectum, quod non alium ad imitandum proponit
20 discipulis suis deum nisi factorem caeli et imbrium praebitorem.

Quod autem dicit quia orantes oporteat dicere: *Pater noster, qui in caelis es*, quid aliud uidetur ostendere, nisi deum in melioribus mundi, id est creaturae suae, partibus requirendum? Sed et <quod> de iuramentis optima quaedam statuta definiens ait non oportere iurare *neque per caelum, quia sedes est dei,*
25 *neque per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius*, nonne apertissime uidetur propheticis uocibus consonare, quibus dicitur: *Caelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum*? Sed et de templo eiciens eos, qui uendebant boues et oues et columbas, effundens quoque mensas nummulariorum et dicens: *Tollite ista hinc, et nolite facere domum patris mei domum nego-*
30 *tiationis*, patrem sine dubio deum dicebat eum, cuius nomini magnificum Salomon extruxerat templum. Sed et illud, quod ait: *Non legistis quod dictum est a deo ad Moysen: Ego deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob?*

1 *titulus:* quia unus est deus [spiritus δ] legis et prophetarum et domini nostri [nostri *om.* C γ *Sim Fern*] iesu christi pater α μ Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 3 proposuimus : propositum est *Pa* 5 uel *post* qui *add. Pa* 7 est ergo γ in *post* et *add. Pa* 9 uel : et *Pa* 9–10 quia ... sunt *om. Pa* 10 ex : ea A : et σ 11 praedicenda : praedicanda δ B : gerenda *Pa* 13 et *om.* δ 14 uel *om.* G σ 18 cuius δ μ Ab 20 caeli : solis *Pa* 21 es : est C σ 23 et *om.* A <quod> *suppl. Del Koe Sim Goe Fern* 26 est *om.* σ S 30 deum *om.* γ

That the God of the Law and the Prophets and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is One.

2.4.1.[1] These matters having been discussed in order as best as we have been able, it follows, according to what we proposed at the beginning, that we refute those who think that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is a different God than him who gave Moses the sayings of the Law or sent the prophets, who is the God of the fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For it is necessary, first of all, to be firm in this article of our faith. That expression, therefore, must be considered which is frequently uttered in the Gospels and is adjoined to every single act of our Lord and Saviour, *That it might be fulfilled what was spoken by* this or that *prophet*,[2] it being evident that the prophets are those of the God who made the world. From this, therefore, it is logically concluded that he who sent the prophets himself foretold what was to be foretold of Christ. And there is no doubt that the Father himself, and not another than him, foretold these things. The fact, moreover, that illustrations from the Old Testament are frequently given by the Saviour or his apostles indicates nothing other than the authority attributed by the Saviour and his apostles to the ancients. The fact, furthermore, that the Saviour, when urging his disciples to the exercise of kindness, says, *Be you perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect, who bids his sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust*,[3] suggests even to a man of the meanest intelligence the most obvious meaning, that he is putting before his disciples for imitation no other God than the maker of heaven and the giver of rain.

Again, when he says that those who pray ought to say, *Our Father who art in heaven*,[4] what else does it seem to indicate except that God is to be sought in the better parts of the world, that is, of his creation? And when, again, laying down those excellent principles regarding oaths, he says that one ought not to swear *neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God, nor by earth, for it is his footstool*,[5] does he not appear most openly to be in harmony with the words of the prophet, *Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool.*[6] And, yet again, when casting out of the temple those who sold sheep and oxen and doves, overturning the tables of the moneychangers, and saying, *Take these things away, and do not make my Father's house a house of trade*,[7] he undoubtedly called *Father* that God to whose name Solomon had raised up a magnificent temple. And, again, that passage which says, *Have you not read what was said by God to Moses: I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob;*

[1] Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a6–8), describes this section as showing ὅτι εἷς θεὸς νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης θεός (that the God of the Law and the Prophets is one and that the same is God of the Old and New Testaments).

[2] Cf. Matt. 2:15; 4:14; etc. [3] Matt. 5:48, 45.

[4] Matt. 6:9. This text is cited to make a similar point by Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.8.72.

[5] Matt. 5:34–5. [6] Isa. 66:1. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.201–2. [7] John 2:14–16.

non est autem deus mortuorum sed uiuentium, manifestissime nos docet quoniam deum patriarcharum, pro eo quod sancti essent et uiuerent, deum
35 appellabat uiuentium, illum scilicet, qui dixerat in prophetis: *Ego sum deus, et non est deus praeter me.* Sciens namque saluator *deum Abraham* eum esse, qui in lege scriptus est, et ipsum esse, qui dicit quia *Ego sum deus, et non est deus praeter me*, si quidem ipsum illum esse patrem fatetur, qui ignorat alium esse super se deum, sicut haeretici putant: absurde eum patrem pronuntiat qui
40 eminentiorem ignorat deum. Si uero non quidem ignorat, sed fallit dicens non esse alium deum praeter se, multo magis absurdum est, si mendacem suum patrem fatetur. Ex quibus omnibus in hanc indaginem sensus adducitur, quia alium nesciat patrem nisi omnium conditorem et creatorem deum.

2.4.2. Longum erit si ex omnibus euangeliorum locis testimonia congregemus,
45 quibus unus atque idem deus legis et euangeliorum esse doceatur. Contingemus tamen breuiter etiam de Actibus apostolorum, ubi Stephanus et apostoli preces suas dirigunt ad eum deum, qui fecit caelum et terram et qui locutus est per os sanctorum prophetarum suorum, ipsum dicentes deum Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, deum qui eduxerit populum suum de terra Aegypti. Quae sententiae
50 sensum nostrum sine dubio ad creatoris dirigunt fidem et affectum eius inserunt his, qui haec pie de eo fideliterque didicerint; sicut et ipse saluator cum interrogatus esset, quod mandatum maius esset omnium in lege, respondit dicens: *Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua. Secundum autem simile huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te*
55 *ipsum.* Et his addidit quia *In istis duobus mandatis omnis lex pendet et prophetae.* Quomodo ergo ei, quem erudiebat atque in discipulatum producebat, hoc mandatum ante omnia mandata commendat, per quod sine dubio in deum legis eius conciliaretur affectus, eo quod ipsis his uerbis haec fuerant a lege praedicata?
60 Sed concedatur contra has omnes euidentissimas adprobationes quia de alio nescio quo deo dicit saluator: *Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo* et reliqua quae dicta sunt. Et quomodo, si lex et prophetae creatoris sunt, sicut dicunt, id est alterius dei praeter eum, quem aiunt bonum, consequenter dictum uidebitur id quod addidit, *Legem et prophetas in his duobus pendere*
65 *mandatis*? Quomodo enim quod alienum et peregrinum a deo est, pendebit in deo? Paulus autem dicens: *Gratias ago deo meo, cui seruio a proauis meis in*

36–7 qui ... esse *om.* γ   42 quia : qui δ : qua *coni. Koe in appar.*   49 eduxit B *Koe* : duxit δ *Goe*   51 didicerunt Ab   65 et peregrinum *om.* γ   pendebit : inpendebit δ
66–7 in conscientiam puram γ

he is not the God of the dead but of the living,[8] most clearly teaches us that he called the God of the patriarchs, because they were holy and living, the God of the living, the same one, that is, who said in the prophets, *I am God and there is no God besides me*.[9] For if the Saviour, knowing that he who is written [of] in the law is *the God of Abraham*, and that it is the same one who says, *I am God and there is no God besides me*, confesses that this very one, who does not know of the existence of any other God above himself as the heretics suppose, is the Father, he absurdly declares that one to be the Father, who does not know of a higher God. If, on the other hand, it is not because he does not know, but he is deceitful in saying there is no other God than himself, then it is even more absurd that he should acknowledge his Father to be a liar. From all these points, the mind is led to this conclusion, that he knows of no other Father than God the maker and creator of all things.

2.4.2. It would be tedious if we were to collect out of all the passages in the Gospels the proofs by which the God of the Law and the Gospels is proved to be one and the same. Let us, however, touch briefly on the Acts of the Apostles, where Stephen and the apostles address their prayers to that God who made heaven and earth and who spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets, calling him the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God who led his people out of the land of Egypt.[10] These expressions undoubtedly direct our minds to faith in the Creator and implant an affection for him in those who have piously and faithfully learnt this about him, just as also the Saviour himself, when asked what was the greatest commandment in the Law, replied saying, *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind. And the second is like unto it: You shall love your neighbour as yourself.* And to these he added, *On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets*.[11] How, then, is it that he commends to him whom he was instructing and leading into discipleship this commandment above all other commandments, by which undoubtedly affection for the God of that Law was kindled, since these things had been said by the Law in these very words?[12]

But let it be granted, in the face of all these most evident proofs, that it is of some other unknown God that the Saviour says, *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart*, and the rest of what was said. Now how, if the Law and the Prophets are from the Creator, as they say,[13] that is, from another God than him whom they call good, shall what he adds seem to be said logically, that, *On these two commandments hang the Law and the Prophets*? For how shall that which is strange and foreign to God depend upon God? And when Paul says, *I thank my God, whom I serve from my forefathers with a pure*

[8] Matt. 22:31–2. [9] Isa. 46:9. [10] Cf. Acts 4:24; 3:13, 18; 7:32, 34, 40, etc.
[11] Matt. 22:36–7, 39–40. [12] Cf. Lev. 19:18; Deut. 6:5.
[13] Cf. Ptolemy, *Flor.* 7.2–4; Heracleon in Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.108–9.

conscientia pura, dilucide ostendit quia non ad aliquem nouum deum ad Christum uenerit. Quos enim alios proauos Pauli oportebit intellegi nisi eos, de quibus ipse dicit: *Hebraei sunt? et ego; Israhelitae sunt? et ego.* Sed et praefatio
70 ipsa epistolae eius ad Romanos nonne haec eadem his, qui intellegere Pauli litteras norunt, diligenter ostendit, quem deum praedicat Paulus? Ait enim: *Paulus seruus Iesu Christi, uocatus apostolus, segregatus in euangelium dei, quod ante promisit per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis de filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine Dauid secundum carnem, qui praedestinatus est filius dei in*
75 *uirtute secundum spiritum sanctificationis ex resurrectione mortuorum Iesu Christi domini nostri* et cetera. Sed et illud quod ait: *Non obturabis os boui trituranti; numquid de bubus cura est deo? An propter nos utique dicit? Propter nos enim scriptum est quoniam in spe debet qui arat arare, et qui triturat sub spe percipiendi*; in quo euidenter ostendit quia qui legem dedit deus propter nos, id
80 est propter apostolos dicit: *Non obturabis os boui trituranti*, cui cura erat non boum, sed apostolorum, qui Christi euangelium praedicabant. In aliis quoque promissionem legis amplectens Paulus ipse ita ait: *Honora patrem et matrem, quod est mandatum primum in promissione, ut bene sit tibi, et longaeuus sis super terram, terram bonam, quam dominus deus tuus dabit tibi.* Per quae sine
85 dubio placere sibi legem et deum legis atque eius promissa pronuntiat.

2.4.3. Sed quoniam solent interdum huius haeresis adsertores per deceptiosa quaedam sophismata simpliciorum quorumque corda decipere, absurdum non puto si etiam ea, quae in adsertionibus suis proferre solent, proponentes, subreptionem eorum ac mendacia confutemus. Aiunt igitur: Scriptum est:
90 *deum nemo uidit umquam*; ille autem deus, quem Moyses praedicat, et ab ipso Moyse uisus est et antea a patribus eius; is uero, qui a saluatore adnuntiatur, a nullo penitus uisus est. Interrogemus ergo eos et nos, si hunc quem fatentur deum et alium esse eum dicunt quam creatorem deum, uisibilem esse an inuisibilem dicunt. Et si quidem dixerint quia uisibilis est, praeter hoc, quod
95 contra scripturae sententiam uenire arguentur, quae dicit de saluatore quia *Imago est inuisibilis dei, primogenitus omnis creaturae*, incurrent etiam in illud absurdum, quod deum corporeum esse dicant. Non enim aliter uideri quid potest nisi per habitum et magnitudinem et colorem, quae sunt specialia

67 ad[2] : sed ad σ *Del* : <conuersus> ad *suppl. Koe in appar.* 73 promiserat δ *Koe* 74 ei *om.* C M σ destinatus δ C *Goe* 76 obturabitis A 78 fructus *post* in spe *add.* σ 86 *ante* sed quoniam *add. titulum:* de eo quod scriptum est deum nemo uidit unquam δ : *ante* aiunt (*l.89*) β : *om.* γ : *Koe Sim Goe in appar.; secl. Fern* 91 antea : ante γ

conscience,[14] he transparently shows that he came to Christ not as to some new God. For what other forefathers of Paul are meant to be intended except those of whom he says, *Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I.*[15] Does not the very preface of his Epistle to the Romans carefully demonstrate the very same point, to those who know how to understand the letters of Paul, that is, what God Paul preaches? For he says, *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the Gospel of God, which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy Scriptures concerning his Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, but designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead of Jesus Christ our Lord*, and the rest.[16] And also the passage that says, *'You shall not muzzle the mouth of an ox when it is threshing the grain.' Is it for the oxen that God is concerned? Or does he speak altogether for our sake? For our sake it was written so that he that ploughs should plough in hope and he that threshes, in the hope of partaking.*[17] Here he clearly points out that God, who gave the Law for our sake, that is, for the sake of the apostles, says, *You shall not muzzle the mouth of an ox when it is threshing the grain*, and that his concern was not for oxen but for the apostles, who were preaching the Gospel of Christ. In other passages also, Paul himself, embracing the promises of the Law, speaks thus: *Honour your father and your mother, which is the first commandment, with a promise, that it may be well with you, and that you may live long upon the land, the good land, which the Lord your God will give you.*[18] By this, he undoubtedly makes known that the Law and the God of the Law and his promises are pleasing to him.

2.4.3. But since the advocates of this heresy are sometimes wont to ensnare the hearts of the simple by certain deceptive sophistries, I think it not unreasonable to bring forward the assertions they are accustomed to make, so that we can refute their deceit and lies. They say, then, that it is written that *No one has seen God at any time*;[19] but that God, whom Moses proclaims, was seen both by Moses himself and by his fathers before him, whereas the one who is announced by the Saviour has been seen by no one at all. Let us therefore also ask them whether the one whom they acknowledge as God and who, they say, is other than God the creator, is visible or invisible? If they should say that he is visible, besides being proved to go against that passage of Scripture which says of the Saviour that *He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation*,[20] they will also fall into the absurdity of saying that God is bodily. For in no other way can anything be seen except through shape and size and colour, which are the properties of bodies.

[14] 2 Tim. 1:3. [15] 2 Cor. 11:22. [16] Rom. 1:1–4. [17] 1 Cor. 9:9–11; Deut. 25:4. [18] Eph. 6:2–3; Exod. 20:12. [19] John 1:18. [20] Col. 1:15.

corporum. Et si corpus esse pronuntietur deus, quoniam omne corpus ex
100 materia est, inuenietur et deus esse ex materia; quodsi ex materia sit, materia autem sine dubio corruptibilis est, erit ergo iam secundum illos corruptibilis deus. Rursum id quoque interrogabimus eos: Materia facta est aut ingenita, id est infecta? Et si quidem dixerint quia infecta est, id est ingenita, requiremus ab eis, si materiae pars quidem aliqua deus, pars autem mundus est. Si uero
105 responderint de materia quia facta est, sine dubio consequetur, ut eum, quem deum dicunt, factum esse fateantur; quod utique nec ipsorum nec nostra ratio admittit.

Sed dicent: Inuisibilis est deus. Et quid agetis? Si inuisibilem eum dicitis per naturam, neque saluatori debet esse uisibilis. Quin immo et uideri deus pater
110 Christi dicitur, quoniam *Qui uidit*, inquit, *filium, uidit et patrem*. Quod utique uos quidem uehementer angustat, a nobis uero rectius non pro uidendo sed pro intellegendo sentitur. Qui enim intellexerit filium, ille intellexit et patrem. Hoc ergo modo etiam Moyses deum uidisse putandus est, non oculis eum carnalibus intuens, sed uisu cordis ac sensu mentis intellegens, et hoc ex parte
115 aliqua. Manifestum est enim quia *Faciem*, inquit, *meam non uidebis* (is scilicet, qui Moysi responsa praebebat), *sed posteriora mea*. Quae utique cum eo sunt intellegenda sacramento, quo intellegi conuenit dicta diuina, abiectis profecto illis et spretis anilibus fabulis, quae de anterioribus dei ab imperitis, posterioribusque finguntur. Ne qui sane nos impium aliquid sensisse arbitretur, quod
120 diximus quia nec saluatori uisibilis est pater, sed consideret quali distinctione aduersum haereticos agentes utimur. Diximus enim quod aliud sit uidere et uideri, et aliud nosse et nosci uel cognoscere atque cognosci. Igitur uidere et uideri corporum res est, quod utique nec patri nec filio nec spiritui sancto inter se inuicem conpetenter aptabitur. Natura enim trinitatis modum uisionis
125 excedit, his quae in corpore sunt, id est omnibus reliquis creaturis qualitatem inter se inuicem uisionis indulgens; incorporeae uero naturae et principaliter intellectuali nihil aliud conuenit nisi nosse uel nosci, sicut et saluator ipse pronuntiat dicens quia *Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare*. Manifestum ergo est quia non dixit:
130 Nemo uidit nisi filius, sed: *Nemo nouit nisi filius*.

2.4.3, lines 108–9

Jerome, Ep. *124.6.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.9–11):*

Restat, ut inuisibilis sit deus. Si autem inuisibilis per naturam est, neque saluatori uisibilis erit.

102 id *om.* γ 104 aliqua : alia γ 108 dicunt δ agitis δ si : quia si B : quia C 110 uidet ... uidet σ 112 ille *om.* γ intellexerit C : intelliget σ 119 ne quis sane B Ab : neque sane μ S : neque sane quis *Merl Del* 120 sed *om.* γ 130 patrem *post* uidit *et post* nouit *add.* γ *Koe Goe*

And if God is declared to be a body, then, since every body is made of matter, God will also be found to be made of matter; but if he is made of matter, and matter is undoubtedly corruptible, then God, according to them, will be corruptible. We will ask them again: is matter made or uncreated, that is, not made? If they shall say that it is not made, that is, uncreated, we shall ask them if one part of matter is God and another part the world? But if they shall say of matter that it is made, it will undoubtedly follow that they acknowledge that he, whom they call God, is made, which certainly neither their reason nor ours can accept.

But they will say: God[21] is invisible. And what will you do? If you say that he is invisible by nature, then neither ought he to be visible to the Saviour. But, on the contrary, God, the Father of Christ, is said to be seen, since *he who sees the Son*, he says, *sees also the Father*.[22] This certainly presses you very hard, but is understood by us more correctly not of seeing but of understanding. For he who has understood the Son has understood the Father also. In this way, then, Moses also must be supposed to have seen God, not seeing him with bodily eyes, but understanding him with the vision of the heart and the perception of the mind, and this only in part. For it is clear that he, that is, the one who gave the oracles to Moses, says, *You shall not see my face, but my back*.[23] These words are of course to be understood in that mystical sense which befits the understanding of divine sayings, with those old wives' fables, which are fabricated by the ignorant regarding the front and back parts of God, being utterly rejected and spurned. Let no one indeed suppose that we have entertained any impiety when we said that the Father is not visible even to the Saviour, but consider the distinction used in dealing with the heretics. For we have said that it is one thing to see and to be seen, and another to know and to be known or to understand and to be understood. To see, then, and to be seen is a property of bodies, which it would certainly not be right to apply either to the Father or to the Son or to the Holy Spirit in relation to each other. For the nature of the Trinity exceeds the limit of sight, yet it grants to those who are in the body, that is, to all other creatures, the property of sight in relation to each other; but to bodiless and, especially, intellectual beings, nothing else is appropriate except to know and to be known, as the Saviour himself declares, saying, *No one knows the Son except the Father, nor does any one know the Father, except the Son and any one to whom the Son will reveal him*.[24] It is clear, therefore, that he did not say, 'No one has seen, except the Son', but, *No one knows except the Son*.

[21] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.6.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.9–11): 'In the same book he writes: Grant that God is invisible. If he is invisible by nature, neither will he be visible to the Saviour.'

[22] John 14:9.

[23] Exod. 33:23. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 17.2; *Comm. Cant.* 3 (GCS 8, p. 231).

[24] Matt. 11:27. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.1.8.

2.4.4. Si uero propter illa, quae dicuntur in ueteri testamento, quod uel irascitur deus uel paenitet, uel si qua alia humani affectus passio designatur, materiam sibi ad confutandos nos praeberi putant, adfirmantes deum penitus inpassibilem atque his omnibus carentem affectibus sentiendum: ostendendum
135 est eis etiam in euangelicis parabolis haberi similia, cum dicit quia is, qui plantauit uineam et locauit eam colonis, qui coloni missos ad se seruos interemerunt, ad ultimum etiam filium ad se missum occiderunt, iratus dicitur abstulisse uineam ab eis et malos colonos male perditum dedisse et uineam colonis aliis tradidisse, qui redderent ei fructus in tempore suo. Sed et
140 illos ciues, qui profecto patre familias accipere sibi regnum legatos miserunt post eum dicentes: *Nolumus eum regnare super nos*, impetrato regno regressus pater familias et iratus interfici coram se iubet et ciuitatem eorum igne consumi. Sed nos siue in ueteri siue in nouo testamento, cum de ira dei legimus, non secundum litteram quae dicuntur aduertimus, sed spiritalem
145 intellectum requirimus in talibus, ut ita sentiamus, sicut intellegere de deo dignum est. De quibus secundum paruitatem sensus nostri cum secundi psalmi exponeremus illum uersiculum, in quo ait: *Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua, et in furore suo conturbabit eos*, prout potuimus, qualiter hoc intellegi deberet, ostendimus.

150 **2.5.1.** Verum quoniam mouet etiam illud quosdam, quod principes istius haeresis diuisionem quandam fecisse sibi uidentur, qua dixerint aliud esse iustum, aliud bonum, et hac diuisione etiam in diuinitate usi sunt, adfirmantes bonum quidem deum esse patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, et non iustum, iustum uero legis et prophetarum deum, nec tamen bonum: cui quaestioni
155 respondere quam potero breuiter necessarium puto.

Aestimant igitur bonitatem affectum talem quendam esse, quo bene fieri omnibus debeat, etiamsi indignus sit is, cui beneficium datur, nec bene consequi mereatur; sed, ut mihi uidetur, non recte tali usi sunt definitione, putantes non fieri bene huic, cui austerum uel triste aliquid inferatur. Iustitiam

135 habere γ 136 quia A 139 fructum γ 143 consumit γ 150 *ante* uerum *add. titulum:* de iusto et bono δ μ Ab *Koe Goe; secl. Sim Fern* : de iusto et bono deo β : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 154 etiam *post* bonum *add.* β cui δ μ *Sim Fern* : huic B *Koe Goe* : cuique σ 156 quo : quod C γ 159 infertur γ

2.4.4. If, however, on account of those statements which are made in the Old Testament, as when God is angry or repents or is said to suffer any other human affection, they think that they are provided with material for refuting us who affirm that God must be believed to be altogether impassible and free from all these affections, then it must be shown to them that similar statements are found even in the parables of the Gospel: as when it says that he who planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen—which husbandmen killed the servants who were sent to them, and at last even put to death the son sent to them—is said, having become angry, to have taken away the vineyard from them and to have delivered over the wretched husbandmen to a wretched destruction and to have handed over the vineyard to other husbandmen who would render him the fruit in its season.[25] So also with those citizens who, when a nobleman[26] had set out to receive for himself a kingdom, sent messengers after him, saying, '*we do not want this man to reign over us*'; on his return, having received the kingdom, the nobleman, becoming angry, commanded them to be slain before him and their city to be burnt by fire.[27] But we, when we read of the anger of God, either in the Old or the New Testament, we do not take the things said according to the letter, but seek in them a spiritual meaning, that we may think in a manner worthy for understanding God. On these points, we showed, according to our poor ability, when expounding as best we could that verse in the second Psalm which says, *Then shall he speak to them in his anger and trouble them in his fury*, in what way it ought to be understood.[28]

2.5.1.[29] But, since this fact disturbs some, that the leaders of that heresy appear to have made for themselves a distinction, as they have said that the just is one thing and the good another, and have applied this distinction even to divinity, maintaining that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is indeed a good God but not just, while the God of the Law and Prophets is just but not good, I think it necessary to respond to this question with as much brevity as possible.

They reckon, then, goodness to be some such disposition which is bound to do good to all, even when the one given the benefit is unworthy and does not deserve to obtain good; but, it seems to me, they have not correctly applied this definition, thinking that no good is done to the one who is visited with anything severe or harsh. Justice, on the other hand, they suppose to be some such

[25] Cf. Matt. 21:33–41.

[26] Rufinus has *pater familias*, presumably translating ἄνθρωπος τις εὐγενής as in Luke 19:12.

[27] Cf. Luke 19:12–27.

[28] Ps. 2:5. The explanatory passage referred to here no longer exists. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 18.6: 'If you hear of the anger of God and his wrath, do not suppose that anger and wrath are passions of God. The purposes of using this way of speaking are for converting and bettering the infant, since we also use a fearful expression with children, not from an actual state of mind but because of a purpose to cause fear. ... So then it states that God is also said to be angry and wrathful in order that you can convert and become better.' See also *Hom. Jer.* 20.1.

[29] The manuscripts here have the title 'On the Just and the Good [God β]', included by Koetschau (followed by Butterworth) and by Görgemanns and Karpp.

160 uero putarunt affectum esse talem, qui unicuique prout meretur retribuat. Sed et in hoc rursum definitionis suae sensum non recte interpretantur. Putant enim quia quod iustum est malis mala faciat, bonis bona, id est, ut secundum sensum ipsorum iustus malis non uideatur bene uelle, sed uelut odio quodam ferri aduersum eos; et colligunt sicubi forte in scripturis ueteris testamenti 165 inueniunt historiam referentem, uerbi causa, de diluuii poenis et eorum, qui in eo extincti referuntur, uel cum Sodoma et Gomorra ignei sulphureique imbris uastatione populantur, uel cum in deserto pro peccatis suis omnes decidunt, ita ut nullus ex his, qui de Aegypto fuerant profecti, inueniatur terram repromissionis intrare praeter Iesum et Chaleb. De nouo autem testamento 170 misericordiae ac pietatis congregant uerba, quibus a saluatore discipuli informantur, et quibus pronuntiari uidetur quia *Nemo bonus praeter unum sit deum patrem*; et per hoc ausi sunt bonum quidem deum nominare patrem saluatoris Iesu Christi, alium autem esse dicunt mundi deum, quem iustum eis, non etiam bonum placuit appellare.

175 **2.5.2.** A quibus primo illud exigendum puto, si secundum suam definitionem iustum possunt ostendere conditorem punientem quidem pro meritis uel eos, qui diluuii tempore perierunt, uel Sodomitas uel eos, qui ex Aegypto profecti fuerant, cum uideamus interdum multo nequiora et scelerosiora committi flagitia quam fuerunt illa, pro quibus hi quos supra diximus interempti sunt, et 180 nondum tamen uidemus unumquemque peccantium poenam luere meritorum; numquidnam bonum dicent effectum eum, qui aliquando iustus erat? an potius illud putabunt, quod iustus quidem est nunc, sed patienter fert humana delicta, tunc uero ne iustus quidem erat, qui innocentes paruulos et lactantes simul cum inmanibus et impiis gigantibus extinguebat? Sed haec ita sentiunt, 185 quoniam nihil audire ultra litteram norunt; alioquin ostendant quomodo iustum est secundum litteram in tertiam et quartam progeniem parentum reddi peccata in sinu filiorum et in filios filiorum ipsorum post ipsos. A nobis autem talia ista non secundum litteram intelleguntur, sed sicut Hiezechihel docuit parabolam eam dicens, requirimus quid introrsus significet ipsa 190 parabola. Sed et illud debent ostendere, quomodo iustus sit et pro meritis unicuique retribuens, qui punit terrenos et diabolum, cum nihil dignum poena commiserint; non enim poterant, si secundum istos naturae malae et perditae erant, aliquid boni agere. Nam et quod iudicem eum dicunt, non tam gestorum

172 deum[2] *om.* γ 173 dicunt esse γ 175 primum γ 178 scelestiora γ 179 fuerant γ et *om.* γ 184 et *post* sed *add.* δ 190 si *post* quomodo *add.* σ : is *post* quomodo *malit Koe* 191 tribuens α (*uide l.218*) 193 tam : iam A[ac] β G

disposition that renders to each one in proportion to what they deserve. But here, again, they do not correctly interpret the meaning of their own definition. For they think that it is just to do evil to the evil and good to the good, that is, that, according to their view, one who is just does not appear to wish good for the evil, but to bear a kind of hatred against them; and they collect together the narratives they find anywhere in the Scriptures of the Old Testament recounting, for example, the punishment of the flood and of those who are reported to have perished in it, or how Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by a shower of fire and brimstone, or how all died in the desert because of their sins, so that none of those who had left Egypt were found to enter the promised land except Joshua and Caleb. From the New Testament, however, they gather sayings of mercy and compassion, by which the disciples are trained by the Saviour, and by which it seems to be declared that *No one is good but one, God the Father*,[30] and on this basis they have dared to name the Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ a good God, but they say that the God of the world is another, whom they are pleased to term just, but not also good.

2.5.2. Now, in the first place, I think, they must be required to show, if they can, according to their own definition, that the Creator is just in punishing according to their merits either those who perished at the time of the flood, or the inhabitants of Sodom, or those who had left Egypt, when we sometimes see much more wicked and heinous crimes committed than those for which the above mentioned were destroyed, while we do not yet see every sinner paying the penalty of his deserts; or will they say that he who at one time was just has now become good? Or will they rather reckon that now he is just, but patiently bears human offences, whereas then he was not even just, when he exterminated innocent children and suckling babes along with monstrous and ungodly giants?[31] Now, they think such things because they know not how to heed anything beyond the letter; otherwise they would show how it is just, according to the letter, for the sins of the parents to be visited upon the heads of the children to the third and fourth generation, and on the children's children after them.[32] By us, however, such things are not understood according to the letter, but as Ezekiel taught, when speaking that parable, we inquire what the parable itself inwardly signifies.[33] Moreover, they ought to explain this also, how he is just and rewards everyone according to his merits,[34] he who punishes the earthly-minded and the devil when they have done nothing worthy of punishment; for they were not able to do any good if, according to them, they were of a wicked and ruined nature. And as for them calling him a judge, he appears

[30] Cf. Mark 10:18; Luke 18:19; neither text includes 'the Father'.
[31] Cf. Gen. 6:4; 7:21–3. [32] Cf. Exod. 20:5, 34:7; Deut. 5:9.
[33] Cf. Ezek. 18:2–3. Cf. Origen, *Sel. Ex.* (PG 12, 289c); *Hom. Ex.* 8.6. [34] Cf. Ps. 61:13.

quam naturarum iudex uidetur, quippe si natura mala bene facere non potest,
195 nec bona male.

Tum deinde eum quem bonum dicunt, si ad omnes bonus est, sine dubio et ad eos qui perituri sunt bonus est; et quomodo non eos saluat? Si non uult, iam non erit bonus; si uult et non potest, omnipotens non erit. Quin potius audiant in euangeliis patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi ignem praeparantem *diabolo et*
200 *angelis eius*. Et quomodo istud opus tam poenale, tam triste secundum sensum istorum boni dei uidebitur? Sed et ipse saluator boni dei filius in euangeliis protestatur et dicit quia *Si signa et prodigia facta fuissent in Tyro et Sidone*, olim *in sacco et cinere sedentes paenitentiam egissent*. Et cum proximus utique ipsis urbibus accessisset ac fines earum fuisset ingressus, cur quaeso declinat ciuitates
205 ipsas ingredi et praestare eis *signorum ac prodigiorum* copiam, si eas his gestis *in sacco et cinere* certum erat acturas esse *paenitentiam*? Quod utique cum non facit, sine dubio perditioni eas relinquit, quas malae et perditae naturae non esse ipse euangelii indicat sermo, qui eas potuisse paenitere designat. Sed et in quadam euangelii nihilominus parabola: *Ingrediens rex uidere discumbentes*, qui
210 fuerant inuitati, *uidit quendam non indutum nuptialibus indumentis, et ait ei: Amice, quomodo introisti huc non habens indumentum nuptiale? Tunc ait ministris: Ligantes ei pedes et manus mittite eum foras in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium*. Dicant nobis: quis est iste rex, qui ingressus est uidere discumbentes et inueniens inter eos quendam sordidis indumentis iubet
215 eum uinctum per ministros suos in tenebras exteriores detrudi, numquidnam ille est, quem iustum dicunt? Et quomodo bonos ac malos iusserat inuitari, nec merita a ministris sciscitari praeceperat? Per quod utique non iusti alicuius, ut isti dicunt, et pro meritis retribuentis, sed erga omnes indiscretae benignitatis indicatur affectus. Si uero necesse est hoc de bono deo, id est uel de Christo uel
220 de patre Christi intellegi, quid aliud est quod iusto deo obiciunt, immo quid tale est quod in deo legis criminantur, quale est ut eum, qui ab his seruis quos ipse miserat uocare bonos et malos fuerat inuitatus, iuberet eum pro sordidioribus indumentis uinctum manibus pedibusque in exteriores tenebras praecipitari?

196 tum : tunc γ 200 tam[2] : quam G σ 203 egissent : agentes G M[ac] : agerent M[pc] σ 204 cur : circum A : quur B 205 ac prodigiorum *om.* γ 208 eas : eos γ 210 indutum : uestitum γ 211 introisti huc : intrasti huc W : huc intrasti γ 215 in tenebras exteriores *om.* γ 216 ac : et γ 222 eum *om.* β

to be a judge not so much of acts as of natures, and if, naturally, an evil nature cannot do good, neither can a good nature do evil.

Then, in next place, if he whom they call good is good to all, he is undoubtedly good also to those who are destined to perish; why then does he not save them? If he does not wish to, he will no longer be good; if he wishes to, and is not able, he will not be omnipotent. Let them rather hear, in the Gospels, of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ preparing fire for *the devil and his angels.*[35] And how shall that work, as punitive as sorrowful, befit, according to their view, a good God? Even the Saviour himself, the Son of the good God, protests in the Gospels and declares that *if signs and wonders had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.*[36] Yet when he had come near to those very cities and had entered their borders,[37] why, pray, does he decline to enter those territories and to show them an abundance of *signs and wonders*, if it were certain that by such actions they would *repent in sackcloth and ashes*? As he does not indeed do this, he undoubtedly abandons to destruction those whom the very language of the Gospel shows not to be of a wicked or ruined nature, for it indicates that they were able to repent. Moreover, in a certain parable of the Gospel, *when the king came in to see the guests*, who had been invited, *he sees a certain person not clothed with a wedding garment and says to him: 'Friend, how did you get in here not having a wedding garment?' Then he says to the servants: 'Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outer darkness; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'*[38] Let them tell us who is that king who entered in to see the guests and finding among them one with unclean garments, ordered him to be bound by his servants and cast into outer darkness: is he indeed the one whom they call just? How then had he commanded good and bad to be invited, yet had not directed their merits to be investigated by his servants? This certainly indicates not the disposition of one who is just, as they say, and who rewards according to merits, but of an indiscriminate benevolence to all. If, on the other hand, this parable must be understood of the good God, that is, either of Christ or the Father of Christ, what else is it that they object to in the just God, nay, rather, what accusation can they bring against the God of the Law comparable to this, that he ordered the one who had been invited by his servants, whom he had sent to call good and bad, to be bound hand and foot and to be cast into the outer darkness because of his unclean garments?

[35] Matt. 25:41. [36] Matt. 11:21. [37] Cf. Matt. 15:21–2. [38] Matt. 22:11–13.

2.5.3. Et haec quidem sufficere debent, quae ex auctoritate adsumsimus
225 scripturarum ad refellenda ea, quae haeretici obtendere solent. Non tamen indecens uidebitur, si etiam ex ratione ipsius consequentiae paucis agamus cum eis. Interrogamus ergo eos, si norunt quae ratio apud homines uirtutis ac malitiae habeatur, et si uidetur esse consequens, ut uirtutes dicamus in deo uel, ut ipsis uidetur, in duobus istis diis. Respondeant hoc quoque, si uidetur eis
230 bonitas uirtus esse aliqua, quod puto quia sine dubio fatebuntur, quid etiam dicent de iustitia? Numquam profecto, ut mihi uidetur, ita desipient, ut iustitiam negent esse uirtutem. Ergo si bonum uirtus et iustitia uirtus est, sine dubio iustitia bonitas est. Si uero dixerint non esse bonum iustitiam, superest ut aut malum sit, aut indifferens. Et quidem dicentibus malum esse iustitiam
235 respondere ineptum puto; uidebor enim uel insanis sermonibus uel mente motis hominibus respondere. Malum enim quomodo uidebitur id, quod bonis bona retribuere potest, sicut etiam ipsi fatentur? Si uero indifferens dixerint, consequens est ut, cum iustitia indifferens sit, et sobrietas et prudentia et omnes reliquae uirtutes indifferentes habeantur. Et quid respondebimus Paulo
240 dicenti: *Si qua uirtus, si qua laus, haec cogitate, quae et didicistis et accepistis et audistis et uidistis in me*?

Dicant ergo perscrutantes scripturas diuinas quae sunt singulae uirtutes, et non subripiant in hoc, quod dicunt quia is deus, qui unicuique secundum meritum retribuit, odio malorum retribuit malis mala et non pro eo, quod
245 austerioribus curari indigent medicamentis hi qui deliquerunt, et propterea his adhibet ea, quae emendationis prospectu ad praesens uidentur sensum doloris inferre. Non legunt quid scriptum sit de spe eorum, qui in diluuio perempti

228 deo : domino δ Ab **242** discant *Merl Del Goe* **247** eorum : illorum γ

2.5.3. These points, which we have drawn from the authority of Scripture, ought to be sufficient to refute the arguments that the heretics are accustomed to bring forward. It will not seem improper, however, if we discuss the matter with them in a few words from the perspective of logical reasoning.[39] We would ask them, then, whether they know what account of virtue and wickedness is held by men, and whether it appears to follow that we can speak of virtues in God,[40] or, as it seems to them, in these two gods. Let them also answer this: if they consider goodness to be a virtue, which I think they will undoubtedly admit, what then will they say of justice? They will surely never, it seems to me, be so foolish as to deny that justice is a virtue. If, therefore, virtue is a good and justice is a virtue, then justice is indubitably goodness. But if they say that justice is not something good, it only remains that it is either an evil or something indifferent. Now I think it folly to respond to those who say that justice is an evil, for I will seem to be replying either to senseless words or to men with disturbed minds. How can that appear an evil, which is able to render good to those who are good, just as they themselves admit? But if they say that it is something indifferent, it follows that, since justice is something indifferent, so also temperance and prudence and all the other virtues will be held as things indifferent.[41] What then shall we reply to Paul, when he says, *If there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things, which you have learned and received and heard and seen in me*?[42]

Let them, then, by searching the holy Scriptures, tell us what the various virtues are, and let them not hide behind what they say—that the God who rewards everyone according to their merits renders ill to the evil out of hatred towards the wicked, and not because those who have sinned need to be treated with harsher remedies and because he applies to them those remedies which, though aiming at improvement, seem at the present to inflict a sense of pain.[43] They do not read what is written concerning the hope of those who were

[39] The 'logical reasoning' (*ex ratione ipsius consequentiae*) in question here is the connection (ἀντακολουθία) which unites the virtues, a teaching going back to the Stoics (e.g. *SVF* 1.49; 3.72) and found in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.9.45; 2.18.80.

[40] The idea of virtues in God, accepted by Plato and the Stoics, was denied by Aristotle (*Eth. nic.* 10.8), but reasserted by Plotinus (*Enn.* 1.2), for whom the divinities, rather than possessing virtues as human beings do, have instead the principles from which our virtues derive. Origen, likewise, speaks of the Father as being the origin of virtues, which are seen in the titles of Christ, to be participated in by rational beings.

[41] This Stoic distinction between good, bad, and things indifferent (μέσον or ἀδιάφορον) is frequently used by Origen, e.g. *Princ.* 3.1.18; 3.2.7.

[42] Phil. 4:8–9.

[43] The idea that suffering has pedagogic or therapeutic value goes back to Plato: *Gorg.* 525b; *Resp.* 2.380bc; *Leg.* 11.934a. It is found repeatedly in Scripture, and in many earlier Christian writers: *1 Clem.* 56.16; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.37–9; Clement of Alexandria, *Ped.* 1.8.64; *Strom.* 4.24.153–4. For Origen, see also: *Princ.* 1.6.3; 2.10.6; *Hom. Ezech.* 1.2; *Hom. Ex.* 8.5; *Hom. Jer.* 6.2; 12.5; *Cels.* 3.75; 4.72; 6.56; *Frag. Ex.* 10.27 (= *Philoc.* 27.1–8). For Origen, as for Irenaeus (e.g. *Haer.* 3.20), this also includes the experience of death: *Comm. Matt.* 15.15; *Hom. Lev.* 14.4.

sunt, de qua spe Petrus in prima epistola sua ita ait: *Quia Christus mortuus quidem carne, uiuificatus autem spiritu; in quo pergens praedicauit his spiritibus,*
250 *qui in carcere tenebantur, qui increduli fuerunt aliquando, cum expectaret dei patientia in diebus Noe, cum fabricaretur arca, in qua pauci, id est octo animae saluae factae sunt per aquam, quod et uos simili forma nunc baptisma saluos facit.* De Sodoma autem et Gomorra dicant nobis, si credunt creatoris dei esse propheticas uoces, eius scilicet, qui refertur super eos ignis et sulphuris imbrem
255 pluisse: quid de ipsis dicit Hiezechiel propheta? *Restituetur,* inquit, *Sodoma in antiquum.* Quomodo autem affligens eos, qui poena digni sunt, non pro bono affligit? Qui etiam ad Chaldaeam dicit: *Habes carbones ignis, sede super eos, ipsi erunt tibi adiutorio.* Sed et de his, qui in deserto ceciderunt, audiant quid in septuagesimo septimo psalmo, qui Asaph superscribitur, referatur; ait enim:
260 *Cum occideret eos, tunc exquirebant eum.* Non dixit quia aliis interfectis alii requirebant eum, sed ait quia hi, qui occidebantur, talis erat eorum interitus, ut mortificati requirerent deum. Ex quibus omnibus constat unum eundemque esse iustum et bonum legis et euangeliorum deum, et bene facere cum iustitia et cum bonitate punire, quia nec bonum sine iusto nec iustum sine bono
265 dignitatem diuinae potest indicare naturae.

Addemus adhuc etiam haec, uersutiis eorum conpellentibus nos. Si aliud est iustum quam bonum, quoniam bono malum contrarium est et iusto iniustum, sine dubio et iniustum aliud erit quam malum; et sicut iustus apud uos non est bonus, ita neque iniustus erit malus; et rursum, sicut bonus non est iustus, ita
270 et malus non erit iniustus. Quomodo autem non uidetur absurdum, ut deo quidem bono contrarius sit malus, deo autem iusto, quem inferiorem a bono dicunt, contrarius nemo sit? Non enim sicut Satanas est, qui malus dicitur, ita est aliquis alius, qui dicatur iniustus. Quid ergo est? Reascendamus ea, quae descendimus. Non poterunt dicere quia malus non etiam iniustus sit et iniustus
275 malus. Quodsi in istis contrariis indissociabiliter inhaeret uel malo iniustitia, uel iniustitiae malum, sine dubio et bonus indissociabilis erit iusto, et iustus bono: ut sicut unam eandemque nequitiam malitiae et iniustitiae dicimus, ita et bonitatis ac iustitiae uirtutem unam eandemque teneamus.

248 prima *om.* γ mortuus : mortificatus β **250–1** expectaret dei patientiam A[ac] : expectarent dei patientiam A[pc] σ : expectarent dei patientia μ **256** quomodo : quod γ **259** septimo *om.* γ **268** iniustum : iustum γ **270** quomodo : quod μ : cui σ **271** a *om.* γ **274** descendimus : ascendimus γ enim *post* non *add. Merl Del*

destroyed in the flood, of which hope Peter says this in his first Epistle: *For Christ died in the flesh, but was made alive by the Spirit, by which he went and preached to the spirits who were held in prison, who were once unbelievers, while the patience of God waited in the days of Noah, during the building of the ark, in which a few, that is eight souls, were saved through water, as also, by a like figure, baptism now saves you.*[44] And concerning Sodom and Gomorrah, let them tell us whether they believe that the prophetic words were from the creator God, of him, that is, who is related to have rained upon them a shower of fire and brimstone. What does the prophet Ezekiel say of them? *Sodom,* he says, *shall be restored to her former estate.*[45] And, in afflicting those who are deserving of punishment, how does he not afflict for the good? He also says to the Chaldeans, *You have coals of fire: sit on them; these will be a help to you.*[46] And regarding those who fell in the desert, let them hear what is related in the seventy-seventh Psalm, which bears the superscription of Asaph: for he says, *When he was killing them, then they would seek him out.*[47] He does not say that some sought him after others had been slain, but he says that those who were killed perished in such a manner that, when put to death, they sought God. From all of which it is established that the just and good God, of the Law and of the Gospels, is one and the same, and that he does good with justice and punishes with goodness; since neither goodness without justice, nor justice without goodness, can convey the dignity of the divine nature.

Compelled by their subtleties, we shall add the following remarks. If the just is different from the good, then, since the wicked is the opposite of the good and the unjust of the just, the unjust will doubtless be something other than wicked; and since, according to you, the just is not good, so neither will the unjust be wicked; and, in turn, as the good is not just, so the wicked will not be unjust. But how can it not seem absurd that to a good God there should be a wicked opposite, while to a just God, whom they say is inferior to the good, there should be no opposite! For there is no other who can be called unjust, as there is Satan, who is called wicked. What then? Let us return to the point from which we began. They will not be able to say that the wicked is not also unjust and the unjust not also wicked. And if in these opposites, injustice is inseparably inherent in wickedness and wickedness in injustice, then indubitably the good will be inseparable from the just, and the just from the good, so that, as we can say that the vice of wickedness and of injustice is one and the same, so also we should hold that the virtue of goodness and justice is one and the same.

[44] 1 Pet. 3:18–21. [45] Ezek. 16:55. [46] Isa. 47:14–15. [47] Ps. 77:34.

2.5.4. Sed iterum ad scripturae nos reuocant uerba, proferentes illam suam
280 famosissimam quaestionem. Aiunt namque: Scriptum est quia *Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere, neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere; ex fructu enim arbor cognoscitur.* Quid ergo est? aiunt. Qualis arbor sit lex, ex fructibus suis, id est ex praeceptorum sermonibus declaratur. Si enim bona inueniatur lex, sine dubio et qui dedit eam bonus deus esse creditur; si uero
285 iusta magis quam bona, iustus etiam legislator putabitur deus. Paulus apostolus nulla circumitione usus ait: *Lex ergo bona est, et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum.* Ex quibus manifestum est quia Paulus non istorum litteras didicerat, qui iustum a bono separant, sed ab eo deo fuerat instructus et eius dei spiritu fuerat inluminatus, qui simul et *sanctus et bonus et iustus* est; per cuius ille
290 spiritum loquens dicebat mandatum legis esse *sanctum et iustum et bonum.* Et ut euidentius supra iustitiam et sanctitatem bonitatem magis inesse ostenderet in mandato, repetito sermone pro his tribus solam protulit bonitatem, dicens: *Quod ergo bonum est mihi mors est? absit.* Sciens quippe bonitatem genus esse uirtutum, iustitiam uero uel sanctitatem species generis, et ideo, cum in
295 superioribus genus simul ac species nominasset, repetens sermonem ad solum genus retorsit. Sed et in consequentibus: *Peccatum,* inquit, *per bonum mihi operatum est mortem.* In quo id per genus concludit, quod superius per species exposuerat. Hoc namque modo intellegendum est etiam illud, quod dictum est: *Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum, et malus de malo*
300 *profert malum.* Genus namque assumsit etiam hic in bono uel malo, ostendens sine dubio in bono homine esse et iustitiam et sobrietatem et prudentiam et pietatem et omne quod uel dici bonum uel intellegi potest. Similiter autem et malum hominem dixit, qui sine dubio esset et iniustus et inpurus et impius et omnia, quae per partes hominem malum deformant; sicut enim sine
305 his nequitiis nemo aliquem malum hominem putat, nec esse malus potest, ita et sine illis uirtutibus certum est quod nemo esse putabitur bonus.

Superest eis adhuc etiam illud, quod uelut proprie sibi datum scutum putant, quod dixit dominus in euangelio: *Nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater,* dicentes hoc esse proprium uocabulum patris Christi, qui tamen alius sit a creatore
310 omnium deo, cui creatori bonitatis nullam dederit appellationem. Videamus ergo si in ueteri testamento deus prophetarum et mundi creator ac legislator non dicitur bonus. Et quid est quod dicit in psalmis: *Quam bonus Israhel deus*

281 bona ... arbor *om.* γ fructus bonos A **286** circumitione A^{ac} C *Sim* : circuitione A^{pc} γ *Koe Goe Fern* : circumscribtione B **291** et *post* ostenderet *add.* γ **294** et *om.* β **298** modo namque γ **299** homo *post* malus *add.* C G **312** deus Israhel γ

2.5.4. But again they recall us to the words of Scripture, bringing forward that famous question of theirs. For, they say, it is written that *A good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor can an evil tree bear good fruit; for the tree is known by its fruit.*[48] What then, they say? What sort of a tree the Law is, is shown by its fruits, that is, by the words of its precepts. For if the Law is found to be good, then undoubtedly he who gave it is believed to be a good God; but if it is found to be just rather than good, then God will also be considered a just legislator. The Apostle Paul speaks in no roundabout way: *The Law is good, and the commandment is holy and just and good.*[49] From which it is clear that Paul had not learned the language of those who separate the just from the good, but had been instructed by God and enlightened by the Spirit of his God, who is at the same time both *holy and good and just*, and speaking by his Spirit he declared that the commandment of the Law was *holy and just and good.* And that he might show even more clearly that goodness was in the commandment to a greater degree than justice and holiness, repeating his words, he mentions goodness alone, instead of the three, saying, *Did that which is good, then, become death to me? God forbid!*[50] Knowing, naturally, that goodness is the genus of virtues, and that justice and holiness are species of the genus, and therefore having named both the genus and the species together in the preceding verses, he fell back, when repeating his words, to the genus alone. But in those that follow, he says, *Sin wrought death in me through what is good.*[51] Here he includes by means of the genus that which he had earlier set out through the species. In this way also is to be understood that statement, *A good man, out of the treasure of his heart, brings forth good things; and an evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth evil.*[52] For here also it used the genus of good or evil, showing, without doubt, that in a good man there were both justice and temperance and prudence and piety and everything that can either be called or be understood to be good. Similarly, it spoke of an evil man, who undoubtedly also is unjust and impure and impious and everything that in its own way disfigures an evil man; for just as no one considers a man evil, nor indeed can he be evil without these marks of wickedness, so also it is certain that without these virtues no one will be reckoned good.

There still remains to them that passage, which they think is given specially to them as a shield, where the Lord said in the Gospel, *No one is good but one, God the Father,*[53] claiming that this word is particular to the Father of Christ, who, however, is other than God the creator of all things, to which creator he gave no title of goodness. Let us therefore see if in the Old Testament the God of the prophets and creator of the world and legislator is not called good. What is that which is said in the Psalms? *How good is God to Israel, to the upright in*

[48] Matt. 7:18; 12:33. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.2; *Comm. Jo.* 13.73.
[49] Rom. 7:12. [50] Rom. 7:13. [51] Rom. 7:13. [52] Luke 6:45.
[53] Cf. Mark 10:18; Luke 18:19; neither text includes 'the Father'.

rectis corde et: *Dicat nunc Israhel quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.* Et in Lamentationibus Hieremiae scriptum est: *Bonus*
315 *dominus his qui sustinent eum, animae quae requirit eum.* Sicut ergo bonus in ueteri testamento frequenter dicitur deus, ita etiam iustus in euangeliis appellatur domini nostri Iesu Christi pater. Denique in euangelio secundum Iohannem orans ipse dominus noster ad patrem dicit: *Pater iuste, et mundus te non agnouit.* Et ne forte dicant quia etiam mundi creatorem pro adsumptione
320 carnis *patrem* uocabat et ipsum *iustum* nominabat, excluduntur ab eo sermone, qui statim prosequitur; ait enim: *Et mundus te non agnouit.* Secundum ipsos enim bonum solum deum mundus ignorat; nam conditorem suum uerissime recognoscit, domino ipso dicente quia *Mundus quod suum est diligit.* Aperte ergo is, quem putant bonum deum, iustus esse in euangeliis dicitur. Ex otio
325 sane licebit plura testimonia congregare, sicubi in nouo testamento pater domini nostri Iesu Christi *iustus* appellatur, et in ueteri testamento caeli ac terrae creator *bonus* dicitur, ut pluribus testimoniis conuicti haeretici aliquando forte erubescant.

315 dominus : deus γ   anima β G M^{ac} : anime σ : *om.* A   requiret M^{ac} σ   **318** et *om.* B σ   **319** agnouit : cognouit γ   **320** nominauit γ   **321** agnouit : cognouit γ   **324** is : his A S M^{pc} **326** et : etiam μ : et etiam σ

heart![54] and, *Let Israel now say that he is good, and that his mercy endures forever.*[55] And in the Lamentations of Jeremiah it is written, *The Lord is good to those who wait for him, to the soul that seeks him.*[56] As, therefore, God is frequently called good in the Old Testament, so also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is termed just in the Gospels. In fact, in the Gospel according to John, our Lord himself, praying to the Father, says, *O just Father, the world has not known you.*[57] And lest perhaps they should say that he called the Creator of the world *Father* and named him *just* because of the assumption of flesh, they are prevented by the phrase that immediately follows, for he says, *the world has not known you.* According to them, however, the world is ignorant of the good God alone; for it most certainly recognizes its own creator, as the Lord himself says, *the world loves what is its own.*[58] Clearly, then, he whom they consider to be the good God is called *just* in the Gospels. With leisure, indeed, it would be possible to gather a great many testimonies where, in the New Testament, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is called *just* and where, in the Old Testament, the Creator of heaven and earth is called *good*, so that the heretics, convicted by numerous testimonies, may at last perhaps be put to shame.

[54] Ps. 72:1. [55] Ps. 117:2. [56] Lam. 3:25. [57] John 17:25. [58] John 15:19.

De incarnatione Christi

2.6.1. Tempus est his decursis repetere nos de incarnatione domini et
saluatoris nostri, quomodo uel homo factus est uel inter homines conuersatus
est. Pro uiribus igitur nostris perexiguis considerata ex operum suorum magis
5 quam ex nostri sensus contemplatione diuina natura, intuitisque nihilominus
creaturis eius uisibilibus, fide quoque inuisibilibus contemplatis, quia non
omnia uel oculis uidere potest humana fragilitas uel ratione conplecti, pro eo
quod omnium rationabilium infirmius et fragilius animal nos sumus homines
(praestantiora enim sunt ea, quae uel in caelo uel super caelos habentur):
10 superest ut harum omnium creaturarum et dei medium, id est *mediatorem*
quaeramus, quem Paulus apostolus *primogenitum omnis creaturae* pronuntiat.
Videntes enim nos ea, quae de eius maiestate in scripturis sanctis referuntur, et
intuentes quod *imago inuisibilis dei* et *primogenitus omnis creaturae* dicatur, et
quod *in ipso creata sunt omnia uisibilia et inuisibilia, siue throni siue*
15 *dominationes siue principatus siue potestates, omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata*
sunt, et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia illi constant, qui est caput omnium, solus
habens caput deum patrem, sicut scriptum est: *Caput autem Christi deus*;
peruidentes etiam quod scriptum est quoniam *Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius,*
neque filium quis nouit nisi pater (quis enim potest nosse quae sit sapientia nisi
20 qui genuit eam? aut quis ad liquidum quae sit ueritas nouit nisi ueritatis pater?
quis certe uniuersam uerbi sui naturam atque ipsius dei quae ex deo est
inuestigare potuit nisi solus deus, apud quem erat uerbum?): pro certo habere
debemus quod hoc uerbum (siue ratio dicenda est), hanc sapientiam, hanc
ueritatem nullus alius nisi solus pater nouit, de quo scriptum est: *Ne ipsum*
25 *quidem mundum capere arbitror libros qui scriberentur*, de gloria scilicet et
maiestate filii dei. Inpossibile namque est litteris committere ea, quae ad
saluatoris gloriam pertinent.

His igitur tantis ac talibus de natura filii dei consideratis, cum summa
ammiratione obstupescimus quod eminens omnium ista natura exinaniens se
30 de statu maiestatis suae homo factus sit et inter homines conuersatus sit, sicut

1 *titulus:* de incarnatione christi W μ Ab *edd.* : de incarnatione domini A : de incarnatione christi et quod uerbum dei non nudam humanae naturae carnem sed anima mediante susceperit β : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S   3 est *om.* P   3–4 uel[2] … est *om.* γ   7 pro *om. Pa*   8 omnibus rationabilibus P   nos *om. Pa*   12 enim : quoque δ G M[ac] σ *Koe Goe Fern*   nos *om.* B *Pa*   14 siue quae in caelis siue quae in terra sunt *post* omnia *add. Pa*   20 pater ueritatis P   21 quae : qui *Pa*   22 unde *ante* pro *add. Pa*   24 solus *om. Pa*   sicut *ante* scriptum *add. Pa*   ne : nec P   26 de *ante* maiestate *add. Pa*   est namque P   est *om.* α   29 ei *post* se *add.* P

The Incarnation of Christ

2.6.1. It is time, now that these points have been discussed, for us to return to the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, how he became human and dwelt among human beings. The divine nature having been considered, to the best of our feeble ability, by the contemplation of his own works rather than from our own understanding, and his visible creation having been observed while the invisible was contemplated by faith, since human frailty can neither see everything by the eye nor comprehend everything by reason, as we human beings are weaker and frailer than all other rational beings (for those held to be in heaven or above the heavens are superior), it remains that we should seek the medium between all these created things and God, that is, *the Mediator*,[1] whom the Apostle Paul calls *the firstborn of all creation*.[2] For seeing what is related in holy Scripture of his majesty, and observing that he is called *the image of the invisible God*, and *the firstborn of all creation*, and that *in him all things were created, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things were created through him and in him, and he is before all things, and in him all things hold together*,[3] who is the head of all things, alone having as his head God the Father, as it is written, *the head of Christ is God*;[4] seeing, also, that it is written, *No one knows the Father except the Son, nor does anyone know the Son except the Father*[5] (for who is able to know what Wisdom is, except he who begot her; or who knows clearly what Truth is, except the Father of Truth; or who indeed is able to investigate the universal nature of his Word, and of that God who is from God except God alone, with whom the Word was?[6]), we ought to hold it for certain that none, except the Father alone, knows this Word (or Reason, if he is to be so called), this Wisdom, this Truth, of whom it is written, *I suppose that even the world itself could not hold the books which would be written*,[7] that is to say, regarding the glory and the majesty of the Son of God. For it is impossible to commit to writing that which concerns the glory of the Saviour.

After consideration of such great and marvellous things concerning the nature of the Son of God, we are lost in deepest amazement that such a being, pre-eminent above all others, should have emptied himself of his condition of majesty,[8] and become a human being, and dwelt among human beings,[9] as is

[1] 1 Tim. 2:5. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.18.7; 5.17.1; Tertullian, *Prax.* 27.15; *Carn. Chr.* 15.1.

[2] Col. 1:15. [3] Col. 1:15–17. [4] 1 Cor. 11:3. [5] Matt. 11:27.

[6] Cf. John 1:1.

[7] John 21:25. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.14; *Comm. Jo.* 1.24; 13.26–32; 19.59; 20.304; *Comm. Matt.* 14.12.

[8] Cf. Phil. 2:7. [9] Cf. John 1:14.

gratia labiis eius infusa testatur, et sicut ei testimonium reddit pater caelestis, et ut signis quoque et prodigiis uariisque ab eo gestis uirtutibus confirmatur. Qui etiam ante praesentiam suam hanc, quam ostendit in corpore, praecursores et nuntios aduentus sui misit prophetas; post ascensionem uero suam in caelos 35 sanctos apostolos diuinitatis suae uirtute repletos homines uel ex publicanis uel ex piscatoribus imperitos et indoctos circumire fecit orbem terrarum, ut ex omni gente atque ex omnibus populis piorum plebem in se credentium congregarent.

2.6.2. Verum ex omnibus de eo miraculis et magnificis illud penitus 40 ammirationem humanae mentis excedit, nec inuenit mortalis intellegentiae fragilitas, quomodo sentire uel intellegere possit quod tanta illa potentia diuinae maiestatis, ipsum illud patris uerbum atque ipsa sapientia dei, *in qua creata sunt omnia uisibilia et inuisibilia*, intra circumscriptionem eius hominis, qui apparuit in Iudaea, fuisse credenda sit, sed et ingressa esse dei sapientia 45 uuluam feminae et nasci paruulus et uagitum emittere ad similitudinem plorantium paruulorum; tum deinde quod et in morte conturbari refertur, ut ipse etiam profitetur dicens: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*; et ad ultimum quod usque ad eam quae inter homines indignissima habetur adductus est mortem, licet post tertiam surrexerit diem. Cum ergo quaedam 50 in eo ita uideamus humana, ut nihil a communi mortalium fragilitate distare uideantur, quaedam ita diuina, quae nulli alii nisi illi primae et ineffabili naturae conueniant deitatis, haeret humani intellectus angustia et tantae ammirationis stupore perculsa, quo declinet, quid teneat, quo se conuertat, ignorat. Si deum sentiat, mortalem uidet; si hominem putet, deuicto mortis 55 regno cum spoliis redeuntem a mortuis cernit. Propter quod cum omni metu et reuerentia contemplandum est, ut in uno eodemque ita utriusque naturae ueritas demonstretur, ut neque aliquid indignum et indecens de diuina illa et ineffabili substantia sentiatur, neque rursum quae gesta sunt falsis inlusa imaginibus aestimentur. Quae quidem in aures humanas proferre et 60 sermonibus explicare, longe uires uel meriti nostri uel ingenii ac sermonis excedit. Arbitror autem quia etiam sanctorum apostolorum supergrediatur mensuram; quin immo fortassis etiam totius creaturae caelestium uirtutum

37 piorum : priorum P 39 et *om.* P magnificentiis *Merl Del* 44 ingressam ... sapientiam δ σ P 45 paruulum σ 49 surrexit δ σ 50 eo : Christo *Ba* uidemus *Ba* 51 primae et *om. Ba* 53 quo[1] : quod A G : quid *Koe in appar.* 54 si ... uidet *om. Ba* 56 ut *post* ita *add.* P 57 ueritatis P de B P *Ba Fern* : in γ *al. edd.* : *om.* δ C 60 merito P

evidenced by the grace poured upon his lips,[10] and by the witness that the Father of heaven bore him,[11] and as is confirmed by the various signs and wonders and mighty deeds done by him; who also, before that presence of his which he manifested in the body, sent the prophets as his forerunners and messengers of his coming, and after his ascension into heaven made his holy apostles, ignorant and unlearned men from the tax-gatherers and fishermen but filled with his divine power, to journey throughout the world, that they might gather together, out of every nation and every population, a people of devout believers in him.

2.6.2. But of all the marvellous and magnificent things about him, this altogether surpasses the astonishment of the human intellect, and the frailty of mortal intelligence does not discover in what way it can think or understand how that mighty Power of divine majesty, that very Word of the Father and that very Wisdom of God, *in whom were created all things visible and invisible*,[12] can be believed to have been within the compass of that man who appeared in Judea; and indeed that the Wisdom of God entered into the womb of a woman, to be born an infant and to utter cries like the wailing of infants; then, afterwards, that he was also reported to be troubled by death, as even he himself acknowledges, saying, *My soul is sorrowful even unto death*;[13] and that, at the end, he was brought to that death which is accounted by human beings the most shameful, although he rose again on the third day. When, then, we see in him some things so human that they appear to differ in no respect from the common frailty of mortals, and some things so divine, that they are appropriate to nothing else but that primal and ineffable nature of divinity, the narrowness of human understanding is bewildered and, struck with amazement at so great a wonder, it knows not which way to turn, what to hold to, or whither to take itself. If it thinks of God, it sees a mortal being; if it thinks of a human being, it perceives him returning from the dead with spoils after conquering the kingdom of death. This, therefore, must be contemplated with all fear and reverence, that the truth of both natures may be shown to be in one and the same being, so that nothing unworthy or unbecoming should be perceived in that divine and ineffable substance, nor on the other hand that the things done should be supposed to be fantasies of deceptive appearances.[14] To utter these things in human ears and to explain them in words far exceeds the powers either of our worthiness or of our talent and speech. I think indeed that it surpasses the capacity even of the holy apostles; indeed, rather, the explanation of that mystery may perhaps even be beyond the reach of the whole creation

[10] Cf. Ps. 44:3; Origen, *Sel. Ps.* 44.3 (PG 12, 1428–9).
[11] Cf. Matt. 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22.
[12] Col. 1:16.
[13] Matt. 26:38; Mark 14:34.
[14] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 19.6–11; 20.268–75; 32.188.

eminentior est sacramenti istius explanatio. De quo nos non temeritate aliqua, sed quoniam ordo loci poposcit, ea magis quae fides nostra continet, quam
65 quae humanae rationis adsertio uindicare solet, quam paucissimis proferemus, suspiciones potius nostras quam manifestas aliquas adfirmationes in medium proferentes.

2.6.3. Igitur unigenitus filius dei, per quem *omnia facta esse uisibilia et inuisibilia* in superioribus sermo disputationis edocuit, secundum scripturae
70 sententiam et fecit omnia et quae fecit diligit. Nam cum *inuisibilis dei* ipse sit *imago* inuisibilis, participationem sui uniuersis rationabilibus creaturis inuisibiliter praebuit ita, ut tantum ex eo unusquisque participii sumeret, quanto erga eum dilectionis inhaesisset adfectu. Verum cum pro liberi arbitrii facultate uarietas unumquemque ac diuersitas habuisset animorum, ut alius
75 ardentiore, alius tenuiore et exiliore erga auctorem suum amore teneretur, illa anima, de qua dixit Iesus quia *Nemo aufert a me animam meam*, ab *initio creaturae* et deinceps inseparabiliter ei atque indissociabiliter inhaerens, utpote sapientiae et uerbo dei et ueritati ac luci uerae, et tota totum recipiens atque in eius lucem splendoremque ipsa cedens, facta est cum ipso principaliter
80 *unus spiritus*, sicut et apostolus his, qui eam imitari deberent, promittit, quia *Qui se iungit domino, unus spiritus est.* Haec ergo substantia animae inter deum carnemque mediante (non enim possibile erat dei naturam corpori sine mediatore misceri) nascitur, ut diximus, deus-homo, illa substantia media existente, cui utique contra naturam non erat corpus assumere. Sed neque
85 rursum anima illa, utpote substantia rationabilis, contra naturam habuit capere deum, in quem, ut superius diximus, uelut uerbum et sapientiam et ueritatem tota iam cesserat. Vnde et merito pro eo uel quod tota esset in filio dei uel totum in se caperet filium dei, etiam ipsa cum ea qua assumserat carne

2.6.3, lines 73–6

Jerome, Ep. *124.6.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.11–16):*

Nulla alia anima, quae ad corpus descendit humanum, puram et germanam similitudinem signi in se prioris expressit, nisi illa, de qua saluator loquitur: *nemo tollit animam meam a me, sed ego ponam eam a me ipso.*

64 poscit γ : deposcit *Merl Del* 66 medium : mundum P 68 *ante* igitur *add. titulum:* quod anima iesu non fortuito nec pro aliqua acceptione personae sed uirtutum suarum et puritatis merito ut uas uerbi dei esset electa est β filius *om.* γ 69 docuit γ 73 quantum P 75 et : ex *Fern* tenetur P 76 Iesus : dominus γ P 76–7 ab ... deinceps *om. Ian* 78 uerbo et sapientiae *Ian* uera γ 81 haec α P *Fern* : hac γ *al. edd.* 84 utique : itaque *Ba* 85 rationalis *Ba* 86 deum *om. Ian* in *ante* uerbum *add. Merl Del Koe* 86–7 et ueritatem *om. Ba* 87 uel quod : quod uel *Ian* : quod γ 88 cum ea qua : cum ea quam σ *Ba Ian Koe* : cum qua δ *Goe*

of heavenly powers. Concerning him, then, not by some rashness but because the order of the arrangement demands, we will mention, in the fewest words possible, the points that our faith contains, rather than those that the assertion of human reason is accustomed to claim, laying before you our suspicions rather than any clear affirmations.[15]

2.6.3. The only-begotten Son of God, therefore, through whom, as the previous course of discussion has shown, *all things were made, visible and invisible*,[16] according to the mind of Scripture both made all things and loves what he made.[17] For as he is himself *the* invisible *image of the invisible God*,[18] he invisibly bestowed upon all rational creatures a participation in himself, in such a way that each one received from him a degree of participation to the extent of the loving affection by which they adhered to him. But whereas, because of the faculty of free will, a variety and diversity had taken hold of individual souls, so that one was attached to its Creator by a more ardent, and another by a feebler and weaker, love, that soul, of which Jesus said, *No one takes my soul from me*,[19] adhering, from *the beginning of creation*[20] and ever after, inseparably and indissolubly, to him, as to the Wisdom and the Word of God, and the Truth and the true Light, and receiving him wholly and passing itself into his light and splendour, was made with him in a pre-eminent degree *one spirit*, just as the Apostle promises to those who ought to imitate him, that *He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit*.[21] With this substance of the soul mediating between God and the flesh (for it was not possible for the nature of God to be mingled with a body without a mediator) there is born, as we said, the God-man,[22] the medium being that substance for which it was certainly not contrary to nature to assume a body.[23] Yet neither, on the other hand, was it contrary to nature for that soul, as a rational substance, to receive God, into whom, as we said above, as into the Word and the Wisdom and the Truth, it had already wholly passed. And therefore, either because it was wholly in the Son of God or because it received the Son of God wholly into itself, deservedly

[15] For similar caution, see Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.1; 2.3.7; *Comm. Jo.* 32.291, 294; *Comm. Matt.* 14.22; *Hom. Num.* 14.1.

[16] Col. 1:16. [17] Cf. Wis. 11:24. [18] Col. 1:15.

[19] John 10:18. Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.6.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.11–16): 'And lower down he says: no other soul which has descended into a human body has portrayed in itself so pure and genuine a likeness to its former condition, as that of which the Saviour says, *No man takes my soul from me, but I lay it down of myself*.'

[20] Rev. 3:14.

[21] 1 Cor. 6:17. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 32.326; Cels. 6.47.

[22] This term *Deus-homo* is also found in Origen, *Hom. Ezech.* 3.3, translated by Jerome, and undoubtedly represents an original *θεάνθρωπος*. The Greek term was found in a fragment in M. Rauer's first edition of the *Comm. Luc.* (GCS, Origenes Werke 9[1], p. 48) but was removed in the second edition after suspicion was cast upon it by R. Devreesse, though others have since accepted it. Cf. Crouzel and Simonetti, SC 253, p. 175, n.18.

[23] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 3.8.

dei filius et dei uirtus, Christus et dei sapientia appellatur; et rursum dei filius,
90 per quem omnia creata sunt, Iesus Christus et filius hominis nominatur. Nam et filius dei mortuus esse dicitur, pro ea scilicet natura, quae mortem utique recipere poterat; et filius hominis appellatur, qui uenturus in dei patris gloria cum sanctis angelis praedicatur. Et hac de causa per omnem scripturam tam diuina natura humanis uocabulis appellatur, quam humana natura diuinae
95 nuncupationis insignibus decoratur. Magis enim de hoc quam de ullo alio dici potest quod scriptum est quia *Erunt ambo in carne una, et iam non sunt duo, sed caro una.* Magis enim uerbum dei cum anima *in carne una* esse, quam uir cum uxore putandus est. Sed et unus spiritus esse cum deo cui magis conuenit quam huic animae, quae se ita deo per dilectionem iunxit, ut cum eo unus
100 spiritus merito dicatur?

2.6.4. Quod autem dilectionis perfectio et meri affectus sinceritas hanc ei inseparabilem cum deo fecerit unitatem, ita ut non fortuita fuerit aut cum personae acceptione animae eius assumptio, sed uirtutum suarum ei merito delata, audi ad eam prophetam dicentem; *Dilexisti iustitiam et odisti*
105 *iniquitatem; propterea unxit te deus, deus tuus, oleo laetitiae prae participibus tuis.* Dilectionis igitur merito unguitur oleo laetitiae, id est anima cum uerbo dei Christus efficitur. Vngi namque oleo laetitiae non aliud intellegitur quam spiritu sancto repleri. Quod autem *prae participibus* dixit, indicat quia non gratia spiritus sicut prophetis data est, sed ipsius uerbi dei in ea substantialis

2.6.4, lines 101–7

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 210.16–20), Koetschau Frag. 20:*

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄνθρωπος γέγονε Χριστὸς ἐξ ἀνδραγαθήματος τούτου τυχών, ὥς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ προφήτης λέγων **ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου·** *ἔπρεπε δὲ τὸν μηδέποτε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ μονογενοῦς συγχρηματίσαι τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ συνδοξασθῆναι αὐτῷ.*

98 cum *om.* P 101–4 quod ... eam *om. Ian* 101 meri δ C *al. edd.* : miri P *Fern* : meriti B γ 104 propheta dicente *Ian* 105 laetitiae : exultationis P 106 igitur : ergo *Merl* 109 ei *ante* data *add. Ian Merl Del Koe*

it is called, along with the flesh which it had assumed, the Son of God and the Power of God, the Christ and the Wisdom of God; and, on the other hand, the Son of God, through whom all things were created, is named Jesus Christ and the Son of Man.[24] And, moreover, the Son of God is said to have died, that is, in virtue of that nature which could accept death; and he, who is proclaimed as coming in the glory of God the Father with the holy angels, is called the Son of Man.[25] And for this reason, throughout the whole of Scripture, the divine nature is spoken of in human terms as much as human nature is adorned with marks indicative of the divine. For of this, more than anything else, can that which is written be said, that *They shall both be in one flesh, and they are no longer two, but one flesh.*[26] For the Word of God is thought to be more *in one flesh* with the soul than a man with his wife. And, moreover, to whom is it more fitting to be one spirit with God than to this soul, which has so joined itself to God through love that it may deservedly be said to be one spirit with him?

2.6.4. That[27] the perfection of love and the sincerity of his genuine affection produced this inseparable union with God, so that the assumption of his soul happened neither accidentally nor from partiality towards persons, but was conferred upon it by the merit of its virtues, listen to the prophet speaking to it: *You loved righteousness and hated iniquity. Therefore God, your God, anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your fellows.*[28] By the merit of its love, therefore, it is anointed with the oil of gladness, that is, the soul with the Word of God is made Christ; for to be anointed with the oil of gladness means nothing else than to be filled with the Holy Spirit.[29] And when he said, *beyond your fellows*, he indicates that the grace of the Spirit was not given as to the prophets, but that the essential fullness of the Word of God himself was in it,

[24] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 1.6, commenting on Rom. 1:4, 'from the resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord'. It is important to note that the unity spoken of here turns upon the Passion; as Origen puts it elsewhere (*Comm. Jo.* 32.325): 'The high exaltation of the Son of Man which occurred when he glorified God in his own death consisted in the fact that he was no longer different from the Word but was the same with him' (*ἡ δὲ ὑπερύψωσις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, γενομένη αὐτῷ δοξάσαντι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ, αὕτη ἦν, τὸ μηκέτι ἕτερον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ λόγου ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ*). See the Introduction, section 4.

[25] The term 'Son of Man' is for Origen, as for Dan. 7:13, an eschatological term.

[26] Cf. Matt. 19:5–6; Gen. 2:24. This verse is also used for the Christological union in Origen, *Cels.* 6.47. See also *Comm. Jo.* 32.326.

[27] Cf. Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 210.16–20), an extract said to come from *Princ.* 2 and to show that 'the Lord was a mere human being'; it is numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 20: 'For this reason the human being became Christ, becoming so from his goodness, as the Prophet bears witness, saying *You loved righteousness and hated iniquity. Therefore God, your God, anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your fellows.* It was fitting for him who had never been separated from the Only-begotten to share the name of Only-begotten and to be glorified with him.'

[28] Ps. 44:7–8.

[29] 'Christ', of course, meaning the 'Anointed'. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.9.3; 3.17.1; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.191–7.

110 inerat plenitudo, sicut et apostolus dicit: *In quo inhabitat omnis plenitudo deitatis corporaliter*. Denique propter hoc non solum dixit: *Dilexisti iustitiam*, sed addidit: *Et odisti iniquitatem. Odisse* enim *iniquitatem* illud est, quod scriptura dicit de eo quia *Peccatum non fecit, nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius*, et quod ait: *Temptatus per omnia pro similitudine absque peccato*. Sed et ipse
115 dominus dicit: *Quis uestrum me arguit de peccato?* Et iterum ipse dicit de se: *Ecce uenit mundi huius princeps et in me non inuenit quidquam*. Quae omnia nullum in eo peccati sensum indicant extitisse. Quod ut propheta euidentius designaret, quia numquam eum iniquitatis sensus intrasset, ait: *Priusquam sciret puer uocare patrem aut matrem, auertit se ab iniquitate*.

120 **2.6.5.** Quodsi alicui difficile id uidebitur, pro eo quod rationabilem animam esse in Christo supra ostendimus, quam utique animarum naturam boni malique capacem per omnes disputationes nostras frequenter ostendimus: hoc modo rei huius explanabitur difficultas. Naturam quidem animae illius hanc fuisse, quae est omnium animarum, non potest dubitari; alioquin nec dici
125 anima potuit, si uere non fuit anima. Verum quoniam boni malique eligendi facultas omnibus praesto est, haec anima, quae Christi est, ita elegit diligere iustitiam, ut pro inmensitate dilectionis inconuertibiliter ei atque inseparabiliter inhaereret, ita ut propositi firmitas et affectus inmensitas et dilectionis inextinguibilis calor omnem sensum conuersionis atque inmutationis
130 abscideret, ut quod in arbitrio erat positum, longi usus affectu iam uersum sit in naturam; ita et fuisse quidem in Christo humana et rationabilis anima credenda est, et nullum sensum uel possibilitatem eam putandum est habuisse peccati.

2.6.6. Ad pleniorem tamen rei explanationem non uidetur absurdum, si etiam
135 similitudine aliqua utamur, licet in re tam ardua tamque difficili ne exemplis quidem uti commodis copia est. Tamen ut absque aliquo praeiudicio dicamus, ferri metallum capax est et frigoris et caloris; si ergo massa aliqua ferri semper in igne sit posita, omnibus suis poris omnibusque uenis ignem recipiens et tota

110 dixit γ *Koe* **112** et *post* sed *add. Ian* addit B μ illud est : est illud σ : illud δ μ
115 arguit me *Ian* **116** princeps huius mundi P **120** id difficile P id *om.* γ
123 huius rei P **129** inextinguibilis : inexpugnabilis γ atque inmutationis *om. Ian*
130 ut : et γ longi usus : longius P **136** uti : abuti B *Goe* : abhuti C : *om.* δ

as the Apostle says, *In whom the fullness of divinity dwelt bodily.*[30] Finally, on this account he not only said, *You loved righteousness*, but added, *and hated iniquity*. For to have *hated iniquity* is the same as what the Scripture says of him, that *He did no sin, neither was there any guile found in his mouth*,[31] and, *He was tempted in all things as we are, yet without sin.*[32] Moreover the Lord himself says, *Which of you convicts me of sin?*[33] And again he says of himself, *Behold, the ruler of this world is coming, and finds nothing in me.*[34] All of which show that in him there was no sense of sin. And that he might show more clearly that no sense of sin had ever entered into him, the Prophet says, *Before the child could know how to call father or mother, he turned himself away from iniquity.*[35]

2.6.5. But if the fact, as we have shown above, that there is in Christ a rational soul, should seem a difficulty to anyone, because we have frequently shown throughout all our discussions that the nature of souls is capable of both good and evil,[36] the difficulty will be explained in the following way. It cannot be doubted that the nature of that soul was the same as all others, otherwise it could not be called a soul, if it was not truly a soul. But since the ability of choosing good or evil is present to all, this soul, which is Christ's, so chose to love righteousness that, in accordance with the immensity of its love, it adhered to it unchangeably and inseparably, so that the firmness of purpose and immensity of affection and inextinguishable warmth of love destroyed all thought of alteration or change, such that what was dependent upon the will is now changed into nature by the exertion of long usage;[37] and so it is to be believed that there is in Christ a human and rational soul, and yet not be supposed that it had any thought or possibility of sin.

2.6.6. For a fuller explanation of the matter, however, it will not seem absurd if we use an illustration, although on a subject so hard and so difficult there is not an abundance of suitable illustrations to be used. However, if we may speak without any prejudice: the metal iron is capable of cold and heat; if, then, a lump of iron is placed in a fire forever, receiving the fire throughout all its pores and

[30] Col. 2:9. [31] Isa. 53:9; 1 Pet. 2:22. [32] Heb. 4:15. [33] John 8:46.
[34] John 14:30. [35] Combining Isa. 8:4 and 7:16.
[36] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* Pr.5; 1.3.6; 1.7.2; 1.8.3, etc.
[37] In *Princ.* 1.6.3, Origen asks whether wickedness might also be changed by habit into a kind of nature. On the idea of freely chosen actions being changed, by habit, into a kind of nature, see also Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.174, and *Hom. Jer.* 18.1, apropos of Jer. 18:1–16. On the background of this idea, see Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 7.10.4 (1152a30–3), for whom habit 'is like nature'; and Clement of Alexandria's description of the perfected 'Gnostic', for whom habit has 'become nature', in *Strom.* 7.7.46.9, and 4.22.138.3.

ignis effecta, si neque ignis ab ea cesset aliquando neque ipsa ab igne separetur:
140 numquidnam dicemus hanc, quae natura quidem ferri massa est, in igne positam et indesinenter ardentem posse frigus aliquando recipere? Quin immo (quod uerius est) magis eam, sicut in fornacibus saepe fieri oculis deprehendimus, totam ignem effectam dicimus, quia nec aliud in ea nisi ignis cernitur; sed et si qui contingere atque adtrectare temtauerit, non ferri, sed
145 ignis uim sentiet. Hoc ergo modo etiam illa anima, quae quasi ferrum in igne sic semper in uerbo, semper in sapientia, semper in deo posita est, omne quod agit, quod sentit, quod intellegit, deus est: et ideo nec conuertibilis aut mutabilis dici potest, quae inconuertibilitatem ex uerbi dei unitate indesinenter ignita possedit. Ad omnes denique sanctos calor aliqui uerbi dei putandus est
150 peruenisse; in hac autem anima ignis ipse diuinus substantialiter requieuisse credendus est, ex quo ad ceteros calor aliquis uenerit. Denique quod dixit quia *Unxit te deus, deus tuus, oleo laetitiae prae participibus tuis*, ostendit quod aliter ista anima oleo laetitiae, id est uerbo dei et sapientia, unguitur et aliter participes eius, id est sancti prophetae et apostoli. Illi enim *in odore unguentorum*
155 *eius cucurrisse* dicuntur, ista autem anima uasculum unguenti ipsius fuit, ex cuius flagrantia participantes digni quique prophetae fiebant et apostoli. Sicut ergo alius est unguenti odor et alia est unguenti substantia, ita aliud Christus, et aliud participes sui. Et sicut uas ipsum quod substantiam continet unguenti, nullo genere potest aliquid recipere foetoris, hi uero, qui ex odore eius partici-
160 pant, si se paulo longius a flagrantia eius remouerint, possibile est ut incidentem recipiant foetorem: ita Christus uelut uas ipsum, in quo erat unguenti substantia, inpossibile fuit ut contrarium reciperet odorem; participes uero eius quam proximi fuerint uasculo, tam odoris erunt participes et capaces.

2.6.7. Arbitror sane etiam Hieremiam prophetam intellegentem, quae sit in eo
165 natura dei sapientiae, quae etiam haec, quam pro salute mundi susceperat,

139 si neque : sine quae P **140** numquid P **141** posita P ardens P **142** magis eam : masssam *Ian* **144** qui : quis *Ian* adtrectare : contrectare *Ian* **148** unitate uerbi dei P **149** possedit : possidebit P aliquis C M^{pc} σ *Koe Goe* **153** et[1] : ac P **156** fraglantia β Ab : fragrantia *Ian Merl* participantur P **159** hi : hii P **161** erat : inerat P *Ian* **165** sapientiae dei P

veins and becoming wholly fire,[38] provided that the fire is never removed from it and it itself is not separated from the fire, could we at all say that this, which is by nature a lump of iron, when placed in the fire and incessantly burning, is ever capable of accepting cold? On the contrary, rather, which is truer, we say that, as we often observe by the eye happening in furnaces, it has become wholly fire, since nothing else is discerned in it except fire; and if anyone were to attempt to touch or handle it, he would feel the power not of iron but of fire. In this way, then, that soul which, like iron in the fire, was placed in the Word forever, in Wisdom forever, in God forever, is God in all that it does, feels, and understands;[39] and therefore it can be called neither alterable nor changeable, since, being ceaselessly kindled, it came to possess immutability from its union with the Word of God. To all the saints some warmth of the Word of God must indeed be supposed to have passed; but in this soul it must be believed that the divine fire itself essentially rested, from which some warmth may have passed to others.[40] Finally, the fact that it says, *God, your God, anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows*, shows that that soul is anointed in one way, with the oil of gladness, that is, with the Word of God and Wisdom,[41] and his fellows, that is, the holy prophets and apostles, in another way. For they are said to have *run in the fragrance of his ointment*,[42] while that soul was the vessel containing the ointment itself, of whose glowing heat all the prophets and apostles are made worthy partakers. Therefore, as the fragrance of the ointment is one thing, and the substance of the ointment another, so also Christ is one thing and his fellows another. And just as the vessel itself, which contains the substance of the ointment, can in no way accept any foul smell, yet it is possible that those who participate in its fragrance, if they move a little way from its glowing heat, may accept any foul smell that comes upon them, so also, in the same way, it was impossible that Christ, being as it were the very vessel in which was the substance of the ointment, should accept an odour of an opposite kind, while his fellows, in proportion to their proximity to the vessel, will be partakers and receivers of his fragrance.

2.6.7. I think that Jeremiah the prophet also, understanding what was the nature of the Wisdom of God in him, which was also the same which he had

[38] An image found with the Stoics. See esp. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Mixt.* 3, 218.1–2 (*SVF* 2.473), reporting Chrysippus' teaching: 'fire as a whole passes through iron as a whole, while each of them preserves its own substance' (*τὸ πῦρ ὅλον δι' ὅλου χωρεῖν τοῦ σιδήρου λέγουσι, σώζοντος αὐτῶν ἑκατέρου τὴν οἰκείαν οὐσίαν*).

[39] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.3, where similar claims are made for perfected rational beings in the eschatological state when 'God is all in all' (1 Cor. 15:28).

[40] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.17.

[41] Note that here, as in *Princ.* 4.4.4, the 'oil' is the Word and Wisdom of God, while in *Princ.* 2.6.4 it is the Holy Spirit.

[42] Song 1:4.

dixisse: *Spiritus uultus nostri Christus dominus, cuius diximus quod in umbra eius uiuemus in gentibus.* Pro eo enim quod sicut umbra corporis nostri inseparabilis est a corpore et indeclinabiliter motus ac gestus corporis suscipit et gerit, puto eum animae Christi opus ac motus, quae ei inseparabiliter
170 inhaerebat et pro motu eius ac uoluntate cuncta perpetrabat, ostendere uolentem, umbram Christi domini hanc uocasse, in qua umbra nos uiueremus in gentibus. In huius namque assumtionis sacramento gentes uiuunt, quae imitantes eam per fidem perueniunt ad salutem. Sed et Dauid dicens: *Memor esto opprobrii mei, domine, quo exprobrauerunt me in commutatione Christi tui,*
175 similia mihi uidetur ostendere. Et Paulus quid aliud sentit, cum dicit: *Vita nostra abscondita est cum Christo in deo?* Et quidem in alio loco dicit: *Aut documentum quaeritis eius, qui in me loquitur Christus?* Et nunc Christum in deo dicit absconditum. Cuius rei intellectus nisi talis aliquis indicetur, qualem per umbram Christi a propheta significatum esse supra diximus, fortassis
180 etiam hoc sensum humanae mentis excedit. Sed et quam plurima alia in scripturis diuinis de umbrae significantia uidemus inserta, ut illud in euangelio secundum Lucam, cum dicit Gabrihel ad Mariam: *Spiritus domini ueniet super te, et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi.* Et apostolus de lege dicit quia *similitudini et umbrae deseruiunt caelestium* hi, qui carnalem habent circumcisionem. Et
185 alibi dicitur: *Nonne umbra est uita nostra super terram?* Si ergo et lex quae super terras est umbra est, et uita omnis nostra quae est super terras umbra est, et in umbra Christi uiuemus inter gentes: uidendum est ne harum omnium ueritas umbrarum in illa reuelatione noscatur, cum iam non *per speculum et in aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem* sancti quique gloriam dei et rerum causas ac
190 ueritatem speculari merebuntur. Cuius ueritatis accepto iam pignore per spiritum sanctum dicebat apostolus: *Etiam si cognouimus Christum secundum carnem aliquando, sed nunc iam non nouimus.*

Haec interim nobis ad praesens de rebus tam difficilibus disputantibus, id est de incarnatione et de deitate Christi, occurrere potuerunt. Si quis sane
195 melius aliquid potuerit inuenire et euidentioribus de scripturis sanctis assertionibus confirmare quae dicit, illa potius quam haec recipiantur.

166 cuius : cui δ M[pc] σ *Ian* **168** suscepit δ **169** ei *om. Ian* **171** uolentem umbram : uolentatem *Ian* uiueremus : uiderimus P **173** ueniunt *Ian* **174** quo : quod γ commutationem *Ian* **176** quidem : quid enim *Ian* **177** documentum : experimentum *Ian* **180** hoc : hunc γ **185** uita nostra umbra est *Ian* **186** terras[1] : terra B μ : terram σ omnis uita P **187** uiuimus P **189** ac : ad P **194** de *om. Ian*

assumed for the salvation of the world, said, *The breath of our face, Christ the Lord, of whom we said that under his shadow we shall live among the nations.*[43] For just as the shadow of our body is inseparable from the body, and assumes and performs the movements and gestures of our body without deviation, so I think that the Prophet, wishing to indicate the work and movement of Christ's soul, which was inseparably attached to him and accomplished everything according to his movement and will, called this the shadow of Christ the Lord, under whose shadow we were to live among the nations. For in the mystery of this assumption live the nations, who, imitating that soul through faith, come to salvation. Moreover David, when saying, *Remember, O Lord, my reproach, with which they have reproached me in exchange for your Christ*,[44] seems to me to indicate the same. And what else does Paul mean when he says, *Our life is hidden with Christ in God*,[45] and, again, in another place, *Do you seek a proof of him who speaks in me, that is, Christ?*[46] And now he says that Christ was hidden in God.[47] The meaning of this, unless it be shown to be something like that which was signified by the Prophet with the shadow of Christ, as we said above, probably exceeds the apprehension of the human mind. But we also see many other statements in the divine Scriptures regarding the significance of the word 'shadow', such as that in the Gospel according to Luke, where Gabriel says to Mary, *The Spirit of the Lord will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you.*[48] And the Apostle says of the Law that those who have circumcision in the flesh *serve a copy and shadow of the heavenly things.*[49] And elsewhere it is said, *Is not our life upon the earth a shadow?*[50] If then, both the Law which is upon the earth is a shadow, and our whole life which is upon the earth is a shadow, and we live among the nations under the shadow of Christ, it must be considered whether the truth of all these shadows may not come to be known in that revelation, when no longer *through a mirror and in a riddle, but face to face*,[51] all the saints shall be counted worthy to behold the glory of God and the causes and truth of things.[52] The pledge of this truth already being received through the Holy Spirit, the Apostle said, *Even if we had formerly known Christ according to the flesh, we know him thus no longer.*[53]

Meanwhile, these are the thoughts that have occurred to us at the moment, regarding subjects of such difficulty as the incarnation and divinity of Christ. If there is anyone who is able to discover something better and to confirm what he says by clearer statements from the holy Scriptures, let those accounts be received rather than mine.

[43] Lam. 4:20. Cf. Irenaeus, *Dem.* 71. [44] Ps. 88:51–2. [45] Col. 3:3.
[46] 2 Cor. 13:3. [47] Perhaps alluding to 2 Cor. 5:16, cited at the end of the paragraph.
[48] Luke 1:35. [49] Heb. 8:5. [50] Job 8:9. [51] 1 Cor. 13:12.
[52] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.7; *Comm. Jo.* 1.39–40; *Comm. Cant.* 2 and 3 (GCS 8, pp. 121, 160, 173, 211).
[53] 2 Cor. 5:16.

De spiritu sancto

2.7.1. Quia ergo post primas illas dissertiones, quas de patre et filio et spiritu sancto in initiis secundum quod res poposcerat exposuimus, uisum est rursum repetere nos debere et ostendere quod deus idem esset creator et conditor
5 mundi et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, id est legis et prophetarum atque euangeliorum unus atque idem deus, tum deinde etiam de Christo, quod is, qui uerbum et sapientia dei superius fuerat ostensus, etiam qualiter homo factus est in consequentibus debuit demonstrari: superest ut etiam de spiritu sancto quam possumus breuiter repetamus.
10 Tempus est ergo nunc de spiritu sancto nos pro uiribus pauca disserere, quem dominus et saluator noster in euangelio secundum Iohannem *paracletum* nominauit. Sicut enim idem ipse deus atque idem ipse Christus, ita idem ipse et sanctus spiritus est, qui et in prophetis et in apostolis fuit, id est siue in illis, qui ante aduentum Christi deo crediderunt, siue in his, qui per Christum
15 confugerunt ad deum. Et duos quidem deos ausos esse haereticos dicere et duos Christos audiuimus, duos autem spiritus sanctos numquam cognouimus ab aliquo praedicari. Quomodo enim hoc de scripturis poterunt affirmare, aut quam differentiam dare poterunt inter spiritum sanctum et spiritum sanctum, si tamen definitio aliqua aut descriptio inueniri potest spiritus sancti? Nam ut
20 concedamus Marcioni uel Valentino posse differentias deitatis inducere et aliam boni naturam aliam uero iusti describere, quid excogitabit aut quid inueniet, ut differentiam sancti spiritus introducat? Nihil ergo illos posse ad indicium qualiscumque differentiae arbitror inuenire.

2.7.2. Nos uero aestimamus quod participationem eius similiter ut sapientiae
25 dei et uerbi dei absque ulla differentia creatura rationabilis omnis assumat. Video tamen quod praecipuus spiritus sancti aduentus ad homines post ascensionem Christi in caelos magis quam ante aduentum eius declaretur. Antea namque solis prophetis et paucis, si qui forte in populo meruisset, donum sancti spiritus praebebatur; post aduentum uero saluatoris scriptum

1 *titulus:* de spiritu sancto α μ *edd.* : item de spiritu sancto Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S   6 tum : tunc γ   10 tempus est … pauca disserere : tempus est nunc nos pro uiribus de spiritu sancto pauca disserere *Pa* : *om.* β   11 paraclitum A^pc W σ *Pa* : paraclytum G M^pc   13 spiritus sanctus C γ *Pa Koe Goe*   15 deum : eum *Pa*   15–16 audiuimus *ante* ausos esse *transp.* *Pa*   16 cognouimus : audiuimus *Pa*   17 hoc : haec β *Sim* : *om.* δ

The Holy Spirit

2.7.1.[1] Since, then, after those first discussions, which, as the subject demanded, we set out at the beginning regarding the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, it seemed that we ought to go back again and show that the same God was both the creator and founder of the world and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, that the God of the Law and the Prophets and of the Gospels is one and the same; and, then, regarding Christ, who had previously been shown to be the Word and Wisdom of God, it needed to be shown, in the subsequent chapters, how he became human; it remains that we now also return, as briefly as we can, to the subject of the Holy Spirit.

It is time, therefore, to discuss to the best of our ability a few points regarding the Holy Spirit, whom our Lord and Saviour in the Gospel according to John, called *the Paraclete*.[2] Now just as it is the same God himself and the same Christ himself, so also it is the same Holy Spirit himself who was in the prophets and in the apostles, that is, both in those who believed in God before the coming of Christ and in those who have sought refuge in God through Christ. We have heard, indeed, that certain heretics have dared to say that there are two Gods and two Christs, but we have never known of two Holy Spirits being preached by any one.[3] For how would they be able to affirm this from the Scripture, or what distinction would they be able to give between Holy Spirit and Holy Spirit, if indeed any definition or description of the Holy Spirit could possibly be found out. For even if we grant to Marcion or Valentinus that it is possible to draw distinctions regarding divinity, and to describe the nature of the good as one, and that of the just as another, what will he contrive or what will he invent so that he can introduce a distinction in the Holy Spirit? I consider, then, that they are able to find nothing which points to any distinction of whatever kind.

2.7.2. Now we reckon that every rational creature, without distinction, receives participation in him in the same way as [they do] in the Wisdom of God and in the Word of God. I observe, however, that the principal coming of the Holy Spirit to human beings is declared after the ascension of Christ to heaven rather than before his coming. For before that, the gift of the Holy Spirit was conferred upon only the prophets and upon a few others, if there happened to be any among the people deserving of it; but after the coming of the Saviour, it is written that that

[1] Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a8–10), describes this section of *Princ.* 2 as demonstrating 'that there was the same Spirit in Moses and the other prophets and the holy apostles' (ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐν Μωϋσῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προφήταις καὶ ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις·).

[2] John 14:16, etc.

[3] See also *Fr. Tit.* (PG 14, 1304d–1305a): 'Moreover if there are any [*Sed et si qui sunt*] who say that it was one Holy Spirit who was in the prophets, but another who was in the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, they commit one and the same offence of impiety as those who, so far as in them lies, cut and rend the nature of the divinity by saying there is one God of the Law and another of the Gospels.'

est adimpletum esse illud, *quod dictum fuerat in propheta Iohel, quia Erit in nouissimis diebus, et effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt*; quod utique tale est sicut illud, quod ait: *Omnes gentes seruient ei*. Per gratiam ergo sancti spiritus cum reliquis quam plurimis etiam illud magnificentissimum demonstratur, quod ea, quae in prophetis scripta sunt uel in lege Moysi, pauci tunc, id est ipsi prophetae et uix sicubi unus ex omni populo superare poterat intellectum corporeum et maius aliquid sentire, id est spiritale quid poterat intellegere in lege uel prophetis; nunc autem innumerae sunt multitudines credentium, qui licet non omnes possint per ordinem atque ad liquidum spiritalis intellegentiae explanare consequentiam, tamen omnes paene persuasum habent quod neque circumcisio corporaliter intellegi debeat neque otium sabbati uel sanguinis effusio pecoris, neque quod de his Moysi responsa darentur a deo: qui utique sensus dubium non est quod spiritus sancti uirtute omnibus suggeratur.

2.7.3. Sicut autem multi sunt intellectus de Christo, qui utique quamuis sapientia sit, non tamen in omnibus sapientiae agit aut obtinet uim nisi in his, qui in ipso sapientiae student (neque cum medicus dicatur, erga omnes quasi medicus agit, sed erga illos tantum, qui aegritudinis suae intellecto languore confugiunt ad misericordiam eius, ut possint consequi sanitatem): ita arbitror etiam de spiritu sancto, in quo omnis est natura donorum. *Aliis namque praebetur per spiritum sermo sapientiae, aliis sermo scientiae, aliis fides*; et ita per singulos, qui eum capere possunt, hoc efficitur uel hoc intellegitur ipse spiritus, quo indiget ille, qui eum participare meruerit. Quas diuisiones ac differentias non aduertentes hi, qui *paracletum* eum in euangelio audiunt nominari, neque considerantes ex quo opere uel actu *paracletus* nominetur, uilibus eum nescio quibus spiritibus compararunt et per hoc conturbare conati sunt ecclesias Christi, ita ut dissensiones fratribus non modicas generarent. Euangelium uero tantae eum potentiae ac maiestatis ostendit, ut dicat apostolos non posse capere adhuc ea, quae uolebat eos docere saluator, nisi cum aduenerit spiritus sanctus, qui se eorum animabus infundens inluminare eos possit de ratione ac fide

31 et[1] *om.* γ 35 *post* tunc *Koe suspicatus est lacunam et dub. suppl.* intellegebant *in appar. Sim non admisit lacunam* 36 sentire *om.* γ 37 spiritale : spiritalem sensum α quid poterat *om.* β 40 paene *om.* γ 46 ipso : ipsa γ 58 adueniret β 59 posset β M^{pc}

was fulfilled *which was spoken by the prophet Joel, 'And in the last days it shall be that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy'*;[4] which indeed is similar to that passage which says, *All nations shall serve him.*[5] Through the grace of the Holy Spirit, therefore, along with numerous other results, this most magnificent fact is demonstrated, that, regarding those things which were written in the Prophets or in the Law of Moses, there were at that time only a few, that is, the prophets themselves, and scarcely any other anywhere out of the whole people, who were able to transcend the bodily meaning and to perceive something greater, that is, who were able to understand something spiritual in the Law or the Prophets; but now there are innumerable multitudes of believers who, although not all are able to explain in order and with clarity the logic of spiritual understanding, are all, nevertheless, firmly persuaded that neither ought circumcision to be understood in a bodily manner, nor the rest of the Sabbath, nor the pouring out of the blood of an animal, nor that on these points oracles were given by God to Moses; there is assuredly no doubt that this understanding is suggested to all by the power of the Holy Spirit.[6]

2.7.3. And just as there are many ways of understanding Christ,[7] who, although he is Wisdom, does not, however, exercise or assume the power of wisdom in all, but only in those who apply themselves to wisdom in him (nor, although he is called a physician,[8] does he act towards all as a physician, but only towards those who having understood their feeble and sick condition flee to his compassion that they may obtain health), so also, I think, is it with regard to the Holy Spirit, in whom is every manner of gift.[9] For, *To some is bestowed by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to others the word of knowledge, to others faith*;[10] and so to each person who is able to receive him, the same Spirit becomes that and is understood to be that which the person, who is worthy to partake of him, needs. These divisions and differences not being heeded by those who hear him called *the Paraclete* in the Gospel,[11] and not considering by what work or operation he is called *Paraclete*, they have compared him to some common spirit or other, and by this have tried to disturb the churches of Christ, so that they cause no small dissensions among the brethren. But the Gospel shows him to be of such power and majesty that it says the apostles were not able to receive those things that the Saviour wanted to teach them until the Holy Spirit should come,[12] who, pouring

[4] Acts 2:16–17, Joel 2:28. [5] Ps. 71:11.

[6] For the Spirit providing inspiration in the reading of Scripture, see also Origen, *Princ.* Pr.8; *Hom. Gen.* 9.1; *Hom. Lev.* 6.1; *Hom. Num.* 26.3; *Comm. Cant.* Prol. (GCS 8, p. 77); *Comm. ser. Matt.* 40; *Comm. Jo.* 10.172–3.

[7] On the 'aspects' of Christ, see Origen, *Princ.* 1.2; *Comm. Jo.* 1.90–292, esp. 119, 123, 136.

[8] Cf. Matt. 9:12; Ignatius, *Eph.* 7.2; *Diogn.* 9.6; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 1.8; *Ped.* 1.1.1; 1.2.6; 1.9.83; Origen, *Princ.* 2.10.6; 3.1.13–15; *Comm. Jo.* 1.124; *Cels.* 3.62; *Hom. Lev.* 8.1; *Hom. Jer.* 12.5.

[9] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.7; *Comm. Jo.* 2.77.

[10] 1 Cor. 12:8–9. [11] Cf. John 14:16, etc. [12] Cf. John 16:12–13; Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.4.

trinitatis. Isti uero pro imperitia intellectus sui, qua non solum ipsi quod rectum est consequenter non ualent exponere, sed ne his quidem quae a nobis dicuntur possunt audientiam commodare, minora de eius deitate quam dignum est sentientes, erroribus se ac deceptionibus tradiderunt, erratico magis spiritu deprauati quam sancti spiritus institutionibus eruditi, secundum quod apostolus dixit: *Doctrinam spirituum daemoniorum sequentes, prohibentium nubere* ad interitum et ruinam multorum et inportune *se abstinere a cibis*, ut per ostentationem acrioris obseruantiae seducant animas innocentum.

2.7.4. Oportet ergo nos scire quia paracletus est spiritus sanctus, docens maiora quam uoce proferri possunt et, ut ita dixerim, quae ineffabilia sunt et *quae non licet homini loqui*, id est quae indicari humano sermone non possunt. Quod autem ait *non licet*, pro eo quod non potest dictum sentimus a Paulo, sicut et ibi, ubi ait: *Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt; omnia licent, sed non omnia aedificant.* Ea enim, quorum potestas nobis est, propter quod habere ea possumus, licere nobis dicit. Paracletus uero quod dicitur spiritus sanctus, a consolatione dicitur (παράκλησις enim latine consolatio appellatur); si quis namque de spiritu sancto participare meruerit, cognitis ineffabilibus sacramentis consolationem sine dubio et laetitiam cordis assumit. Cum enim rationes omnium quae fiunt, quare uel qualiter fiant, spiritu indicante cognouerit, in nullo utique conturbari eius anima poterit aut ullum sensum maeroris accipere; nec in aliquo terretur, cum uerbo dei et sapientiae eius inhaerens *Dominum Iesum* dicit *in spiritu sancto.*

Verum quoniam paracleti fecimus mentionem et pro uiribus nostris qualiter de eo sentiri debeat exposuimus, dicitur autem etiam saluator noster *paracletus* in epistola Iohannis, cum dicit: *Si quis nostrum peccauerit, paracletum habemus ad patrem, Iesum Christum iustum, et ipse est repropitiatio pro peccatis nostris*: consideremus ne forte aliud hic significet haec appellatio paracleti de saluatore, aliud de spiritu sancto. Videtur enim de saluatore paracletus dici deprecator, utrumque enim significat in graeco paracletus, et consolator et deprecator. Propter eum ergo qui subsequitur sermonem, quo ait quia *Ipse est repropitiatio pro peccatis nostris*, magis in saluatore nomen paracleti pro deprecatore intellegendum uidetur; deprecari enim patrem *pro peccatis nostris* dicitur. De spiritu uero sancto paracletus consolator debet intellegi, pro eo quod consolationem praestat animabus, quibus aperit et reuelat sensum scientiae spiritalis.

68 *ante* oportet *add. titulum:* quae sit paracleti significantia in spiritu sancto quae uera in filio dei β **71** a paulo : apostolo μ : ab apostolo σ **72** ibi ubi : ibi α M σ *Sim Fern* **75** paraclesis A^{ac} β W G M^{ac} σ : paraclesis A^{pc} : paraclysis M^{pc} **79** ullum : illum A^{ac} : nullum γ **93** aperit et : aperte γ

himself into their souls, would be able to enlighten them regarding the nature and faith of the Trinity. But these people, because of the ignorance of their understanding, are not only themselves unable to expound coherently what is true, but they are not even able to pay attention to what is said by us; entertaining lowly thoughts, unworthy of his divinity, they have delivered themselves over to errors and deceits, being depraved by a spirit of error rather than instructed by the precepts of the Holy Spirit, according to the saying of the Apostle, *Following the doctrine of demon spirits, who prohibit marriage* to the destruction and ruin of many, and [enjoin] unsuitable *abstinence from food*,[13] that by a display of stricter observance they may seduce the souls of the innocent.

2.7.4. We must therefore know that the Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, teaching things greater than can be uttered by the voice, and, if I may so speak, which are unutterable and *which it is not lawful for a human being to utter*,[14] that is, which cannot be indicated by human language. For the phrase *it is not lawful* is, we think, said by the Apostle instead of 'it is not possible', just as also in the place where he said, *All things are lawful but not all things are helpful; all things are lawful, but not all things build up.*[15] Those things which are within our power, because we can have them, he says are lawful for us. But the Paraclete, who is called the Holy Spirit, is so called from his consolation (for παράκλησις is termed *consolatio* in Latin[16]); for anyone who has deserved to participate in the Holy Spirit, by the knowledge of ineffable mysteries, undoubtedly obtains consolation and gladness of heart. When he has come to know, by the direction of the Spirit, the reasons for all things that happen—why and how they happen—his soul can in no respect be troubled or accept any feeling of sadness; nor is he alarmed by anything, as, clinging to the Word of God and his Wisdom, he calls *Jesus 'Lord' in the Holy Spirit.*[17]

And, since we have made mention of the Paraclete, and have explained to the best of our ability how he ought to be regarded, and as our Saviour is also called a *paraclete* in the Epistle of John, when he says, *If any of us sin, we have a paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the expiation for our sins*,[18] let us consider whether this term 'paraclete' should signify one thing regarding the Saviour, and another regarding the Holy Spirit. Now, 'paraclete', when spoken of the Saviour, seems to mean intercessor, for in Greek 'paraclete' signifies both consoler and intercessor.[19] Because, then, of the phrase which follows, where he says that *He is the expiation for our sins*, the name 'paraclete' seems to be understood of our Saviour as meaning rather intercessor; for he is said to intercede with the Father *for our sins*. Regarding the Holy Spirit, however, 'paraclete' must be understood as consoler, because he provides consolation for the souls to whom he opens and reveals the sense of spiritual knowledge.

[13] 1 Tim. 4:1, 3. [14] 2 Cor. 12:4. [15] 1 Cor. 10:23.
[16] These are clearly Rufinus' explanatory words. [17] 1 Cor. 12:3. [18] 1 John 2:1–2.
[19] On Christ as expiation and intercessor, see Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 7.2; *Or.* 15.4; *Cels.* 3.49; 4.28.

De anima

2.8.1. Post haec iam ordo deposcit nos etiam de anima generaliter inquirere et ab inferioribus incipientes ad superiora conscendere. Esse namque animas in singulis quibusque animalibus, etiam in his quae in aquis degunt, a nullo
5 arbitror dubitari. Nam et communis hoc omnium seruat opinio, et confirmatio sanctae scripturae auctoritatis accedit, cum dicitur quia *Fecit deus cetos magnos et omnem animam animantium repentium, quae produxerunt aquae secundum genus eorum*. Ex communi uero rationis intellegentia confirmatur etiam ab his, qui definitionem animae certis determinant uerbis. Definitur namque anima
10 hoc modo, quia sit substantia φανταστικὴ et ὁρμητική, quod latine, licet non tam proprie explanetur, dici tamen potest sensibilis et mobilis. Quod utique conuenit etiam de omnibus animalibus dici et his, quae in aquis degunt; sed et in uolucribus eadem definitio animae conuenienter ostenditur. Addit sane scriptura etiam alterius sententiae auctoritatem, cum dicit: *Non manducabitis*
15 *sanguinem, quia anima totius carnis sanguis eius est, et non manducabitis animam cum carnibus*; in quo euidentissime sanguinem omnium animalium animam ipsorum esse designat. Iam uero si quis requirat, quoniam *animam omnis carnis sanguinem eius esse* dixit, de apibus et uespis et formicis sed et de his, quae in aquis sunt, ostreis uel cocleis et quaecumque sunt alia, quae carent
20 sanguine et esse animantia manifestissime demonstrantur: respondendum est quoniam in huiuscemodi animantibus quam in ceteris uim habet rubri sanguinis uigor, hanc uim obtinet in istis humor ille, qui inest in eis, licet alterius sit coloris; nihil enim refert, qui sit color, dummodo substantia sit uitalis. De iumentis uero uel pecudibus quod animantia sint, etiam apud
25 communem opinionem nulla dubitatio est. Euidens tamen est et scripturae diuinae sententia, cum dicit deus: *Producat terra animam uiuam secundum genus, quadrupedia et repentia et bestias terrae secundum genus*. Iam uero de homine quamuis nulli dubium sit nec requirere aliquis possit, tamen et scriptura diuina designat quod *Deus in faciem eius inspirauerit spiramentum*
30 *uitae, et factus sit homo in animam uiuam*.

1 *titulus:* de anima δ μ Ab : de animarum ratione et statu et diuersitate et ipsius nominis significantia β : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S   10 fantastice et ormetice β γ : fantasticae et ormetica δ   11 tam : tamen γ   25 et : ex C : *om.* δ   28 posset γ   29 inspirauit γ   spiramentum : inspiramentum δ : spiraculum S   30 sit : est γ

The Soul

2.8.1. After this, the order [of our discussion] now requires us to investigate the soul in a general manner, and beginning with the lower beings to ascend to the higher ones.[1] Now, that there are souls in every single living creature, even those that abide in the waters, is, I suppose, doubted by no one. For this is supported by the general opinion of all, and receives confirmation by the authority of holy Scripture, when it is said that, *God created the great sea monsters and every soul of animated beings that move, which the waters brought forth according to their kind.*[2] It is confirmed also from the common understanding of reason, by those who establish a definition of 'soul' in exact terms. For 'soul' is defined in this way, as a φανταστική and ὁρμητική substance (which may be expressed in Latin, though not so precisely, as capable of perception and movement).[3] It is certainly appropriate for this to be said of all animated beings, even those that abide in the water; and the same definition of soul may be shown to hold for winged creatures too. Scripture also adds its authority to another opinion, when it says, *You shall not eat the blood, because the soul of all flesh is its blood, and you shall not eat the soul with the flesh*; in which it most clearly indicates that the blood of every animated being is its 'soul'.[4] But, since it is said that *the soul of all flesh is its blood*, if anyone were now to ask about bees and wasps and ants and those other things which are in the waters, oysters and cockles, and all others which are without blood, and yet are most clearly shown to be animated beings, it must be replied that in animated beings of this kind, the same force which in others is exerted by the power of red blood is exerted in them by that fluid which is within them, although it be of a different colour, for it does not matter what colour it is, provided the substance is endowed with life. There is no doubt, even in common opinion, that beasts of burden or cattle are animated beings. Moreover, the teaching of divine Scripture is also clear, when God says, *Let the earth bring forth the living soul according to kind: four-footed beasts and creeping things and beasts of the earth according to kind.*[5] And then, with respect to the human being, although there is no doubt, nor could anyone ask the question, yet divine Scripture declares that *God breathed into his face the breath of life and the human being became a living soul.*[6]

[1] In *Comm. Jo.* 6.85–7, written after he had arrived in Caesarea, and thus after *Princ.*, Origen commences an investigation into the soul in similar terms.

[2] Gen. 1:21.

[3] These words in parentheses are clearly Rufinus' attempt to explain the Greek terms. For the background for this definition of 'soul', see Aristotle, *De an.* 3.9; Philo, *Leg.* 2.23; *Deus* 41; Tertullian, *An.* 14–16; and elsewhere in Origen: *Princ.* 3.1.2–3; *Cels.* 6.48.

[4] Lev. 17:14. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.6.9; Origen, *Dial.* 10.

[5] Gen. 1:24. [6] Gen. 2:7.

Superest de angelico ordine requirere, utrum et ipsi animas habeant an animae
sint, uel de ceteris diuinis caelestibusque uirtutibus sed et de contrariis potes-
tatibus. Auctoritatem quidem scripturae diuinae nusquam ullam inuenimus
quod uel angeli, uel si qui sunt diuini spiritus *ministri dei*, uel animas habere uel
35 animae dicantur; animantia tamen esse a quam plurimis sentiuntur. De deo
autem inuenimus scriptum esse ita: *Et ponam animam meam super animam
illam, quae manducauerit sanguinem, et eradicabo eam de populo suo* et item
alibi: *Neomenias uestras et sabbata et diem magnum acceptum non habeo. Ieiunia
et ferias et dies festos uestros odit anima mea.* Et in uicesimo primo psalmo de
40 Christo (certum est enim quia ex persona ipsius iste psalmus adscribitur, sicut
euangelium contestatur) ita dictum est: *Tu autem, domine, ne longe facias
auxilium tuum, ad defensionem meam respice, eripe a framea animam meam et
de manu canis unicam meam.* Quamuis et multa alia sint testimonia de anima
Christi in carne positi.

45 **2.8.2.** Sed de Christi quidem anima omnem nobis adimet quaestionem ratio
incarnationis occurrens. Sicut enim uere carnem habuit, ita uere et animam
habuit. De eo uero, quod *dei anima* in scripturis nominatur, qualiter intellegi
debeat, et sentire et proferre difficile est; semel enim simplicem illam naturam
et absque ullius adiectionis permixtione profitemur; tamen, quoquomodo
50 sentiendum est, nominari interim *dei anima* uidetur: de Christo uero nec
dubitatur. Et ideo non mihi uidetur absurdum etiam de sanctis angelis
ceterisque caelestibus uirtutibus tale aliquid uel dicere uel sentire, si quidem
definitio illa animae etiam in ipsos uidetur incurrere. Quis enim rationabiliter
sensibiles eos esse uel mobiles poterit denegare? Quodsi recta ista uidetur esse
55 definitio, quod substantia rationabiliter sensibilis et mobilis anima dicatur,
uidetur haec eadem definitio etiam ad angelos pertinere. Quid enim aliud in
illis quam sensus rationabilis et motus est? Quorum autem una definitionis
ratio est, horum sine dubio et eadem substantia est. Paulus sane apostolus
esse quendam *animalem hominem* significat, quem *negat ea quae sunt spiritus
60 dei posse recipere*, sed *stultam ei* uideri dicit spiritus sancti doctrinam, *nec
posse eum intellegere quod spiritaliter discernatur.* Sed et in alio loco ait
seminari corpus animale, et surgere corpus spiritale, ostendens in resurrectione
iustorum nihil animale futurum in his, qui uitam meruerint beatorum.

35 <esse> *post* animae *add. Koe in appar.* **41** longe : elonge δ **45** et *post* sed *add.* γ
58 *ante* Paulus *add. titulum:* quae sit significantia animae quaeue spiritus uel mentis β
63 in his ... beatorum *om.* γ

It remains for us to inquire about the angelic order, whether they also have souls or are souls; and also of the other divine and celestial powers, as well as the opposing powers. We nowhere, indeed, find any attestation in divine Scripture where angels or any other divine spirits, who are *ministers of God*,[7] are said to have or be souls; and yet they are supposed by very many to be animated beings. But with regard to God, we find it written as follows, *And I will set my soul against that soul which has eaten blood, and I will eradicate him from among his people*,[8] and also elsewhere, *Your new moons and Sabbaths and great days, I will not accept; your fasts and holidays and festal days, my soul hates.*[9] And in the twenty-first Psalm it is said thus about Christ (for it is certain that this psalm is spoken in his person, as the Gospel bears witness[10]): *You, O Lord, do not put your help far from me; attend to my support; deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-one from the hand of the dog*;[11] there are, however, many other testimonies regarding the soul of Christ when he dwelt in the flesh.

2.8.2. Concerning the soul of Christ, considering the rationale of the incarnation will obviate for us every question. For just as he truly possessed flesh, so also he truly possessed a soul. As for that, indeed, which is called in Scripture *the soul of God*,[12] it is difficult to think or to say how it ought to be understood; for we acknowledge at the same time that nature to be simple and without any addition by mixture; nevertheless, however it is to be understood, it seems, meanwhile, to be called *the soul of God*, whereas regarding Christ it is not doubted. And therefore, if that definition of soul appears to apply also to them, it does not seem to me to be absurd to say or to think some such thing even regarding the holy angels and the other heavenly powers. For who can rationally deny that they are capable of perception and movement? If that definition appears to be correct—that a substance rationally capable of perception and movement is called 'soul'—then the same definition would seem also to apply to angels. For what else is in them other than rational perception and movement? Things for which there is one definition undoubtedly have the same substance. Paul indeed indicates that there is a kind of *animated human being*, who, he says, *is not able to receive the things of the Spirit of God*, but says that the teaching of the Holy Spirit seems *to him to be foolish*, and *he is not able to understand it because it is spiritually discerned.*[13] In another place he says that *it is sown an animated body and rises a spiritual body*,[14] showing that in the resurrection of the just there will be nothing of the animated in those who have been accounted worthy of the life of the blessed.

[7] Heb. 1:4.

[8] Lev. 17:10. The Göttingen edition of the LXX has here: 'I will set my face [πρόσωπον] against the soul who eats blood,' with 'soul' as a variant reading in the eighth-century Codex Venetus.

[9] Isa. 1:13–14. [10] Cf. Mark 15:34, etc. [11] Ps. 21:20–1.

[12] Isa. 1:14; 42.1, etc. The meaning of this phrase is treated below, in *Princ.* 2.8.5.

[13] 1 Cor. 2:14. [14] 1 Cor. 15:44.

Et ideo requirimus ne forte substantia aliqua sit, quae secundum hoc, quod
65 anima est, inperfecta sit. Verum utrum propterea inperfecta sit, quod a perfectione decidit, an talis a deo facta sit, cum per ordinem singula discuti coeperint, requiremus. Si enim *animalis homo non recipit quae sunt spiritus dei*, et pro eo, quod animalis est, melioris naturae, id est diuinae, intellegentiam recipere non potest, hac fortasse de causa euidentius nos Paulus docere uolens, quid sit per
70 quod ea, quae sunt spiritus, id est spiritalia, intellegere possimus, mentem magis quam animam spiritui sancto coniungit et sociat. Haec enim eum puto ostendere cum dicit: *Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente; psalmum dicam spiritu, psalmum dicam et mente.* Et non dicit quia anima orabo, sed spiritu et mente; et non dicit: anima psallam, sed spiritu psallam et mente.

75 **2.8.3.** Sed fortasse requiritur: Si mens est, quae cum spiritu orat et psallit, et ipsa est, quae et perfectionem percipit et salutem, quomodo dicit Petrus: *Percipientes finem fidei nostrae salutem animarum nostrarum*? Si anima cum spiritu nec orat nec psallit, quomodo sperabit salutem? aut si cum ad beatitudinem uenerit, iam anima non dicetur? Sed uideamus ne forte potest

2.8.3, lines 78–83

Jerome, Ep. *124.6.3–4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.16–104.1):*

Unde cum infinita cautione tractandum est, ne forte, cum animae salutem fuerint consecutae et ad beatam uitam peruenerint animae esse desistant. Sicut enim *uenit* dominus atque saluator, quaerere et *saluum facere, quod perierat*, et perditum esse desistet, sic anima, quae perierat et ob cuius salutem uenit dominus, cum salua facta fuerit, anima esse cessabit. Illud quoque pariter requirendum, utrum, sicut perditum aliquando non fuit perditam et erit tempus quando perditum non erit, sic et anima fuerit aliquando non anima, et fore tempus, quando nequequam anima perseueret.

65 sit[1] : est γ uerum : quod si sit β 66 decedit γ 70 possumus β 71 spiritu μ
75 cum *om.* γ 78 sperauit δ C *post* aut si *crucem posuit Koe et* aut etiam *corr. in appar.; Sim dub. suppl.* spiritu *post* cum *in appar.* 79 potest : possit *Del Koe*

And therefore we ask whether there is not some substance which, in so far as it is soul, is imperfect? But whether it be imperfect because it falls away from perfection, or because it was created such by God, we shall investigate when each point begins to be discussed in order.[15] For if *the animated human being does not receive the things of the Spirit of God* and, because of the fact that he is animated, is unable to receive an understanding of a better nature, that is, of the divine, it is perhaps for this reason that Paul, wishing to teach us more plainly what it is through which we are able to understand the things of the Spirit, that is, spiritual things, joins and associates the intellect, rather than the soul, with the Holy Spirit. For this, I think, he indicates when he says, *I will pray with the Spirit and I will pray with the intellect also; I will sing a psalm with the Spirit and I will sing a psalm with the intellect also.*[16] He does not say that 'I will pray with the soul', but 'with the Spirit and intellect'; nor does he say, 'I will sing with the soul' but 'I will sing with the Spirit and intellect'.

2.8.3. But perhaps it will be asked: if it is the intellect which with the Spirit prays and sings, and the same which receives both perfection and salvation, how does Peter say, *Receiving the outcome of our faith, the salvation of our souls*?[17] If the soul neither prays nor sings with the Spirit, how shall it hope for salvation? Or,[18] if it should attain to blessedness, shall it no longer be called a soul? Let us see if perhaps it is possible for an answer to be given in this way:

[15] This question is taken up in *Princ.* 2.9. [16] 1 Cor. 14:14. [17] 1 Pet. 1:9.

[18] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.6.3–4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 103.16–104.1): 'And in another place: Wherefore with infinite caution it must be considered whether souls, when they will have become saved and will have attained to the blessed life, may not perhaps cease to be souls. For just as the Lord and Saviour *came to* seek and *save that which was lost*, that it might cease to be lost, so also the soul, which was lost and which the Lord came to save, when saved, will cease to be a soul. It must likewise be asked whether, just as the lost was once not lost and there will be a time when it will not be lost, so also the soul may once not have been a soul, and there will be a time when it might not remain a soul.'

80 hoc modo responderi, quia sicut saluator *uenit saluare quod perierat*, et iam cum saluatur, non est perditum quod prius perditum dicebatur: ita fortassis etiam hoc quod saluatur anima dicitur; cum autem iam salua facta fuerit, ex perfectioris partis suae uocabulo nuncupabitur. Sed et illud adici posse uidebitur quibusdam, quia sicut hoc, quod perditum est, erat sine dubio
85 antequam periret, cum aliud nescio quid erat quam perditum, sicut et erit utique cum iam non est perditum: ita etiam anima, quae perisse dicitur, uidebitur fuisse quid aliquando, cum nondum perisset et propter hoc anima diceretur, quae rursum ex perditione liberata potest iterum illud esse quod fuit, antequam periret et anima diceretur.

90 Sed et ex ipsa nominis animae significatione, quam in graeco indicat, uisum est nonnullis requirentibus curiosius posse non mediocrem suggeri intellectum. Nam sermo diuinus ignem esse deum dixit, cum ait: *Deus noster ignis est consumens.* Sed et de angelorum substantia ita ait: *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem urentem*, et alibi: *Apparuit angelus domini in flamma*
95 *ignis in rubo.* Insuper etiam mandatum accepimus, ut simus *spiritu feruentes*; per quod sine dubio igneum ostenditur et calidum dei uerbum. Sed et Hieremias propheta audit ab eo, qui sibi responsa dabat: *Ecce dedi uerba mea in os tuum, ignem.* Sicut ergo deus *ignis* est, et angeli *flamma ignis*, et sancti quique *spiritu feruentes*: ita e contrario hi, qui deciderunt a dilectione dei, sine
100 dubio refrixisse in caritate eius ac frigidi effecti esse dicendi sunt. Ait enim et dominus quia *Pro eo quod multiplicata est iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum.* Sed et omnia ea, quaecumque sunt, quae aduersae potestati in

2.8.3, lines 80–9

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 212.10–14), Koetschau Frag. 21:*

*Ὥσπερ **σῶσαι ἦλθεν τὸ ἀπολωλὸς** ὁ σωτήρ, ὅτε μέντοι σῴζεται τὸ ἀπολωλός, οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἀπολωλός· οὕτως ἣν σῶσαι ἦλθε ψυχήν ὡς σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός, οὐκέτι μένει ψυχὴ ἡ σωθεῖσα ψυχή [οὔτε τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἀπολωλός]. Ἔτι βασανιστέον εἰ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἀπολώλει καὶ ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἔσται ἀπολωλός, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ψυχὴ καὶ ἔσται ὅτε οὐκ ἔσται ψυχή.*

80 et iam *Koe Sim Goe Fern* : etiam *ω Merl Del* 83 perfectioris *Del Koe Sim Goe Fern* : perfectiore *ω* 85 et *om. γ* 99 feruentes : feruent *β* G[pc] *Sim* : peruenit G[ac] M 101 refrigescit *γ* 102 ea *om. β* potestatis B *σ* : potestates *μ*

that,[19] just as the Saviour *came to save what was lost*,[20] and then, once it is saved, that which was formerly said to be lost is not lost, so also perhaps that which is being saved is called 'soul', but when it has been saved it will be called by the name of its more perfect part. But it appears to some that this also can be added: that, just as that which was lost undoubtedly existed before it was lost, when it was something—I know not what—other than lost, and just as there will assuredly be a 'when' when it is not lost, so also the soul, which is said to have become lost, will appear to have been something at that 'when' when it had not as yet become lost, and on account of this [i.e. becoming lost] may have been called a 'soul', but, in turn, when delivered from being lost it may once again be that which it was before it became lost and was called a 'soul'.

But from the very signification of the name 'soul', as indicated in Greek, it seems to several careful investigators that a meaning of no small importance may be suggested. For the divine word calls God a fire, when it says, *Our God is a consuming fire*.[21] And concerning the substance of angels, it says as follows, *Who makes his angels spirits and his ministers burning fire*,[22] and in another place, *The angel of the Lord appeared in a flame of fire in the bush*.[23] We have, moreover, received a command to be *aglow with the Spirit*,[24] by which without doubt the Word of God is shown to be fiery and hot. The prophet Jeremiah also hears from him who gave him the oracles, *Behold I have given my words into your mouth as a fire*.[25] As God therefore *is fire*, and the angels *a flame of fire*, and the saints are all *aglow with the Spirit*, so, on the contrary, those who have fallen away from the love of God are undoubtedly said to have cooled in their love for him and to have become cold. For the Lord also says that *because iniquity has multiplied, the love of many will grow cold*.[26] And all things, whatever they are, which are likened in the holy Scriptures to the adverse power, you always find

[19] Cf. Justinian *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 212.10–14), an extract said to come from *Princ.* 2 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 21: 'Just as the Saviour *came to save the lost*, but when the lost is saved, it is no longer lost; so also it was when he came to save the soul, as to save the lost, that saved soul no longer remains a soul [neither does the lost remain lost]. It must also be considered if, just as there was a "when" when the lost was not lost and there will be a "when" when it will not be lost, so also there was a "when" when the soul was not a soul and will be a "when" when it will not be a soul.'

[20] Matt. 18:11.

[21] Deut. 4:24, 9:3; Heb. 12:29. Often (as in e.g. *Princ.* 1.1.1–2), the image of God as a 'consuming fire' is understood in terms of God purging evil and sin; here it is taken as God setting his saints aflame with the Spirit. In *Hom. Jer.* 20.8 and in *Hom. Ex.* 13.4, Origen contrasts these two functions of 'fire', explaining the second by bringing together the 'fire' that Christ came to cast on the earth with the burning of Simon's and Cleopas' hearts on the road to Emmaus (Luke 12:49, 24.32); see also *Frag. Luc.* 256.

[22] Ps. 103:4; Heb. 2:7. Cf. Origen, *Sel. Ps.* 27.1 (PG 12, 1284). [23] Exod. 3:2. [24] Rom. 12:11.

[25] Jer. 5:14. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 20.8–9. In *Cels.* 4.1, Origen cites Jer. 1:9–10, adding the words 'as fire' to the first clause; these words are not given in the LXX, but appear in Jer. 5:14.

[26] Matt. 24:12.

scripturis sanctis conparantur, frigida semper inuenies. *Serpens* namque et *draco* diabolus dicitur: quorum quid frigidius inuenitur? Sed et in aquis
105 regnare dicitur draco, quod utique ad aliquem de malignis spiritibus retorquetur, et in mari eum propheta esse designat; et alibi dicit propheta quia *Inducam gladium sanctum super draconem, serpentem fugientem, super draconem, serpentem peruersum, et interficiet eum*; et iterum ait: *Etiam si abscesserint ab oculis meis et descenderint in profundum maris, ibi mandabo*
110 *draconi et mordebit eos.* Sed et in Iob ipse *rex esse omnium, quae in aquis sunt,* dicitur. *A borea uero accendi mala super omnes, qui habitant terram,* propheta denuntiat. Boreas autem uentus in scripturis frigidus designatur, sicut scriptum est in Sapientia: *Frigidus uentus Boreas.* Quod et ipsum sine dubio de diabolo sentiendum est. Si ergo ea quidem, quae sancta sunt, *ignis* et *lumen* et *feruentia*
115 nominantur, quae autem contraria sunt, *frigida*, et caritas peccatorum dicitur refrigescere, requirendum est ne forte et nomen animae, quod graece dicitur ψυχή, a refrigescendo de statu diuiniore ac meliore dictum sit et translatum, id est quod ex calore illo naturali et diuino refrixisse uideatur, et ideo in hoc quo nunc est et statu et uocabulo sita sit.

120 Denique proprie laudabiliter animam poni in scripturis sanctis, require si facile inuenias; culpabiliter autem frequenter occurrit, ut ibi: *Anima mala perdit eum, qui possidet eam,* et: *Anima quae peccat, ipsa morietur.* Postea enim quam dictum est: *Omnes animae meae sunt, sicut anima patris ita anima filii meae sunt,* utique consequens uidebatur ut diceret: Anima quae agit iustitiam, ipsa saluabitur
125 et *anima quae peccat, ipsa morietur.* Sed nunc uidemus quoniam quod culpabile quidem est adiunxit ad animam, quod autem laude dignum erat reticuit. Videndum ergo est ne forte, sicut diximus ex ipso nomine declarari, ab eo quod refrixerit a feruore iustorum et diuini ignis participatione ψυχή, id est anima,

103 inueniens γ **103–4** serpens namque et draco *transp. post* dicitur draco *l.105* γ **115** peccatorum : multorum σ (= *Vulg.*) **115–16** refrigescere dicitur γ **117** *ΨΥΧΗ* δ B G M[ac] : *ΨΨΧΗΝ* A[ac] : psychae C : psychi M[pc] **117–18** id est : inde *Merl Del Koe* **118** quo : quod A B σ **119** et[2] *om.* A C **128** *ΨΥΧΗ* δ B μ σ : psychae C

to be cold.[27] For the devil is called a *serpent* and a *dragon*: what can be found colder than these? For the dragon—which certainly is referred to as one of the wicked spirits—is said to reign in the waters, and the prophet states that he lives in the sea;[28] and elsewhere the Prophet says, *I will bring my holy sword against the dragon, the fleeing serpent, against the dragon, the crooked serpent, and it will slay him*;[29] and again he says, *Even if they sink from my eyes and descend to the depths of the sea, there I will command the dragon and it shall bite them.*[30] In Job also, he is said to be *king over all that are in the waters.*[31] The prophet threatens that, *From the north evils shall flare up against all who inhabit the earth.*[32] Now the north wind is described in the Scriptures as cold, according to the text in Wisdom, *The cold north wind.*[33] The same things must without doubt be understood of the devil. If, then, those things which are holy are termed *fire* and *light* and *aglow*, while those which are contrary are termed cold, and if the love of sinners is said to grow cold, it must be asked whether perhaps even the word 'soul' (which in Greek is ψυχή[34]) is so called from a cooling down from a more divine or better condition,[35] and has been transplanted, that is, it is seen to have cooled down from that natural and divine warmth, and therefore to have been placed in its present position with its present designation.[36]

Finally, see if you can easily find in the holy Scriptures a place where the soul is properly described in terms of praise; for it frequently occurs in terms of blame, as here, *An evil soul destroys him who possesses it*,[37] and, *The soul which sins, it shall die.*[38] For after it has been said, *All souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine*, it seemed to follow that he would say, 'the soul that does righteousness, it shall be saved' as well as *the soul which sins, it shall die.* But here we see that he has associated with the soul what is blameworthy, but has been silent regarding what was deserving of praise. It must be considered, therefore, if perhaps, as we have said is shown by the name itself, it was called ψυχή, that is, soul, from the fact that it has cooled down from the glow of the

[27] Cf. Origen, *Sel. Ps.* 27.1 (PG 12, 1284). [28] Cf. Ezek. 29:3; 32:2.

[29] Isa. 27:1. [30] Amos 9:3. [31] Job 41:26. [32] Jer. 1:14.

[33] Sirach 43:20. Origen also refers to Sirach as 'Wisdom' in *Frag. Jo.* 74 and 136 (GCS 4, pp. 541 and 573).

[34] Rufinus' explanatory words.

[35] Cf. Plato, *Crat.* 399; Aristotle, *De an.* 1.2.405b; *SVF* 2.222; Philo, *Somn.* 1.31; Tertullian, *An.* 25.6 and 27.5.

[36] At this point, Koetschau places, as Fragment 22, a passage from Epiphanius, *Panarion* 64.4.7–8 (Holl 2, 412.5–11), which is paralleled by a passage from Jerome, *Jo. Hier.* 7 (PL 23, 360). These passages are in Appendix II, as item no. 14.

[37] Sirach 6:4. [38] Ezek. 18:4.

appellata sit, nec tamen amisit facultatem restituendi se in illum statum feruoris,
130 in quo ex initio fuit. Vnde et propheta tale aliquid uidetur ostendere, cum dicit: *Reuertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam*. Ex quibus omnibus illud uidetur ostendi, quod mens de statu ac dignitate sua declinans, effecta uel nuncupata est anima; quae si reparata fuerit et correcta, redit in hoc, ut sit mens.

2.8.4. Quod si ita est, decessus ipse mentis ac deuolutio uidetur mihi quod
135 non aequalis omnium sentiendus sit, sed uel plus uel minus in animam uerti, et aliquas quidem mentes seruare aliquid etiam prioris uigoris, aliquas uero aut nihil aut perexiguum aliquid. Et inde est unde inueniuntur quidam statim ab ineunte aetate ardentioris acuminis, alii uero tardioris, nonnulli autem obtunsissimi et penitus indociles nasci. Verum tamen quod diximus mentem
140 in animam uerti uel si qua alia quae in hoc uidentur aspicere, discutiat apud se qui legit diligentius et pertractet; a nobis tamen non putentur uelut dogmata esse prolata, sed tractandi more ac requirendi discussa.

Addat autem et hoc qui legit ad tractatum, quod etiam de saluatoris anima ex his quidem, quae in euangelio scripta sunt, obseruatur quod alia sunt quae
145 ei sub animae nomine adscribuntur, et alia quae sub spiritus nomine deputantur. Nam cum passionem aliquam uel conturbationem sui uult indicare, sub nomine animae indicat, cum dicit: *Nunc anima mea turbata est* et: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem* et: *Nemo tollit animam meam, sed ego pono eam abs me*. In manus autem patris commendat non animam sed spiritum, et
150 cum *carnem* dicat *infirmam*, non dicit animam promptam esse sed spiritum; unde uidetur quasi medium quiddam esse anima inter carnem infirmam et spiritum promptum.

2.8.5. Sed fortassis occurrat nobis aliquis ex his, de quibus ipsi in nostris propositionibus admonuimus, et dicat: Quomodo ergo etiam dei anima

129 amiserit *Koe in appar.* 130 unde : ideo β 132 affecta γ 137 est unde : esse quod β 139 indocibiles γ *Sim Fern* 143 *ante* addat *add. titulum:* quomodo intellegenda sit anima saluatoris quomodo etiam ubi ipsius dei anima in scribturis nominatur β 148 a me *post* tollit *add.* δ C *Koe Goe*

righteous and participation in the divine fire, and yet has not lost the power of restoring itself to that condition of fervour in which it was at the beginning. Whence the prophet also appears to point out some such idea, when he says, *Return, O my soul, unto your rest.*[39] From all these things, this appears to be shown, that the intellect, falling away from its status or dignity, was made or named soul; and if restored and corrected, it returns to being an intellect.[40]

2.8.4. Now, if it is thus, it seems to me that this departure and falling away of the intellect is not to be thought of as equal in all, but as a greater or lesser change into soul, and that some intellects even retain something of their former vigour, and others, on the other hand, retain either nothing or a very small amount. And so it is that some are found immediately from the beginning to be of a more fervent sharpness of intellect, while others duller, and some are born wholly obtuse and altogether intractable. Our statement, however, that the intellect is changed into a soul, or anything else that seems to look towards this, the reader must carefully consider and explore for himself; the points advanced by us must not be thought of as dogmas, but discussed in the manner of exploration and discussion.[41]

Let the reader also take this into consideration, that of those things that are written in the Gospel regarding the soul of the Saviour, it is noticeable that some are ascribed to it under the name of soul, and others are considered under the name of 'spirit'. For when it wishes to indicate any suffering or disquiet affecting him, it indicates it under the name of soul, as when it says, *Now is my soul troubled,*[42] and, *My soul is sorrowful, even unto death,*[43] and, *No one takes my soul but I lay it down of myself.*[44] Into the hands of his Father [however] he commends not his soul but his spirit,[45] and when he says that *the flesh is weak*, he does not say that the soul is willing, but the spirit;[46] whence it appears that the soul is a kind of medium between the weak flesh and the willing spirit.[47]

2.8.5. But perhaps someone may meet us with one of those objections, of which we have given warning in our own arguments, and may say: 'How then

[39] Ps. 114:7.

[40] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.7; *Or.* 9.2; *Mart.* 12, a propos of Luke 9:23–5 and Mark 8:34–7, and Gal. 2:20: 'If we wish to save our soul in order to get it back better than a soul, let us lose it by our martyrdom.' After this paragraph, Koetschau places the following material: as Fragment 23a, the anathemas (2 to 6a) from the Second Council of Constantinople, with an extra sentence from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 202.13–14) appended to anathema 4; two sentences from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 190.19–24); and then, as Fragment 23b, a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 212.5–8), said to be from *Princ.* 2, and a passage from Jerome's *Ep.* 124.6.5–6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 104.2–16). These passages are in Appendix II as item no. 15.

[41] For similar expressions, see Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.1; 1.8.4; 2.3.7; 2.6.7. Origen addresses his readers three times in the concluding paragraphs of this chapter, and also in *Princ.* 1.6.1; 2.3.7; 3.6.9.

[42] John 12:27. [43] Matt. 26:38, etc. [44] John 10:18. [45] Cf. Luke 23:46.

[46] Cf. Matt. 26:41, etc.

[47] John 13:21, however, states that Jesus was 'troubled in spirit'; for Origen's attempt to clarify the distinction between 'soul' and 'spirit' to explain this verse, see *Comm. Jo.* 32.218–28.

155 dicitur? Cui respondebimus hoc modo: Quia sicut omnia, quae corporaliter de deo dicuntur, id est uel digiti uel manus uel brachia uel oculi uel os uel pedes, dicimus non haec humana membra, sed uirtutes eius quasdam in his corporeorum membrorum appellationibus indicari: ita et esse aliquid aliud putandum est, quod appellatione hac, quae *anima dei* dicitur, indicatur. Et si fas 160 est audere nos in tali re amplius aliquid dicere, potest fortasse *anima dei* intellegi unigenitus filius eius. Sicut enim anima per omne corpus inserta mouet omnia et agit atque operatur uniuersa: ita et unigenitus filius dei, qui est uerbum et sapientia eius, pertingit et peruenit ad omnem uirtutem dei, insertus ei. Et fortassis ob huius sacramenti indicium corpus in scripturis uel dicitur 165 deus uel describitur. Considerandum sane est, ne forte potest etiam pro hoc anima dei intellegi unigenitus eius, quoniam uenit et ipse in locum hunc adflictationis et in conuallem fletus descendit et in locum humiliationis nostrae, sicut dicit in psalmo: *Quoniam humiliasti nos in loco adflictionis.* Denique scio quosdam exponentes illud, quod in euangelio a saluatore dictum 170 est: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, interpretatos esse de apostolis, quod eos uelut meliores a reliquo corpore animam suam dixerit. Nam quia multitudo credentium corpus illius dicitur, apostolos uelut a reliqua multitudine meliores animam eius intellegi debere dixerunt.

Haec prout potuimus de rationabili anima discutienda magis a legentibus 175 quam statuta ac definita protulimus. De animabus uero pecudum ceterorumque mutorum sufficiant illa, quae absolute superius diximus.

156 pedes : pes γ 162 agit atque : agitat quae μ : agitat σ 165 ne : si β possit *Del Koe* 167 adflictionis C : afflictionis M[ac] in[1] *om.* γ 168 adflictationis B 171 quod eos *corr. Sim Fern* : quo eos ω *Goe* : quos *Del Koe* 172 reliqua multitudine : reliquo corpore γ

is mention made of a soul of God?' To which we shall reply in this way: just as all things which are said of God in bodily terms—such as fingers or hands or arms or eyes or feet or mouth—we say they are not to be understood as these human members, but that certain of his powers are indicated by these names of bodily members; so also it must be supposed that it is something else which is indicated by this phrase, *the soul of God*. And if it is allowable for us to venture to say anything further on such a subject, *the soul of God* may perhaps be understood of his only-begotten Son. For just as the soul, planted throughout the whole body, moves all things and drives and activates everything, so also the only-begotten Son of God, who is his Word and Wisdom, extends and stretches to every power of God, being implanted in him.[48] And, perhaps as an indication of this mystery, in the Scriptures God is spoken of or described as a body.[49] It must indeed be considered whether it is not perhaps also on this account that the soul of God may be understood of his only-begotten, because he himself came into this place of affliction and descended into the valley of tears and into this place of our humiliation, as it says in the Psalm, *Because you humbled us in the place of affliction*.[50] Finally, I know some who, expounding that saying which is spoken by the Saviour in the Gospel, *My soul is sorrowful, even unto death*,[51] have interpreted it of the apostles, whom, as being better than the rest of the body, he called his soul. For as the multitude of believers is called his body,[52] they say that the apostles, as being better than the remaining multitude, ought to be understood as his soul.

We have brought forward as best we could these points regarding the rational soul, as points of discussion for our readers, rather than as fixed and defined. And with regard to the souls of animals and other dumb creatures, let what we have said in general terms above suffice.

[48] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.5–6. [49] Cf. Origen, *Or.* 23.3, citing Gen. 3.8–9.
[50] Ps. 43:20, 83:7. [51] Matt. 26:38, etc. [52] Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 17; 12:27; Eph. 4:12; 5:30.

De mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum

2.9.1. Sed nunc ad propositae disputationis ordinem redeamus et intueamur initium creaturae, quodcumque illud initium creantis dei mens potuerit intueri. In illo ergo initio putandum est tantum numerum rationabilium

2.9.1, lines 4–11

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(Schwartz, 190.8–14, two sentences of which [πεπερασμένην–περιαιρετέον and Πεποίηκε–κατακοσμῆσαι] are repeated at 209.3–6 [= B]), Koetschau Frag. 24:*

Ἐν τῇ ἐπινοουμένῃ ἀρχῇ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν τῷ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ ὑποστῆσαι τὸν θεὸν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν ὅσον ἠδύνατο διακρέσαι· πεπερασμένην γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ λεκτέον καὶ μὴ [B *οὐ*] *προφάσει εὐφημίας τὴν περιγραφὴν αὐτῆς περιαιρετέον. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἄπειρος ἡ θεία δύναμις, ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν μηδὲ ἑαυτὴν νοεῖν· τῇ γὰρ φύσει τὸ ἄπειρον ἀπερίληπτον. Πεποίηκε τοίνην τοσαῦτα ὧν* [B, *Koe. ὅσων*] *ἠδύνατο περιδράξασθαι καὶ ἔχειν αὐτὰ* [B, *Koe. om. αὐτὰ*] *ὑπὸ χεῖρας καὶ συγκροτεῖν* [*Koe. συγκρατεῖν*] *ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ* [B, *Koe. ἑαυτοῦ*] *πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοσαύτην ὕλην κατεσκεύασεν ὅσην ἠδύνατο κατακοσμῆσαι* [B, *Koe. διακοσμῆσαι*].

Cf. Theophilus of Alexandria, Ep. Pasch. 2 *(= Jerome,* Ep. *98.17; ed. Hilberg 2, 202.16–18):*

Tanta fecit deus, quanta poterat conprehendere et sibi habere subiecta suaque providentia gubernare.

Cf. Rufinus Palaest. De fide *17 (PL 21, 1131b):*

Non omnia quae voluit deus fecit, sed ea tantum quae potuit continere ac comprehendere.

1 *titulus:* de mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum Ab *Fern* : de mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum uel bonum uel malarum et de causis eorum *α μ Koe Goe Sim* : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S

The World and Movements of Rational Creatures

2.9.1.[1] But now let us return to the order of the proposed discussion, and contemplate the beginning of creation,[2] insofar as the intellect is able to contemplate the beginning of the creative working of God. In[3] that beginning,

[1] According to Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a), after treating the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, *Princ.* 2 concludes with discussion 'again about the soul, the resurrection, the punishments, the promises' (*ἔτι περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ κολάσεως, περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν*); the last three items are clearly dealt with in *Princ.* 2.10 and 2.11. The subject matter treated in this chapter is not mentioned by Photius, and could conceivably be included with the previous chapter, for the discussion here is not about the created world in general (e.g. its materiality and temporality), but the 'world' (the *cosmos* in the sense of the Greek term) of rational creatures, how they are arranged in all their variety and diversity and for what reasons, as is also the case in *Princ.* 2.1.1 (see n.1 there). Most of the manuscripts have a longer title here: 'On the world, movements of rational creatures, good or bad, and their causes.' Although their movements and their causes are mentioned briefly in *Princ.* 2.9.2 (and are treated much more fully in *Princ.* 3), the last sentence of *Princ.* 2.9.2 makes it clear that this is subordinate to the question of the purpose of the variety and diversity of souls and the order underlying it, in particular the pedagogic and salvific purpose of this arrangement as embraced in God's providence.

[2] It is important to bear in mind that the word translated in these opening sentences as 'beginning' (*initium*, certainly translating *ἀρχή*), following the pattern set by the usual translations of Gen. 1:1 and John 1:1 (both of which Origen cites below), undoubtedly has a wider range of meanings than the English 'beginning', especially for Origen (this book itself is entitled *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, rendered in Latin as *De Principiis*, but not translated into English as *On Beginnings*). It is not with the initial chronological moments of creation that Origen is here concerned or what happened before this age (as he is, say, in *Princ.* 2.1–3), but with the 'principle' of the arrangement of souls and the pedagogic and salvific purpose of the variety and diversity that is to be found in the cosmos, though this principle of arrangement cannot of course be separated from the origin of their coming to be in this way. As Origen comments elsewhere (*Hom. Gen.* 1.1): '*In the beginning, God made heaven and earth.* What is the beginning of all things, except our Lord and *Saviour of all*, Jesus Christ *the firstborn of every creature* [1 Tim. 4:10; Col. 1:15]? *In* this *beginning*, therefore, that is in his Word, *God made heaven and earth*, as the evangelist John also says at the beginning of his Gospel: *In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. This same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him and without him nothing was made* [John 1:1–3]. Scripture is not speaking here of any temporal beginning [*Non ergo hic temporale aliquod principium dicit*], but it says that the heaven and the earth and all things which were made were made *in the beginning*, that is, in the Saviour.' On the term *ἀρχή* see also Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.90–108 and *Hom. Ps.* 77, 2.2 (GCS 13, p. 437.1–3).

[3] Cf. Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 190.8–14), an extract said to come from *Princ.* 2 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 24: 'In the beginning under consideration, God, by his will, caused to subsist as large a number of intellectual beings as he was able to control; for it must be admitted that the power of God is finite and its circumscription must not be done away with under the pretext of praise. For if the divine power were infinite, of necessity it could not even understand itself, for the infinite is by nature incomprehensible. He made, then, just as many as he was able to grasp and to hold them in hand and hold them together under his providence, just as he prepared as much matter as he was able to bring to order.' See also Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. Pasch.* 2 (= Jerome, *Ep.* 98.17; ed. Hilberg 2, 202.16–18): [Origen says:] 'God made as many beings as he could grasp and hold in subjection to himself and govern by his providence'; and Rufinus Palaest. *De fide* 17 (PL 21, 1131b): [Origen says:] 'God did not make all those whom he wished, but only those whom he could hold together and grasp.' The impossibility of comprehending the infinite is repeated in *Princ.* 3.5.1 and 4.4.8. Origen's thought here, as elsewhere, is eschatological, that is, he begins from the givenness of a definitive end, when all rational beings are brought to subjection to God so that 'God will be all in all' (1 Cor. 15:28); as their number is therefore fixed at the end, it must likewise be so from the beginnning. See especially *Princ.* 1.6.1–2 and the Introduction, section 3.

5 creaturarum uel intellectualium, uel quoquomodo appellandae sunt quas mentes superius diximus, fecisse deum, quantum sufficere posse prospexit. Certum est enim quod praedefinito aliquo apud se numero eas fecit; non enim, ut quidam uolunt, finem putandum est non habere creaturas, quia ubi finis non est, nec conpraehensio ulla uel circumscriptio esse potest. Quodsi fuerit, 10 utique nec contineri uel dispensari a deo quae facta sunt poterunt. Naturaliter nempe quidquid infinitum fuerit, et inconpraehensibile erit. Porro autem sicut et scriptura dicit, *numero et mensura uniuersa condidit* deus, et idcirco *numerus* quidem recte aptabitur rationabilibus creaturis uel mentibus, ut tantae sint, quantae a prouidentia dei et dispensari et regi et contineri possint. *Mensura* 15 uero materiae corporali consequenter aptabitur; quam utique tantam a deo creatam esse credendum est, quantam sibi sciret ad ornatum mundi posse sufficere. Haec ergo sunt, quae in initio, id est ante omnia, a deo creata esse aestimandum est. Quod quidem etiam in illo *initio*, quod Moyses latentius introducit, indicari putamus, cum dicit: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram.* 20 Certum est enim quia non de firmamento neque de arida sed de illo caelo ac terra dicatur, quorum caelum hoc et terra quam uidemus uocabula postea mutuata sunt.

2.9.2. Verum quoniam rationabiles istae naturae, quas in initio factas supra diximus, factae sunt cum ante non essent, hoc ipso, quia non erant et esse coep- 25 erunt, necessario conuertibiles et mutabiles substiterunt, quoniam quaecumque illa inerat substantiae earum uirtus, non naturaliter inerat sed beneficio conditoris effecta. Quod sunt ergo, non est proprium nec sempiternum, sed a deo datum. Non enim semper fuit, et omne quod datum est, etiam auferri et recedere potest. Recedendi autem causa in eo erit, si non recte et probabiliter dirigatur 30 motus animarum. Voluntarios enim et liberos motus a se conditis mentibus creator indulsit, quo scilicet bonum in eis proprium fieret, cum id uoluntate propria seruaretur; sed desidia et laboris taedium in seruando bono et auersio ac neglegentia meliorum initium dedit recedendi a bono. Recedere autem a bono non aliud est quam effici in malo. Certum namque est malum esse bono carere. 35 Ex quo accidit, ut in quanta mensura quis deuolueretur a bono, in tantam

7 praefinito W[ac] C σ : praefinitio G **19** introduxit γ **22** mutata B G Ab[ac] S

then, it must be supposed that God created so great a number of rational or intellectual creatures, or whatever the intellects mentioned above are to be called, as he foresaw would be sufficient. It is certain that he made them according to some definite number, predetermined by himself; for it is not to be supposed, as some would, that created beings have no limit, because where there is no limit, neither can there be any comprehension or circumscription. But if it were thus, then indeed created things could neither be held together nor provided for by God. For, naturally, whatever is infinite will also be incomprehensible. Moreover, as Scripture says, God *has ordered all things in number and measure*,[4] and therefore *number* will rightly be applied to rational creatures or intellects, that they be as many as may be arranged, governed, and held together by the providence of God. But *measure* will appropriately be applied to bodily matter, which, it is to be believed, was created by God in such quantity as he knew would be sufficient for the ordering of the world. These, then, are what are held to be created by God in the beginning, that is, before all things. And this, we think, is indicated even in that *beginning* which Moses introduces somewhat obscurely when he says, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*.[5] For it is certain that it is not said of the firmament or the dry land, but of that heaven and earth from which this heaven and earth, which we see, subsequently borrowed their names.[6]

2.9.2. But since these rational natures, which as we have said above were made in the beginning, were made when they did not previously exist, by this very fact—that they were not, and then they began to exist—they are necessarily changeable and mutable, since whatever power existed in their substance was not in it by nature but was the result of the beneficence of their Maker. What they are, therefore, is neither their own nor eternal, but given by God. For it did not always exist, and everything that is given can also be taken away and withdrawn. The cause for withdrawal would be this, that the movements of the souls are not directed rightly and commendably. For the Creator granted to the intellects created by him the power of voluntary and free movement,[7] that the good that was in them might become their own,[8] being preserved by their own free will; but sloth and weariness of the labour of preserving the good, and an aversion to and a neglect of better things, supplied the beginning of withdrawal from the good.[9] But to withdraw from the good is nothing else than to come to be in evil. For it is certain that to lack good is to be evil. Whence it happens that, by whatever measure one falls away from the good, by the same measure one arrives in

[4] Wis. 11:20. [5] Gen. 1:1.

[6] Cf. Gen. 1:6–10; Origen, *Princ.* 2.3.6 (and the passage from *Sel. Ps.* 36, 2, cited in n.62 there); *Cels.* 6.59.

[7] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.6; 1.5.2; 1.7.2; 1.8.3; 3.1.2–6. [8] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.8; 2.6.3; 3.6.1.

[9] On 'satiety' see Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.8–4.1 (and the material cited in n.71 there); *Comm. Matt.* 11.17; *Cels.* 6.44; *Or.* 29.13. On 'negligence' see Origen, *Princ.* 1.4.1 and the material cited in n.73 there.

mensuram malitiae deueniret. In quo utique pro motibus suis unaquaeque mens uel amplius uel parcius bonum neglegens in contrarium boni, quod sine dubio malum est, trahebatur. Ex quo uidetur semina quaedam et causas uarietatis ac diuersitatis ille omnium conditor accepisse, ut pro diuersitate mentium, id est
40 rationabilium creaturarum (quam diuersitatem ex ea causa quam superius diximus putandae sunt concepisse), uarium ac diuersum mundum crearet. Quod autem dicimus uarium ac diuersum, hoc est quod uolumus indicare.

2.9.3. Mundum nunc dicimus omne quod est uel super caelos uel in caelis uel super terram uel in his, qui inferi appellantur, uel quaecumque usquam prorsus
45 loca sunt, et hi, qui in ipsis degere nominantur: totum ergo hoc mundus uocatur. In quo mundo quaedam dicuntur esse supercaelestia, id est in habitationibus beatioribus posita et corporibus caelestioribus ac splendentioribus indita, et in his ipsis multae differentiae ostenduntur; sicut, uerbi causa, etiam apostolus dixit quod *Alia sit gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum, stella enim*
50 *ab stella differt in gloria.* Quaedam uero *terrena* dicuntur, et inter ipsa non parua est differentia, id est inter homines; alii namque eorum barbari, alii Graeci, et barbarorum quidam inmaniores et feri, alii uero mitiores. Et quidam quidem legibus probatissimis utuntur, alii uilioribus uel asperioribus, alii quoque inhumanis et ferinis moribus magis quam legibus utuntur. Et quidam quidem ab
55 initio statim natiuitatis suae humiliantur et subiecti sunt ac seruiliter educantur, uel sub dominis uel sub principibus positi uel tyrannis, alii uero liberius et rationabilius educantur, alii sanis corporibus, nonnulli aegris statim a prima aetate, alii uisu, alii auditu et uoce decepti, nonnulli ita nati, alii statim post natiuitatem huiuscemodi sensibus defraudati uel certe iam adulta aetate tale aliquid
60 passi. Et quid refert euoluere me omnes atque enumerare humanarum clades miseriarum, a quibus alii liberi, alii inuoluti sunt, cum possit unusquisque etiam apud semet ipsum considerare de his singulis atque perpendere? Sunt etiam quaedam inuisibiles uirtutes, quibus quae super terram sunt, dispensanda commissa sunt; et non parua etiam in ipsis differentia esse credenda est, sicut et in
65 hominibus inuenitur. Sane apostolus Paulus esse quaedam etiam inferna designat, et in ipsis simili modo sine dubio uarietatis causa requirenda est. De mutis uero animalibus et uolucribus atque de his, quae in aquis habitant, requirere superfluum uidetur, cum haec non principalia sed consequentia accipi debere certum sit.

49 gloria[2] *om.* γ 52 alii uero mitiores *om.* γ 61 posset β G M[ac]

wickedness. In which condition, according to its own movements, each intellect, neglecting the good either to a greater or lesser extent, was drawn into the opposite of good, which undoubtedly is evil.[10] From which it appears that the Creator of all things accepted certain seeds and causes of variety and diversity in order that, according to the diversity of intellects, that is, of rational creatures (which diversity they must be supposed to have engendered from the causes which we have mentioned above), he might create a world various and diverse.[11] And what we mean by various and diverse is what we now wish to explain.

2.9.3. Now, we call 'world' everything which is above the heavens or in the heavens or upon the earth or in those places which are called the lower regions,[12] or any places whatever that anywhere exist, together with those who are said to dwell in them: all this is therefore called 'world'. In this world some beings are said to be super-celestial, that is, placed in the more blessed abodes and clothed with heavenly and resplendent bodies, and among these many differences are revealed, as, for instance, when the Apostle said that *The glory of the sun is one, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars, for star differs from star in glory.*[13] Some beings, on the other hand, are called *earthly*,[14] and among them, that is, among human beings, there is no small difference; for some of them are barbarians, others Greeks, and of the barbarians some are wilder and fierce, and others are more gentle. Some of them use laws that are most highly approved, others more common and severe, and yet others have inhuman and savage customs rather than laws. Some of them, from the initial moment of their birth, are immediately in a position of humiliation and are in subjection and brought up as slaves, being placed under the dominion either of masters or princes or tyrants, while others are brought up with more freedom and more reasonably; some with healthy bodies, others in sickness from their earliest years, some defective in sight, others in hearing and speech, some born thus, others deprived of such senses immediately after birth, or else suffer such misfortune when fully grown. And what need is there for me to repeat and enumerate all the misfortunes of human miseries, from which some are free while others are afflicted, when every single person can weigh and consider them each for themselves? There are also certain invisible powers, to whom is entrusted the administration of things upon the earth, and among them no small difference must be believed to exist,[15] as is also found to be the case among human beings. The Apostle Paul indeed intimates that there are also certain 'lower [powers]',[16] and that among them, in like manner, must undoubtedly be sought a condition of variety. It seems superfluous to inquire about dumb animals and birds and those creatures which live in the waters, as it is certain that these ought to be regarded not as ruling beings but subordinate ones.

[10] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.6.3. Elsewhere Origen states that some rational beings have voluntarily accepted a lower state, for service to others, while yet remaining blameless; see esp. *Princ.* 1.5.5, and the material cited there in n.39, and 2.9.7 below.

[11] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1. [12] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.10.

[13] 1 Cor. 15:41. [14] 1 Cor. 15:40. [15] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.1.

[16] Perhaps Eph. 4:9: 'In saying "he ascended", what does it mean but that he descended to the lower [parts] of the earth' (*κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα [μέρη] τῆς γῆς*); 'parts' is lacking in the manuscript traditions but regularly supplied in modern editions and translations.

70 **2.9.4.** Quoniam ergo omnia, quae facta sunt, per Christum et in Christo facta esse dicuntur, sicut et apostolus Paulus manifestissime designat dicens: *Quoniam in ipso et per ipsum creata sunt omnia, siue quae in caelo sunt, siue quae in terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia, siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates: omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt,* sed et in euangelio 75 Iohannes eadem nihilominus ostendit dicens: *In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud deum, et deus erat uerbum; hoc erat in principio apud deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil,* sed et in psalmis scriptum est quia *Omnia in sapientia fecisti*: quia ergo Christus, sicut uerbum et sapientia est, ita etiam iustitia est, consequens sine dubio erit, ut ea, quae in 80 uerbo et sapientia facta sunt, etiam in ea iustitia, quae est Christus, facta esse dicantur; quo scilicet in his, quae facta sunt, nihil iniustum, nihil fortuitum uideatur, sed omnia ita esse, ut aequitatis ac iustitiae regula expetit, doceantur. Quomodo ergo tanta ista rerum uarietas tantaque diuersitas iustissima et aequissima possit intellegi, certus sum humano ingenio uel sermone explicari 85 non posse, nisi ipsum uerbum ac sapientiam et iustitiam, qui est unigenitus filius dei, prostrati ac supplices depraecemur, qui per gratiam suam sensibus se nostris infundens, obscura inluminare, clausa patefacere, pandere dignetur arcana: si tamen inueniamur tam digne uel petere uel quaerere uel pulsare, ut uel petentes accipere mereamur uel quaerentes inuenire, uel pulsantibus 90 iubeatur aperiri. Non ergo freti nostro ingenio sed ipsius sapientiae auxilio, quae fecit uniuersa, et iustitiae eius, quam inesse creaturis omnibus credimus, interim etiamsi adserere non ualemus, ipsius tamen confisi misericordia inquirere perscrutarique temptabimus, quomodo ista tanta uarietas mundi atque diuersitas omni iustitiae ratione constare uideatur. Rationem autem dico 95 generalem dumtaxat; nam specialem singulorum et quaerere imperiti est et reddere uelle dementis est.

2.9.5. Dicentibus igitur nobis mundum istum in hac uarietate positum, qua supra exposuimus, a deo factum, quem deum et bonum et iustum atque aequissimum dicimus, obicere hoc plurimi solent (et hi maxime, qui ex schola 100 Marcionis ac Valentini et Basilidae uenientes adserunt diuersas esse naturas animarum), quomodo iustitiae dei conueniat mundum facientis, ut aliis quidem habitaculum in caelis praebeat, et non solum his habitaculum melius praestet, uerum etiam gradum aliquem celsiorem spectabilioremque concedat, principatum aliis indulgeat, aliis potestates, dominationes quoque aliis tribuat,

74 et[2] *om.* δ C 77 et *om.* γ 83 *ante* quomodo *add. titulum:* cum diuersa sit in hoc mundo nascendi sors et uita condicio quomodo et his qui dicunt haec pro diuersis naturis animarum bonis malisque accidere respondendum sit et prouidentia dei inculpabilis assignetur dum pro suis unam quamque animam uel mentem meritis dispensat ac motibus β ista *om.* γ 86 se *om.* γ 91 quae : qui δ σ 94 iustitiae : iustitia ac γ 97 dicentibus igitur: degentibus autem γ 100 ac : et γ adserunt : asserunt W β : adierunt γ : audierunt *Del*

2.9.4. Therefore, since all things which have been created are said to have been made through Christ and in Christ—as the Apostle Paul most clearly indicates, saying, *For in him and through him were all things created, whether things in heaven or things on earth, visible or invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities: all things were created through him and in him,*[17] and also John, in the Gospel, indicates the same thing, saying, *In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him was nothing made,*[18] and also in the Psalms it is written, *In Wisdom you made them all,*[19]—[and] since, therefore, Christ, as he is the Word and the Wisdom, is also the Righteousness,[20] it will undoubtedly follow that those things which were created in the Word and Wisdom are said to be created also in that Righteousness, which is Christ; whereby, clearly, it may be seen that in created things there was nothing unrighteous or accidental, but all may be shown to be such as the rule of equity and righteousness demands. How, then, this great variety of things and such great diversity can be understood as most righteous and equitable, I am sure cannot be explained by human intelligence or speech, unless as prostrate supplicants we beseech the Word and Wisdom and Righteousness himself, who is the only-begotten Son of God, that he, pouring himself through his grace into our minds, may deign to illuminate what is obscure, to open what is shut, and to unveil what is secret, if, indeed, we should be found either to seek or to ask or to knock so worthily such that we deserve when seeking to receive, or when asking to find, or when knocking that it be commanded to be opened.[21] Not relying, then, on our own intelligence but on the help of that Wisdom which made all things and of that Righteousness which we believe to be in all created things, even though we are meanwhile not able to assert how, we shall, nevertheless, trusting in his mercy, endeavour to inquire and examine how that great variety and diversity of the world may appear to be consistent with the whole rationale of righteousness. I say 'rationale', of course, in a general sense; for it is the mark of an ignorant person to seek, and of a foolish person to give, the particular rationale for each being.

2.9.5. When, then, we say that this world was arranged in that variety in which, as we have explained above, it was created by God, the God whom we say is both good and just and most equitable, there are numerous individuals (especially those coming from the schools of Marcion, and Valentinus, and Basilides, who assert that the natures of souls are diverse) who are accustomed to object: how is it consistent with the justice of God in creating the world that to some he would assign a habitation in the heavens, and not only bestow upon them a better habitation, but also would grant them a higher and more glorious rank, that he would favour some with a 'principality', others with 'powers', that he

[17] Col. 1:16. [18] John 1:1–3. [19] Ps. 103:24. [20] Cf. 1 Cor. 1:30. [21] Cf. Matt. 7:7.

105 aliis amplissimas sedes caelestium tribunalium praestet, eluceant alii rutilantius et coruscent fulgore sidereo, *alia sit gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum, stella ab stella in gloria differat*; et, ut simul ac breuiter totum dicam, si creatori deo nec uoluntas summi bonique operis nec perficiendi facultas deest, quid causae existere potuerit, ut naturas rationabiles creans, id est eos,
110 quibus ut essent ipse extitit causa, celsiores alios faceret, alios secundo aut tertio et multis iam inferiores gradibus deterioresque procrearet? Tum deinde obiciunt etiam de his, quae in terris sunt, quod aliis nascendi sors felicior euenit, ut quis, uerbi gratia, ex Abraham generetur et ex repromissione nascatur, alius quoque ex Isaac et Rebecca, quique adhuc in uentre positus supplantat fratrem suum et
115 antequam nascatur, diligi dicitur a deo; uel hoc ipsum omnino, quod in Hebraeis quis nascitur, apud quos eruditionem diuinae legis inueniat, alius uero apud Graecos et ipsos sapientes et non paruae eruditionis homines, iam uero alius apud Aethiopas, quibus uesci humanis carnibus usus est, alii apud Scythas, apud quos patricidium quasi ex lege geritur, uel apud Tauros, ubi hospites
120 immolantur. Aiunt ergo nobis: Si haec tanta rerum diuersitas nascendique condicio tam uaria tamque diuersa, in qua causa utique liberi facultas arbitrii locum non habet (non enim quis ipse sibi eligit, ubi uel apud quos uel qua condicione nascatur), si ergo, inquiunt, haec non facit naturae diuersitas animarum, id est ut mala natura animae ad gentem malam destinetur, bona
125 autem ad bonas: quid aliud superest, nisi ut fortuito agi ista putentur et casu? Quod utique si recipiatur, iam nec a deo factus esse mundus nec a prouidentia eius regi creditur, et consequenter nec dei iudicium de uniuscuiusque gestis uidebitur expectandum. In qua re quae sit quidem ad liquidum ueritas rerum, illius est nosse solius, qui *scrutatur omnia, etiam alta dei.*

130 **2.9.6.** Nos uero quasi homines, ne haereticorum insolentiam reticendo nutriamus, quae pro uiribus nostris occurrere nobis possunt ad ea, quae obtenderunt, hoc modo respondebimus. Bonum esse et iustum et omnipotentem deum creatorem uniuersorum, quibus ualuimus ex diuinis scripturis adsertionibus in superioribus frequenter ostendimus. Hic cum *in principio* crearet ea, quae creare uoluit, id est
135 rationabiles naturas, nullam habuit aliam creandi causam nisi se ipsum, id est bonitatem suam. Quia ergo eorum, quae creanda erant, ipse extitit causa, in quo

106 alia[1] : alii G M[ac] : aliis σ **107** ac : et γ dicam totum γ **113** promissione δ G[ac] nasceretur γ **122** elegit A σ **127** credetur β *Koe Goe* **133** in superioribus *om.* γ **135** propter *post* nisi *add.* γ **136** quo : qua γ

would confer on yet others 'dominions',[22] that he would present to some the most honourable seats in the heavenly courts, that some would shine more brilliantly and glitter with a starry splendour, for *The glory of the sun is one, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars, for star differs from star in glory*;[23] and, to sum it up briefly, if the Creator God lacks neither the will for, nor the power to effect, a good and perfect work, what reason can there be that, in creating rational natures, that is, those of whose existence he is himself the cause, he should make some of a higher degree and others of second or of third or of many still inferior and worse degrees? Then they object regarding those who dwell upon earth, that a happier lot befalls some by birth, as for example the one begotten of Abraham and born of the promise,[24] the other also, of Isaac and Rebecca, who, while still in the womb, supplants his brother and is said, before he is born, to be loved by God;[25] and, generally, this very fact—that one person is born among the Hebrews, with whom he finds instruction in the divine Law, another among the Greeks, themselves also wise and a people of no small learning, and again another among the Ethiopians, who are accustomed to feed upon human flesh, others among the Scythians, with whom parricide is practised as if by law, or amongst the Taurians, where strangers are sacrificed.[26] They thus ask us: if this great diversity and these various and diverse conditions of birth, in which the faculty of free will has no place (for one does not choose for oneself either where or with whom or in what condition one is born), if then, they say, this is not caused by a diversity in the natures of souls, that is, a soul of an evil nature is destined for an evil nation and a good one for a good nation, what alternative remains than that these things must be supposed to be the result of accidence and chance? And if that be admitted, then it will no longer be believed that the world was made by God or administered by his providence, and consequently it would seem that no judgement of God upon the deeds of each is to be expected.[27] In this matter, what is clearly the truth of things is for him alone to know *who searches out all things, even the depths of God*.[28]

2.9.6. We however, although but human, that we might not feed the insolence of the heretics by being silent, will give to their objections such answers as are able to occur to us, according to our ability, as follows. We have frequently shown in the above, by the declarations we were able to quote from the divine Scriptures, that God, the Creator of the universe, is good and righteous and almighty. When, *in the beginning*,[29] he created those beings that he desired to create, that is, rational beings, he had no other reason for creating them other than himself, that is, his own goodness. As, then, he himself, in whom was

[22] Cf. Col. 1:16. [23] 1 Cor. 15:41. [24] Cf. Gen. 12:2, 17:16; Rom. 9:8–9; Gal. 4:23.
[25] Cf. Gen. 25:21–6; Rom. 9:10–13.
[26] Cf. Euripides, *Iph. taur.*; similar lists occur in Origen, *Cels.* 5.27, 34.
[27] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.2. [28] 1 Cor. 2:10. [29] Gen. 1:1.

neque uarietas aliqua neque permutatio neque inpossibilitas inerat, aequales creauit omnes ac similes quos creauit, quippe cum nulla ei causa uarietatis ac diuersitatis existeret. Verum quoniam rationabiles ipsae creaturae, sicut frequenter
140 ostendimus et in loco suo nihilominus ostendemus, arbitrii liberi facultate donatae sunt, libertas unumquemque uoluntatis suae uel ad profectum per imitationem dei prouocauit uel ad defectum per neglegentiam traxit. Et haec extitit, sicut et antea iam diximus, inter rationabiles creaturas causa diuersitatis, non ex conditoris uoluntate uel iudicio originem trahens sed propriae libertatis arbitrio. Deus uero,
145 cui iam creaturam suam pro merito dispensare iustum uidebatur, diuersitates mentium in unius mundi consonantiam traxit, quo uelut unam domum, in qua inesse deberent *non solum uasa aurea et argentea sed et lignea et fictilia, et alia quidem ad honorem alia autem ad contumeliam*, ex istis diuersis uasis uel animis uel mentibus adornaret. Et has causas, ut ego arbitror, mundus iste suae diuersitatis
150 accepit, dum unumquemque diuina prouidentia pro uarietate motuum suorum uel animorum propositique dispensat. Qua ratione neque creator iniustus uidebitur, cum secundum praecedentes causas pro merito unumquemque distribuit, neque fortuita uniuscuiusque nascendi uel felicitas uel infelicitas putabitur, uel qualiscumque acciderit illa condicio, neque diuersi creatores et diuersae naturae
155 credentur animarum.

2.9.7. Verum ne scriptura quidem sancta uidetur mihi penitus arcani huius tacuisse rationem; sicut cum apostolus Paulus de Esau et Iacob disputans ait: *Cum enim nondum nati fuissent neque egissent aliquid boni uel mali, ut propositum, quod secundum electionem dei factum est, permaneret, non ex*
160 *operibus sed ex eo, qui uocauit, dictum est quia maior seruiet minori, sicut scriptum est: Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui.* Et post haec sibi ipse respondit et dicit: *Quid ergo dicemus? numquid iniustitia est apud deum?* Et ut nobis occasionem praestaret inquirendi de his et perscrutandi, quomodo haec non extra rationem fiant, respondit sibi ipsi et ait: *Absit.* Eadem namque, ut
165 mihi uidetur, quae de Esau et Iacob quaestio proponitur, haberi etiam de caelestibus omnibus et de terrestribus creaturis et de infernis potest; et similiter mihi uidetur, sicut ibi ait: *Cum enim nondum nati fuissent neque aliquid egissent boni uel mali*, ita etiam de ceteris omnibus dici posse: Cum enim nondum creata essent neque egissent aliquid boni uel mali, ut secundum

137 aequales : aequaliter *γ* **148** autem *om. γ* **154** condicio neque : conditione quae A *μ* : condicio quae C et : uel *Del Koe* **162, 164** respondet *Merl Del Koe* **164** absit *om. γ* **169** create essent *σ* : creatae sunt *μ*

neither variation nor change nor inability, was the cause of all those things which were to be created, he created all whom he created equal and alike, since there was in himself no ground for variety and diversity. But since these rational creatures, as we have frequently shown and will nevertheless show yet again in the proper place,[30] were endowed with the faculty of free will, this freedom of will either incited each one to progress by the imitation of God or drew him to defection through negligence.[31] And this, as we have already said before, is the cause of the diversity among rational creatures, drawing its origin not from the will or judgement of the Creator, but from the freedom of the individual will. But God, to whom it forthwith seemed just to arrange his creatures according to merit, drew these diversities of intellects into the harmony of one world, that with these diverse vessels or souls or intellects he might adorn, as it were, one house, in which there ought to be *not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of clay, and, indeed, some unto honour and others unto dishonour*.[32] And these are the causes, in my opinion, why this world has assumed its diversity, while divine providence arranges each individual according to the variety of their movements or of their intellects and purposes. On this account, the Creator will neither appear unjust, when, according to the antecedent causes, he distributes to each one according to his merit; nor will the happiness or unhappiness of each one's birth, or whatever be the condition that falls to him, be deemed accidental; nor will it be believed that there are different creators and diverse natures of souls.

2.9.7. But even holy Scripture does not appear to me to be altogether silent on the rationale of this mystery, as when the Apostle Paul, discussing Esau and Jacob, says: *For when they were not yet born and had done nothing either good or evil, that the decree, made by the election of God, might continue, not from works but from him who called, it was said 'The elder shall serve the younger', as it is written, 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.'*[33] And after that, he answers himself and says, *What then shall we say? Is there injustice with God?*[34] And that he might supply us with an opportunity for inquiring into these matters and ascertaining how these things do not happen without reason, he answers himself and says, *By no means!* For the same question, it seems to me, which is raised regarding Jacob and Esau may also hold for all heavenly beings and for earthly creatures and even for those of the lower regions; and likewise, it seems to me, that just as he there says, *For when they were not yet born and had done nothing either good or evil*, so too it can be said about all the rest: 'When they were not yet created, and had done nothing either good or evil, that the decree

[30] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.3; 1.7.2; 1.8.3; 2.1.2; 3.1.2–6.

[31] Compare with Origen's statement above, *Princ.* 2.9.2 and 1.5.5 (and the material cited there in n.39). On the imitation of God, see also *Princ.* 3.6.1; 4.4.4.

[32] 2 Tim. 2:20.

[33] Rom. 9:11–13; Gen. 25:23; Mal. 1:2–3. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.4.

[34] Rom. 9:14.

170 electionem propositum dei maneat, sicut putant quidam, facta sunt illa quidem caelestia, haec autem terrestria et alia inferna non ex operibus, ut putant illi, sed ex eo qui uocauit. Quid ergo dicemus, si haec ita sunt? Ergo iniustitia est apud deum? Absit. Igitur sicut de Esau et Iacob diligentius perscrutatis scripturis inuenitur quia non est iniustitia apud deum, ut antequam nascerentur
175 uel agerent aliquid in hac scilicet uita, diceretur quia *Maior seruiet minori*, et ut inuenitur non esse iniustitia quod et in uentre fratrem suum supplantauit Iacob, si ex praecedentis uidelicet uitae meritis digne eum dilectum esse sentiamus a deo, ita ut et fratri praeponi mereretur: ita etiam de caelestibus creaturis, si aduertamus quoniam ista diuersitas non est creaturae principium,
180 sed ex praecedentibus causis pro meriti dignitate diuersum singulis a conditore ministerii paratur officium, ex eo profecto quod unusquisque in eo quod mens creatus a deo est uel rationabilis spiritus, pro motibus mentis et sensibus animorum uel plus uel minus sibi ipse meriti parauerit et uel amabilis deo uel etiam odibilis extiterit; cum tamen et aliqui ex his, qui melioribus meritis sunt,
185 ad exornandum mundi statum conpati reliquis et officium praebere inferioribus ordinentur, quo per hoc et ipsi participes existant patientiae creatoris, secundum quod apostolus ipse ait: *Vanitati enim creatura subiecta est, non uolens, sed propter eum, qui subiecit, in spe.*

Obseruantes igitur istam sententiam, quam apostolus de natiuitate Esau et
190 Iacob exponens dixit: *Numquid iniustitia est apud deum? Absit,* etiam in omnibus creaturis rectum arbitror hanc eandem debere sententiam custodiri, quoniam, sicut superius diximus, iustitia debet creatoris in omnibus apparere. Quae, ut mihi uidetur, ita demum lucidius ostendetur, si causas diuersitatis unusquisque uel caelestium uel terrestrium uel infernorum in semet ipso
195 praecedentes natiuitatem corpoream habere dicatur. Verbo enim dei et sapientia eius creata sunt uniuersa, et per ipsius sunt ordinata iustitiam. Per gratiam uero misericordiae suae omnibus prouidet atque omnes quibuscumque curari possunt remediis hortatur et prouocat ad salutem.

172 *ante* quid ergo *add. titulum:* quod rationabilium creaturarum prima conditio diuersitatem habere non potuit quia creantis iustitia creaturis suis primos ortus dispares dare non poterat restare ut ex propriis animorum motibus in singulis quibusque nata uideatur esse diuersitas β
179 quoniam : quia γ est *om.* γ 183 et *om.* δ γ 188 spem δ C G M[ac] σ *Koe Goe*
192 deberet γ 193 ostenditur δ S

of God, according to election, might stand, then (as some think) some things were created heavenly, others earthly, and others again of the lower regions, not from works (as they think), but from him who called. What then shall we say, if these things be thus? Is there unrighteousness with God? By no means!' Therefore, just as when the Scriptures are carefully examined regarding Jacob and Esau it is found that there is no unrighteousness with God, that it might be said, before they were born or had done anything in this life, that *the elder shall serve the younger*, and as it is found not to be unrighteous that even in the womb Jacob supplanted his brother, if we suppose him to be worthily beloved by God by the merits from a preceding life so as to be worthy of being preferred to his brother, so also with regard to the heavenly creatures, if we note that diversity was not the original state of the creature, but that, from antecedent causes, a different office of service was prepared by the Creator for each one in proportion to the degree of merit, on this ground, indeed, that each one, in that it has been created by God as an intellect or rational spirit, has gained for itself, according to the movements of his intellect and the affections of his soul, greater or lesser merit, and has become either lovable or even hateful to God; while, nevertheless, some of those who are of higher merit[35] are ordained to suffer with others, for fitting out the state of the world and to offer service to those below them, that by this they may also themselves be participants in the forbearance of the Creator, according to what the Apostle himself said, *For the creature was subject to futility, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it in hope.*[36]

Observing, then, this sentiment, which the Apostle said when speaking of the birth of Esau and Jacob, *Is there injustice with God? By no means!*, I think it right that this same sentiment should be observed in the case of all creatures, since, as we have said above, the justice of the Creator ought to be visible in everything. And this, it seems to me, will only be shown with real clarity, if each one, whether of the heavens or earth or below the earth, may be said to have the causes of diversity in himself, preceding his bodily birth. For all things were created by the Word of God and by his Wisdom, and were set in order through his Righteousness. And by the grace of his compassion he provides for all and exhorts all to be cured, by whatever remedies they may and incites them to salvation.[37]

[35] Note how 'merit' is used here positively, rather than in a negative context of a fall, and correlated to service for others. See above, *Princ.* 2.9.2, and, earlier, *Princ.* 1.5.5 and the material cited there in n.39.

[36] Rom. 8:20.

[37] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 6.2.

2.9.8. Sicut ergo dubium non est in die iudicii futurum quod separentur boni
200 a malis et iusti ab iniustis, et singuli quique pro merito per ea loca quae digni sunt distribuantur iudicio dei, sicut deo uolente in consequentibus ostendemus, tale aliquid opinor etiam antea iam factum. Omnia enim deus et semper iudicio agere ac dispensare credendus est. Illud quoque, quod apostolus docet, dicens quia *In domo magna non sunt tantummodo uasa aurea et argentea sed*
205 *et lignea et fictilia, et alia quidem ad honorem, alia autem ad contumeliam*, et quod addit dicens quia *Si qui se expurgauerit, erit uas in honorem sanctificatum et utile domino ad omne opus bonum paratum*, sine dubio illud ostendit, quia qui *se purgauerit* in hac uita positus, *ad omne opus bonum erit paratus* in futuro; qui autem non se purgauerit, secundum quantitatem inmunditiae suae
210 erit *uas ad contumeliam*, id est indignum. Ita ergo possibile est intellegi etiam antea fuisse uasa rationabilia uel purgata uel minus purgata, id est quae se ipsa purgauerint aut non purgauerint, et ex hoc unumquodque uas secundum mensuram puritatis aut impuritatis suae locum uel regionem uel condicionem nascendi uel explendi aliquid in hoc mundo accepisse; quae omnia deus usque
215 ad minimum uirtute sapientiae suae prouidens atque dinoscens moderamine iudicii sui, aequissima retributione uniuersa disposuit, quatenus unicuique pro merito uel succurri uel consuli deberet. In quo profecto omnis ratio aequitatis ostenditur, dum inaequalitas rerum retributionis meritorum seruat aequitatem. Quorum meritorum rationes per singulos quosque secundum ueritatem et ad
220 liquidum solus ipse cum unigenito uerbo ac sapientia sua et sancto suo spiritu recognoscit.

199 separantur γ 200 quae : quibus *Merl Del Koe* 202 antea : ante γ 206 addidit δ C qui : quis α σ honore δ B 207 et *om.* γ 214 accepisse : causam habuisse uideatur δ 216 disponit γ unicuique : unusquisque γ

2.9.8. As, then, there is no doubt that at the day of judgement the good will be separated from the bad, and the righteous from the unrighteous, and each one will be assigned, by the judgement of God, to that place of which his merits have made him worthy—as we shall show, God willing, in what follows—so also, I think, some such thing has also already happened previously. For God must be believed to do and to arrange all things and at all times by [his] judgement. This is what the Apostle teaches when he says, *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some unto honour and some unto dishonour*; and those words which he adds, saying that, *if anyone purifies himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work,*[38] undoubtedly point out this, that whoever *purifies himself* when placed in this life, will be *prepared for every good work* in the future, but whoever does not purify himself will be, according to the amount of his impurity, a *vessel unto dishonour*, that is, unworthy. In this way, therefore, there can be understood to have previously been rational vessels, whether purified or less purified, that is, which had purified themselves or had not, and each vessel [can be understood] to have received from this, according to the measure of its purity or impurity, a place or region or condition in which to be born or some service to discharge in this world; God, providing for all these to the smallest detail by the power of his Wisdom and discerning by the management of his judgement, arranges all things in a most equitable retribution, to the extent that each one, according to its merits, ought to be assisted or taken care of. Herein is assuredly demonstrated the complete rationale of equity, while the inequality of circumstances preserves the equality of retribution for merit. But he alone, along with his only-begotten Word and Wisdom and the Holy Spirit, knows with truth and clarity the reasons for the merits in each case.

[38] 2 Tim. 2:20–1.

II The Church's Preaching

De iudicio

2.10.1. Sed quoniam nos sermo commonuit de iudicio futuro et de retributione ac suppliciis peccatorum, secundum quod comminantur sanctae scripturae et ecclesiastica praedicatio continet, eo quod iudicii tempore *ignis aeternus* et
5 *tenebrae exteriores* et *carcer* et *caminus* et alia his similia peccatoribus praeparata sint, uideamus quid etiam de his sentiri oporteat.

Sed ut ad haec competenti ordine ueniatur, prius mihi uidetur de resurrectione sermo mouendus, ut sciamus quid est illud quod uel ad supplicium uel ad requiem ac beatitudinem ueniet; de quo et in aliis quidem libris, quos de
10 resurrectione scripsimus, plenius disputauimus et quid nobis de hoc uideretur ostendimus. Sed et nunc propter consequentiam tractatus pauca inde repetere non uidetur absurdum, maxime propter hoc quod offenduntur quidam in ecclesiastica fide, quod uelut stulte et penitus insipienter de resurrectione credamus, praecipue haeretici, quibus hoc modo arbitror respondendum. Si
15 confitentur etiam ipsi quia resurrectio sit mortuorum, respondeant nobis: quid est quod mortuum est, nonne corpus? Corporis ergo resurrectio fiet. Tum deinde dicant si utendum putant nobis esse corporibus aut non? Arbitror apostolo Paulo dicente quia *Seminatur corpus animale, resurget corpus spiritale*, istos negare non posse quod corpus resurgat, uel quia in resurrectione corporibus
20 utamur. Quid ergo? Si certum est quia corporibus nobis utendum sit, et corpora ea, quae ceciderunt, resurgere praedicantur (non enim proprie resurgere dicitur nisi id, quod ante ceciderit), nulli dubium est idcirco ea resurgere, ut his iterum ex resurrectione induamur. Alterum ergo haeret ex altero. Nam et si resurgunt corpora, sine dubio ad indumentum nostri resurgent, et si necesse est nos esse in

1 *titulus:* de resurrectione et [de *add.* C] iudicio α μ Ab *Koe Goe; secl. Fern* : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S : de resurrectione *Sim* 10 plenius disputauimus *om.* γ uidetur γ 13 quod : quo δ μ *Goe* uelut : uel γ 15 sit : fit δ G Ab *Goe* 17 dicunt δ G M^{ac} 18 resurget : resurgit δ C 20–1 corpora ea B σ : corpora δ : corporea C^{ac} : corporum C^{pc} : corporea ea G M^{pc} : corpore ea M^{ac} 23 haeret : erat μ : erit σ

The Judgement

2.10.1.[1] But since our discourse has reminded us of the judgement to come and of the retribution and punishment of sinners, in accordance with the things threatened by holy Scripture and contained in the ecclesiastical preaching—that at the time of judgement, *eternal fire* and *outer darkness* and a *prison* and a *furnace* and other similar things to these have been prepared for sinners[2]—let us also see what ought to be thought about these points.

But that these subjects may be arrived at in proper order, it seems to me that a discussion on the resurrection must be begun, that we may know what it is that shall come either to punishment or to rest and blessedness; we have argued about this more fully in other books also, which we have written on the resurrection,[3] and have shown what were our views about it. But now also, for the sake of the logical order of our treatise, it will not seem out of place to repeat a few points from them, especially since some are offended by the ecclesiastical faith, as if what we believe about the resurrection is silly and altogether foolish, especially the heretics, who, I think, must be answered in this way. If they admit that there is a resurrection of the dead, let them answer us: what is it that died, if not a body?[4] There will therefore be a resurrection of the body. Let them next say if they think that we are to make use of the body or not. I think that, with the Apostle Paul saying that *It is sown an animated body, it will rise a spiritual body*,[5] they cannot deny that a body rises, or that we make use of a body in the resurrection. What then? If it is certain that we are to make use of bodies, and if those bodies which have fallen are proclaimed to rise again (for to rise again cannot be properly said except of that which has previously fallen), it is, on this account, a matter of doubt to no one that they rise again, that we may be clothed with them once more at the resurrection. The one thing, therefore, is bound up with the other. For if bodies rise again, without doubt they rise as clothing for us; and if it is necessary, as it certainly

[1] The manuscripts give as the title 'On the Resurrection and the Judgement', and for *Princ.* 2.11, 'On the Promises'. After mentioning 'the soul' (treated in *Princ.* 2.8, see also the footnote appended to title of *Princ.* 2.9), Photius lists, as the remaining topics of *Princ.* 2: 'about resurrection, about punishment, about promises' (περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ κολάσεως, περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν). However, as the introductory lines of *Princ.* 2.10.1 indicate, the discussion of the resurrection in *Princ.* 2.10.1–3 is meant as a preliminary to the subject of the judgement (and punishments), dealt with in the remainder of the chapter. As *Princ.* 2.11 deals with 'the promises', both 2.10 and 2.11 in fact deal with what happens in the resurrection, and so it seems better to give 2.10 the title of 'The Judgement'. Crouzel and Simonetti here give the title 'On the Resurrection' and the title 'On the Judgement' at *Princ.* 2.10.4.

[2] Cf. Matt. 25:41; 8:12; 1 Pet. 3:19; Matt. 13:42.

[3] A *Treatise on the Resurrection*, in two volumes, was written by Origen before *Princ.* (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.24); fragments from this are preserved by Pamphilus in his *Apology* (113, 128, 130, 132, 134), and by Methodius of Olympus in his work *On the Resurrection*, according to Photius, *Bibl.* 234.

[4] Cf. Tertullian, *Res.* 17–27.

[5] 1 Cor. 15:44.

25 corporibus (sicut certe necesse est), non in aliis quam in nostris corporibus esse debemus. Quae si uerum est quod resurgunt et *spiritalia* resurgunt, dubium non est quin abiecta corruptione et deposita mortalitate resurgere dicantur a mortuis; alioquin uanum uidebitur et superfluum resurgere quem a mortuis, ut iterum moriatur. Quod ita demum intellegi euidentius potest, si qui diligenter aduertat, 30 quae sit *animalis corporis* qualitas, quae in terram seminata *spiritalis corporis* reparet qualitatem. Ex *animali* namque *corpore* ipsa uirtus resurrectionis et gratia *spiritale corpus* educit, cum id ab indignitate transmutat ad gloriam.

2.10.2. Quoniam ergo haeretici eruditissimi sibi uidentur et sapientissimi, interrogabimus eos, si omne corpus schema aliquod habet, id est aliquo habitu 35 deformetur. Et si quidem dixerint esse corpus quod non aliquo habitu deformetur, imperitissimi omnium atque insipientissimi uidebuntur. Nullus enim hoc negabit, nisi sit ab omni eruditione penitus alienus. Si uero secundum id, quod consequens est, dixerint quia omne corpus certo quo habitu deformatur, requiremus ab eis, si possunt nobis spiritalis corporis habitum demonstrare 40 atque describere; quod utique facere nullo modo poterunt. Sed et differentias eorum, qui resurgunt, inquiremus ab eis. Quomodo ostendent uerum esse illud, quod dictum est quia *Alia caro uolucrum, alla piscium; et corpora caelestia et corpora terrestria; sed alia quidem caelestium gloria, alia uero terrestrium, alia gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum, stella enim ab stella differt in* 45 *gloria; ita et resurrectio mortuorum?* Secundum istam ergo consequentiam caelestium corporum ostendant nobis differentias gloriae eorum qui resurgunt, et si ullo genere conati fuerint secundum caelestium corporum differentias aliquam excogitare rationem, quaeremus ab eis, ut etiam secundum terrenorum corporum comparationem differentias resurrectionis adsignent. Nos uero ita 50 intellegimus, quod uolens apostolus describere, quanta esset differentia eorum, qui resurgent in gloria, id est sanctorum, comparationem caelestium corporum sumpsit dicens: *Alia gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum.* Et iterum uolens differentias eorum docere, qui in hac uita non expurgati ad resurrectionem uenient, id est peccatores, de terrenis sumit exemplum dicens: *Alia caro* 55 *uolucrum, alia piscium.* Digne etenim sanctis caelestia, terrena peccatoribus comparantur. Haec quidem dicta sint aduersum eos, qui resurrectionem mortuorum, id est resurrectionem corporum negant.

26 quae : B[pc] σ : uel quod A[mg] 28 quem : quemquam B[pc] *Del* 32 id *om.* δ B : illud *Koe in appar.* 34 habitu aliquo γ 35 deformatur *Koe in appar.* 36 deformetur : formetur α *Goe* 38 quo : quodam B σ : aliquo M[pc] 44 uero *ante* gloria solis *add.* γ enim *om.* C M σ 45 ita : sic δ B 49 *ante* nos *add. titulum:* quomodo ex corpore corruptibili incorruptibili resurgat et ex animali spiritale et ita gloriam incorruptionis adquirat ut ueritatem propriae substantiae enim non amittat C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) 54 caro : corpora γ

is necessary, for us to be in bodies, we ought to be in no other bodies than our own. But if it is true that they rise again and they rise as *spiritual*, there is no doubt that they are said to rise from the dead, having cast away corruption and having laid aside mortality; otherwise it will appear vain and superfluous for anyone to rise from the dead [only] in order to die again. And this, finally, may be understood more clearly in this way, if one carefully observes what are the qualities of an *animated body*, which, when sown in the earth, regains the quality of a *spiritual body*. For it is from *the animated body* that the very power and grace of the resurrection draws out the *spiritual body*, when it transforms it from dishonour to glory.

2.10.2. Since the heretics see themselves as persons of great learning and wisdom, we shall ask them whether every body has some form, that is, is fashioned in some shape. And if they shall say there is a body which is not fashioned in some shape, they will be seen to be the most ignorant and foolish of all. For no one, except one who is an utter stranger to all learning, will deny this. But if, according to what is logical, they say that every body is fashioned in some definite shape, we shall ask them whether they are able to demonstrate and describe to us the shape of a spiritual body; which they certainly will in no way be able to do. We shall ask of them, moreover, about the differences of those who rise again. How will they show that saying to be true, that *There is one flesh of birds, another of fish; there are heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly is one, and the glory of the earthly another; the glory of the sun is one, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars, for star differs from star in glory: thus it is with the resurrection of the dead*?[6] Let them show us, then, the differences in the glory of those who rise again following that gradation of heavenly bodies, and if by any chance they have tried to think out a principle in accordance with the differences in heavenly bodies, we will ask of them that they assign the differences in the resurrection by comparison with earthly bodies. We, however, understand the matter in this way: that the Apostle, wishing to describe how great are the differences among those who rise again in glory, that is, of the saints, took up a comparison with the heavenly bodies, saying, *the glory of the sun is one, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars*. And wishing, on the other hand, to teach us the differences among those who come to the resurrection without being purified in this life, that is, sinners, he took an example from earthly things, saying, *there is one flesh of birds, another of fish*. For heavenly things are worthily compared to the saints, earthly things to sinners. These things are said in opposition to those who deny the resurrection of the dead, that is, the resurrection of bodies.

[6] 1 Cor. 15:39–42. Cf. Origen, *Res.* 2 (in Pamphilus, *Apol.* 134).

2.10.3. Nunc uero sermonem conuertimus ad nonnullos nostrorum, qui uel pro intellectus exiguitate uel explanationis inopia ualde uilem et abiectum
60 sensum de resurrectione corporis introducunt. Quos interrogamus, quomodo intellegunt *animale corpus* gratia resurrectionis immutandum et *spiritale* futurum, et quomodo quod *in infirmitate seminatur*, resurrecturum sentiant *in uirtute*, et quod *in ignobilitate*, quomodo *surget in gloria*, et quod *in corruptione*, quomodo ad *incorruptionem* transferatur. Quod utique si credunt apostolo
65 quia corpus in gloria et in uirtute et in incorruptibilitate resurgens, *spiritale* iam effectum sit, absurdum uidetur et contra apostoli sensum dicere, id rursum carnis et sanguinis passionibus implicari, cum manifeste dicat apostolus: *Quoniam caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt, neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit.* Sed et illud quomodo accipiunt, quod dicit apostolus quia
70 *Omnes autem immutabimur*? Quae utique immutatio secundum illum ordinem, quem superius diximus, expectanda est, in qua sine dubio dignum aliquid diuina gratia sperare nos conuenit; quod futurum credimus hoc ordine quo *nudum granum frumenti aut alicuius ceterorum* in terra seminatum describit apostolus, cui *deus dat corpus prout uoluit*, cum prius granum ipsum
75 frumenti mortuum fuerit. Ita namque etiam nostra corpora uelut granum cadere in terram putanda sunt; quibus insita ratio ea, quae substantiam continet corporalem, quamuis emortua fuerint corpora et corrupta atque dispersa, uerbo tamen dei ratio illa ipsa, quae semper in substantia corporis salua est, erigat ea de terra et restituat ac reparet, sicut ea uirtus, quae inest in
80 grano frumenti, post corruptionem eius ac mortem reparat ac restituit granum in culmi corpus et spicae. Et ita his quidem, qui regni caelorum hereditatem consequi merebuntur, ratio illa reparandi corporis, quam supra diximus, dei iussu ex *terreno* et *animali corpore corpus* reparat *spiritale*, quod habitare possit in caelis; his uero, qui inferioris meriti fuerint uel abiectioris aut etiam ultimi
85 et abstrusi, pro uniuscuiusque uitae atque animae dignitate etiam gloria corporis et dignitas dabitur: ita tamen ut etiam eorum, qui ad *ignem aeternum*

58 nonullum μ 61 intellegant B *Koe* 63 et … et *om.* δ surget β γ (*deest* δ) *Goe* : resurget *Merl Sim* : resurgat *Del Koe* 66 sit *om.* α μ 69 quod : quo A : quomodo G[ac] 75 uelut : ut δ B 82 reparandi : praeparandi γ 83 habitare : habere γ

2.10.3. We now direct our discussion towards some of our own, who, either from poverty of mind or lack of instruction, introduce a very low and abject idea of the resurrection of the body.[7] We ask them in what manner they understand the *animated body*, which is transformed by the grace of the resurrection, and the *spiritual body*, and how they think that what is *sown in weakness* will be *raised in power*, and what is *sown in dishonour* will *rise in glory*, and what *is sown in corruption* will be transformed into *incorruption*? If, indeed, they believe the Apostle—that the body, when rising in glory and power and incorruptibility, has already become *spiritual*—it seems absurd and contrary to his meaning to say that it can again be entangled in the passions of flesh and blood, when the Apostle says most clearly, *Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption.*[8] But how do they take that passage, where the Apostle says that *We shall all be transformed*?[9] This transformation, according to that order of which we have spoken above, is certainly to be looked for; in it, undoubtedly, it is fitting for us to hope for something worthy of divine grace; this we believe will take place in the same sequence in which the Apostle describes the sowing in the ground of a *bare grain of wheat or some other kind*, to which *God gives a body as it pleases him*, after the grain of wheat has first died.[10] For in the same way our bodies also must be supposed to fall into the earth like a grain, in which is implanted that principle which holds together the bodily substance, so that although the bodies die and are corrupted and dispersed, yet by the Word of God that very principle, which is always preserved in the substance of the body, raises them up from the earth and refashions and restores them, just as the power, which exists in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, restores and refashions the grain into a body with stalk and ear.[11] And so also, to those who shall deserve to attain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, that principle of the body's refashioning, which we have mentioned before, by the command of God refashions out of the *earthly* and *animated body* a *spiritual body*, able to inhabit the heavens; while to those who may be of inferior merit or more abject still, or even of the lowest condition and thrust aside, will be given a body of glory and dignity corresponding to the dignity of the life and soul of each, in such a way, however, that even for those who are destined to

[7] No doubt referring to Papias, who is cited favourably by Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.33.3–4, but criticized by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.12–13, for his vivid millenarian depiction of the resurrection: 'I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures. For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses.'

[8] 1 Cor. 15:50. On the spiritual quality of the body in the resurrection, see Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.4–6; and also *Or.* 26.6; *Mart.* 47; *Cels.* 5.19. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.9–14, responds to his opponents' use of this Pauline verse by pointing out that while flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom, they are nevertheless inherited *by* the Spirit in the kingdom; see also Tertullian, *Res.* 5–10, 48–51.

[9] 1 Cor. 15:51.

[10] 1 Cor. 15:36–8. Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 5.18; 5.23; *Res.* 2 (in Pamphilus, *Apol.* 130).

[11] Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 5.18, 19; 7.32.

uel ad *supplicia* destinandi sunt, per ipsam resurrectionis permutationem ita corpus incorruptum sit quod resurgit, ut ne suppliciis quidem corrumpi ualeat ac dissolui.

90 **2.10.4.** Si ergo ita se habet qualitas eius corporis, quod resurget a mortuis, uideamus nunc quid sibi uelit *ignis aeterni* comminatio. Inuenimus namque in Esaia propheta designari uniuscuiusque proprium esse ignem quo punitur; ait enim: *Ambulate in lumine ignis uestri et in flamma, quam accendistis uobismet ipsis.* Per quos sermones hoc uidetur indicari, quod unusquisque peccatorum 95 flammam sibi ipse proprii ignis accendat, et non in aliquem ignem, qui antea iam fuerit accensus ab alio uel ante ipsum substiterit, demergatur. Cuius ignis esca atque materia sunt nostra peccata, quae ab apostolo Paulo *ligna et faenum et stipula* nominantur. Et arbitror quod sicut in corpore escae abundantia et qualitas uel quantitas cibi contraria febres generat, et febres diuersi uel modi 100 uel temporis secundum eam mensuram, quam intemperies collecta materiam suggesserit ac fomitem febrium (quae materiae qualitas, ex diuersa intemperie congregata, causa uel acerbioris morbi uel prolixioris existit): ita anima cum multitudinem malorum operum et abundantiam in se congregauerit peccatorum, conpetenti tempore omnis illa malorum congregatio efferuescit 105 ad supplicium atque inflammatur ad poenas; cum etiam mens ipsa uel conscientia per diuinam uirtutem omnia in memoriam recipiens, quorum in semet ipsa signa quaedam ac formas, cum peccaret, expresserat, et singulorum, quae uel foede ac turpiter gesserat uel etiam impie commiserat, historiam quandam scelerum suorum ante oculos uidebit expositam; tunc et ipsa 110 conscientia propriis stimulis agitatur atque conpungitur et sui ipsa efficitur accusatrix et testis. Quod ita sensisse etiam Paulum apostolum puto cum dicit: *Inter se inuicem cogitationibus accusantibus aut etiam defendentibus in die, qua iudicabit deus occulta hominum secundum euangelium meum per Iesum Christum.* Ex quo intellegitur quod circa ipsam animae substantiam tormenta 115 quaedam ex ipsis peccatorum noxiis affectibus generantur.

90 *ante* si ergo *add. titulum:* quibus quantisque modis ignis intellegi debeat qui peccatoribus praeparatus est quid intellegi debeant tenebrae exteriores quid etiam sit diuidi et partem eius cum infidelibus poni qui carcer uel cetera suppliciorum genera C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) : de iudicio *Sim* **91** *ante* inuenimus *add. titulum:* de igni inferni et poenis eiusdem *Merl* **93–4** uobismet ipsis *om.* γ **98** et : ego *Pa* **100** quam : qua *Pa Merl Del Koe* collectam *Merl* **101** suggerit B *Pa* **104** efferuescit : concitatur *Pa* **105** etiam *om.* γ *Pa* **107** semet ipsa : se *Pa* gestorum suorum *post* singulorum *add. Pa* **109** suos *post* oculos *add. Pa* **112** qua : quo α *Koe Goe* : cum *Pa*

eternal fire or to *punishments*,[12] the body which rises again is, through the very transformation of the resurrection, so incorruptible that it cannot be corrupted and dissolved even by punishments.[13]

2.10.4. If, then, such be the quality of the body which will arise from the dead, let us now see what the threat of *eternal fire* signifies.[14] Now we find in the prophet Isaiah that the fire by which each one is punished is described as his own; for he says, *Walk in the light of your fire and in the flame which you have kindled for yourself.*[15] It seems to be indicated, by these words, that every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire which has already been kindled by another or existed before himself.[16] The food and material of this fire are our sins, which are called, by the Apostle Paul, *wood and hay and straw.*[17] And I think that just as in the body an excess of nourishment and a detrimental kind and quantity of foods gives rise to fevers, and the fevers are also diverse either in kind or duration, according to the degree in which accumulated intemperateness supplies material and fuel for the fevers (the quality of this material, gathered together from diverse intemperateness, is the cause either of a more acute or more lingering disease), so also, when the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works and an excess of sins in itself, at a suitable time all that assembly of evils boils up to punishment and is set aflame to chastisements; at which time, the intellect itself, or the conscience, bringing to memory by divine power all those things, the impressions and forms of which it had stamped in itself when sinning,[18] will see exposed before its eyes a history, as it were, of its evil deeds, of every single act it had done, whether foul or shameful, and had even impiously committed; then the conscience itself is agitated and pierced by its own stings and becomes its own accuser and witness. And this, I think, is what the Apostle Paul meant when he says, *While their thoughts mutually accuse or perhaps excuse them in the day when God will judge the secrets of human beings, according to my Gospel, by Jesus Christ.*[19] From which it is understood that, in what concerns the substance of the soul, certain torments are produced from the hurtful affections of the sins themselves.

[12] Cf. Matt. 25:41, 46.

[13] Koetschau suspects that Rufinus has here omitted some further discussion of the resurrectional body, and suggests that it should be completed by the teaching of the tenth anathema of the Second Council of Constantinople, which he places in his critical apparatus; the text of this anathema is included in Appendix II as item no. 16.

[14] Matt. 25:41. [15] Isa. 50:11. [16] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 2.6; *Hom. Lev.* 9.8.

[17] 1 Cor. 3:12.

[18] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 2.10; *Hom. Jer.* 16.10; *Hom. Ps. 38*, 2.2 (PG 12, 1402–4); *Or.* 28.5.

[19] Rom. 2:15–16.

2.10.5. Et ne satis tibi difficilis huius rei intellectus appareat, considerari possibile est ex his passionum uitiis, quae animabus accidere solent, id est cum uel flammis amoris exuritur anima uel zeli aut liuoris ignibus maceratur, aut cum irae agitatur insania uel tristitiae inmensitate consumitur, quomodo horum malorum
120 nimietates aliquanti intolerabiliter ferentes, mortem subire quam huiuscemodi cruciatus perpeti tolerabilius habuere. Requires sane si his, qui uitiorum malis istis, quae supra diximus, inretiti sunt nec emendationis aliquid in hac uita adhuc positi comparare sibimet potuerunt et ita ex hoc mundo abscesserunt, sufficiat illis ad poenam quod illis ipsis perdurantibus in se noxiis affectibus cruciantur,
125 id est irae uel furoris uel insaniae uel maeroris, quorum utique mortiferum uirus nullo in hac uita emendationis medicamento mitigatum est; an his affectibus immutatis generalis poenae stimulis uexabuntur.

Sed et aliam suppliciorum speciem intellegi arbitror posse, quia sicut sentimus soluta corporis membra atque a suis inuicem diuulsa conpagibus inmensi doloris
130 generare cruciatum, ita cum anima extra ordinem atque conpagem uel eam armoniam, qua ad bene agendum et utiliter sentiendum a deo creata est, fuerit inuenta nec sibimet ipsi rationabilium motuum conpagine consonare, poenam cruciatumque putanda sit suimet ipsius ferre discidii, et inconstantiae suae atque inordinationis sentire supplicium. Quaeque animae dissolutio atque diuulsio
135 cum adhibiti ignis ratione fuerit explorata, sine dubio ad firmiorem sui conpagem instaurationemque solidatur.

2.10.6. Multa sunt etiam alia quae nos latent, quae illi soli cognita sunt, qui est medicus animarum nostrarum. Si enim ad corporis sanitatem pro his uitiis, quae per escam potumque collegimus, necessariam habemus interdum austerioris ac
140 mordacioris medicamenti curam, nonnumquam uero, si id uitii qualitas depoposcerit, rigore ferri et sectionis asperitate indigemus, quodsi et haec supergressus fuerit morbi modus, ad ultimum conceptum uitium etiam ignis exurit: quanto magis intellegendum est medicum nostrum deum uolentem diluere uitia animarum nostrarum, quae ex peccatorum et scelerum diuersitate
145 collegerant, uti huiuscemodi poenalibus curis, insuper etiam ignis inferre supplicium his, qui sanitatem animae perdiderunt?

118 irae : ira γ **128** quia : qua A B : uel quia A[mg] sicut : sicut quid G : si quid M[ac] : sicut quidem σ *Koe Goe* **131** harmoniam *corr. Koe Goe* **133** suimet ipsius : sibimet ipsius μ : sibimet ipsi σ **134** quaeque : quae tamen C : quae *Merl Del Koe Goe* **135** conpagem : copaginem γ **137** etiam : autem *Pa* alia *om. Pa* **139** colligimus M[pc] σ **142** etiam *om. Pa*

2.10.5. And that the understanding of this matter may not appear too difficult, one can consider the result of those faults of the passions which often befall souls—as when a soul is burnt up by the flame of love, or tormented by zeal or envy, or agitated by the madness of anger, or consumed by the immensity of sorrow—how some, finding the excess of these evils unbearable, have deemed it more tolerable to submit to death than to endure perpetually torment of such a kind. You will indeed ask whether for those who have been entangled in those evils arising from the faults mentioned above, and have not been able, while existing in this life, to procure any amelioration for themselves, and have in this way departed this world, it would suffice for their punishment that they be tormented by the hurtful affections remaining in them, that is, the anger, the fury, the madness, the sorrow, whose deadly poison was in this life assuaged by no healing remedy; or whether, when these affections have been transformed, they will be tormented by the stings of a general punishment?

Now I think that another species of punishment may be understood, because, just as when the limbs of the body are loosened and torn away from their mutual connections we feel a torment of intense pain produced, so also when the soul is found outside the order and connection and harmony in which it was created by God for good action and useful experience, and not to harmonize with itself in the connection of its rational movements,[20] it must be supposed to bear the chastisement and torment of its own dissension and to feel the punishments of its own instability and disorder. But when the soul, thus dissolved and rent asunder, has been tried by the application of rational fire, it is undoubtedly reinforced in the consolidation and re-establishment of its structure.

2.10.6. There are also many other things that are hidden from us, which are known to him alone who is the Physician of our souls. For if, because of the ills that we have brought upon ourselves through food and drink, we occasionally take, for the health of the body, the necessary cure of harsher and more bitter medicine, and sometimes even, if the character of the sickness demands it, we need the rigor of the knife and the severity of an amputation, and if the virulence of the disease surpasses even these remedies, as the last resort the illness is burnt out by fire, how much more is it to be understood that God our Physician, desiring to wash away the ills of our souls, which they had contracted through a variety of sins and crimes, should employ penalties of this sort, and even apply the punishment of fire to those who have lost their soul's health?[21]

[20] On the harmony of the soul, see Plato, *Resp.* 3.410cd; 9.591d; *SVF* 3.121; Philo, *Deus* 24; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.4.18.

[21] On the remedial and therapeutic value of pain, see Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.3; 2.5.3.

Cuius rei imagines etiam in scripturis sanctis referuntur. Denique in Deuteronomio sermo diuinus peccatoribus comminatur quod febribus et frigoribus et aurugine puniantur, et occulorum uacillationibus et mentis alienatione
150 et paraplexia et caecitate ac debilitate renium cruciandi sint. Si qui ergo ex otio de omni scriptura congreget omnes languorum commemorationes, quae in comminatione peccatoribus uelut corporearum aegritudinum appellationibus memorantur, inueniet quod animarum uel uitia uel supplicia per haec figuraliter indicentur. Vt autem intellegamus quia ea ratione, qua medici adiutoria languen-
155 tibus adhibent, ut per curas reparent sanitatem, etiam deus agit circa eos, qui lapsi sunt et deciderunt, indicio est illud, quod per Hieremiam prophetam iubetur *calix furoris* dei *propinari omnibus gentibus*, ut *bibant et insaniant et euomant*. In quo comminatur dicens quia si qui noluerit bibere, non mundabitur. Ex quo utique intellegitur quod furor uindictae dei ad purgationem proficiat
160 animarum. Quoniam autem et ea poena, quae per ignem inferri dicitur, pro adiutorio intellegitur adhiberi, Esaias docet, qui de Israhel quidem sic dicit: *Abluet dominus sordes filiorum el filiarum Sion, et sanguinem expurgabit e medio ipsorum spiritu iudicii et spiritu adustionis.* De Chaldaeis autem sic dicit: *Habes carbones ignis, sede super eos, hi erunt tibi adiutorio*, et in aliis dicit: *Sanctificabit eos*
165 *dominus in igne ardenti*, et in Malachia propheta ita dicit: *Sedens dominus conflabit sicut aurum et argentum populum suum, conflabit et purgabit et fundet purgatos filios Iuda.*

2.10.7. Sed et illud, quod de dispensatoribus non bonis in euangelio dictum est, qui *diuidendi* dicuntur, et *pars eorum cum infidelibus poni*, tamquam ea
170 pars, quae ipsorum propria non sit, aliorsum mittenda, sine dubio genus aliquod indicat poenae eorum, quorum, ut mihi uidetur, separandus ab anima spiritus indicatur. Qui spiritus si quidem diuinae naturae, id est spiritus sanctus intellegendus est, sentiemus hoc dictum de dono spiritus sancti; quod siue per baptismum siue per gratiam spiritus, cum alicui *sermo sapientiae* uel *sermo*
175 *scientiae* uel alterius cuiusque datus est doni et non recte administratus,

149 aurigine B[ac] uacillationibus : facellationibus δ B[ac] C γ *Goe* 154 *ante* ut autem *add. titulum:* quod a deo quae fiunt sic bona sunt omnia ut etiam poena quae infertur ab eo ad emendationem inferatur non ad interitum C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) 156 *post* deciderunt *add.* in peccata M *Koe Goe* : in G : in peccato σ indicio : iudicio G etiam *post* est *add.* σ et *ante* illud *add. Merl Del* 158 qui : quis σ mundabitur : manducabitur μ : manducabit σ 159 proficit γ 160–1 et ea ... de Israhel: pernecessaria poena est ea quae per ignem inferri dicitur Isaias docens de Israel *Pa* 163 adusitionis α *Pa* : ustionis γ habens B[ac] σ 164 sedes G σ : sedebis *Pa* 165 ardente β ita *om.* W γ 166 sicut ... conflabit *om.* γ eos *post* purgabit *add. Pa* 170 aliorum summittenda μ : aliorsum sit mittenda σ *Koe Goe* 175 dono δ *Koe*

Images of this are also found in the holy Scriptures. Thus, in Deuteronomy the divine Word threatens sinners that they are to be punished with fevers and colds and jaundice, and tormented with feebleness of eyes and derangement of mind and paralysis and blindness and weakness of kidneys.[22] If, then, anyone, at leisure, will gather together out of the whole of Scripture every mention of suffering which, in the threats to sinners, are called by the names of bodily afflictions, he will find that either the ills or the punishments of souls are figuratively indicated through them. This is so that we might understand that in the same way in which physicians apply remedies to the sick in order that through treatment they might recover, so also God deals towards those who have lapsed and fallen. There is a proof of this in that passage in which, through the prophet Jeremiah, God's *cup of fury* is commanded *to be set before all nations* that *they may drink it and become mad and vomit*; in saying this, it is threatened that if anyone refuses to drink, he shall not be cleansed.[23] From which it must be understood that the fury of the vengeance of God advances the purification of souls. That even the punishment said to be inflicted by fire is understood to be applied as an aid is taught by Isaiah, who speaks of Israel in this way, *The Lord will wash away the filth of the sons and daughters of Zion and shall purge away the blood from their midst by a spirit of judgement and a spirit of burning.*[24] Of the Chaldeans he speaks thus, *You have coals of fire: sit upon them! They will be a help to you*;[25] and in other places he says, *The Lord will sanctify them in burning fire*;[26] and in Malachi, the prophet speaks thus: *The Lord, sitting, will kindle his people like gold and silver; he will kindle and purify and smelt the purified sons of Judah.*[27]

2.10.7. And also that passage, mentioned in the Gospel, about the unjust stewards who are said to be *cut asunder* and *their portion placed with the unfaithful*,[28] as if that portion, which was not their own, were to be sent elsewhere, undoubtedly indicates some kind of punishment for those, it seems to me, whose spirit is shown as separated from their soul. For if this Spirit is of divine nature, that is, is understood to be the Holy Spirit, we shall take this passage to be said of the gift of the Holy Spirit; that when, whether by baptism or by the grace of the Spirit *a word of wisdom* or *a word of knowledge*[29] or of any other gift has been bestowed upon someone and not rightly administered,

[22] Deut. 28:22, 28, 29.
[23] Jer. 31:1–2, 13–15 (Heb. 25:15–16, 27–9); similarly in Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 95.
[24] Isa. 4:4. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 2.2; *Hom. Luc.* 14.3.
[25] Isa. 47:14–15. Cited also in Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.3; *Cels.* 5.15; 6.56.
[26] Isa. 66:16–17.
[27] Mal. 3:3. Cf. Origen, *Or.* 29.15, where he also cites Mal. 3:2 together with Isa. 4:4.
[28] Luke 12:46. [29] 1 Cor. 12:8.

id est aut in terram defossus est aut in sudario conligatus, auferetur profecto ab anima donum spiritus, et pars reliqua quae superest, id est animae substantia, cum infidelibus ponitur, diuisa ac separata ab eo spiritu, cum quo *adiungens se domino unus spiritus* esse debuerat. Si uero hoc non de dei spiritu, sed de
180 natura ipsius animae intellegendum est, pars eius melior illa dicetur, quae *ad imaginem* dei *et similitudinem* facta est, alia autem pars ea, quae postmodum per liberi arbitrii lapsum contra naturam primae conditionis et puritatis adsumpta est, quae utique pars utpote amica et cara materiae corporalis cum infidelium sorte multatur. Potest autem etiam tertio sensu illud intellegi de
185 diuisione ista, ut quoniam unicuique fidelium, etiamsi minimus sit in ecclesia, adesse angelus dicitur, qui et *semper uidere faciem dei patris* a saluatore perhibetur, et hic, qui utique unum erat cum eo, cui praeerat, si is per inoboedientiam efficiatur indignus, auferri ab eo dei angelus dicitur, et tunc *pars* eius, id est humanae naturae *pars*, auulsa a dei parte *cum infidelibus*
190 deputatur, quoniam commonitiones appositi sibi a deo angeli non fideliter custodiuit.

2.10.8. Sed et *exteriores tenebras*, ut ego opinor, non tam aerem aliquem obscurum et sine ullo lumine intellegendum puto, quam de his, qui profundae ignorantiae tenebris inmersi extra omne rationis et intellegentiae lumen effecti
195 sunt. Videndum quoque est, ne forte etiam illud iste sermo significet, quod sicut sancti corpora sua, in quibus sancte et pure in huius uitae habitatione uixerunt, lucida et gloriosa ex resurrectione suscipient, ita et impii quique, qui in hac uita errorum tenebras et noctem ignorantiae dilexerunt, obscuris et atris post resurrectionem corporibus induantur, ut ea ipsa caligo ignorantiae,
200 quae in hoc mundo interiora eorum mentis obsederat, in futuro per exterius corporis appareat indumentum. Similiter quoque etiam de *carcere* sentiendum est. Sed sufficiant ista in praesenti loco, quae interim nunc, ut dicendi ordo seruaretur, quam paucissimis dicta sunt.

178 ponetur *Del Koe Goe* **183** cara materiae corporalis : cara materiae corporali *uel* cognata [= συμφυής] materiae corporali *Koe in appar.* corporalis *om.* γ **184** mutatur A **185** etiamsi : etiam etsi A **187** et hic *om.* C **188** dicatur B *Del Koe* **189** a *om.* α σ **190** deputetur *Del Koe* **194** omne rationis et : omnes et μ : omne σ

that is, either buried in the earth or tied up in a napkin,[30] the gift of the Spirit will certainly be withdrawn from his soul, and the portion that remains, that is, the substance of the soul, will be placed with the unfaithful, being divided off and separated from that Spirit with whom, by *joining itself to the Lord*, it should have been *one Spirit*.[31] But if this is not understood of the Spirit of God, but of the nature of the soul itself, then that, which was made *in the image and likeness* of God,[32] will be called its better part, whereas the other part is that which was assumed, after its fall through free will, against the nature of its original condition and purity; this part, being the friend and beloved of the material body is punished with the lot of the unfaithful. This division may also be understood in a third sense: that, as each of the faithful, even if the least in the Church, is said to be attended by an angel,[33] who is declared by the Saviour to *always behold the face of God the Father*,[34] and this angel of God, who was certainly one with him over whom he was set, is said to be taken away from him if he by disobedience becomes unworthy, then that *portion* of him, that is, the *portion* of his human nature, being torn away from the divine part, is assigned a place *with the unfaithful*,[35] because it has not faithfully observed the warnings of the angel allotted to it by God.

2.10.8. But the *outer darkness*,[36] in my opinion, is to be understood not as a place with a dark atmosphere without any light, but rather as of those who, being immersed in the darkness of profound ignorance,[37] have become alien to every glimmer of reason or understanding. It must also be considered whether perhaps this expression does not also mean that just as the saints will receive those bodies, in which they have lived in holiness and purity in the habitations of this life, luminous and glorious after the resurrection, so also the wicked, who in this life have loved the darkness of error and the night of ignorance, may be clothed with dark and black bodies after the resurrection, so that the very fog of ignorance, which in this world had taken possession of their minds within them, may appear in the future as the garment of their outward body.[38] One should think similarly about the *prison*.[39] Let these remarks made as briefly as possible suffice for the moment, that order of our discourse might in the meantime be preserved.

[30] Cf. Matt. 25:25; Luke 19:20. [31] 1 Cor. 6:17. [32] Cf. Gen. 1:26.

[33] On 'guardian angels' see Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.1 and the material cited in n.5 there.

[34] Matt. 18:10. According to Origen, *Hom. Isa.* 4.1, to see the face of God is to know the principles of divine realities, that is, the reasons and principles of the works of God. See also Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.7.

[35] Luke 12:46. [36] Matt. 8:12, etc. [37] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.133–6.

[38] Cf. 1 Pet. 3:19. Koetschau here adds a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.7.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 104.25–105.2), and, after the following sentence, a passage made up of sentences from the *De Sectis* attributed to Leontius (PG 81.1, 1265) and from Justinian's *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, p. 205.9–10), numbering it as Fragment 25; these texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 17.

[39] 1 Pet. 3:19.

De repromissionibus

2.11.1. Videamus nunc breuiter quid etiam de repromissionibus sentiendum
sit. Certum est quia nullum animal omnimodis otiosum atque immobile esse
potest, sed omni genere moueri et agere semper et uelle aliquid gestit; et hanc
5 inesse naturam omnibus animantibus manifestum puto. Multo ergo magis
rationabile animal, id est hominis naturam, necesse est semper aliquid mouere
uel agere. Et si quidem immemor sui sit et quid se deceat ignoret, circa usus
corporales omnis sua mouetur intentio et per omnes motus suos erga uolup-
tates ac libidines corporis occupatur; si uero talis sit, qui in commune aliquid
10 curare uel prouidere studeat, aut rei publicae consulens aut magistratibus
parens aut quidquid illud est, quod in commune certe prodesse uideatur,
exercet. Iam uero si qui talis sit, ut aliquid melius quam haec, quae corporea
uidentur, intellegat et sapientiae ac scientiae operam nauet, sine dubio erga
huiuscemodi studia omnem sui declinabit industriam, quo possit inquisita
15 ueritate rerum causas rationemque cognoscere. Sicut ergo in hac uita alius
quidem summum bonum corporis iudicat uoluptatem, alius uero in commune
consulere, alius studiis et intellegentiae operam dare: ita requirimus in illa uita,
quae uera est, quae *abscondita* esse dicitur *cum Christo in deo*, id est in illa
aeterna uita, si aliqui talis erit nobis uiuendi ordo uel status.

20 **2.11.2.** Quidam ergo laborem quodammodo intellegentiae recusantes et super-
ficiem quandam legis litterae consectantes et magis delectationi suae quodam-
modo ac libidini indulgentes, solius litterae discipuli, arbitrantur repromissiones
futuras in uoluptate et luxuria corporis exspectandas; et propter hoc praecipue
carnes iterum desiderant post resurrectionem tales, quibus manducandi et
25 bibendi et omnia, quae carnis et sanguinis sunt, agendi nusquam desit facultas,
apostoli Pauli de resurrectione *spiritalis corporis* sententiam non sequentes.
Quibus consequenter addunt etiam nuptiarum conuentiones et filiorum pro-
creationes etiam post resurrectionem futuras, fingentes sibimet ipsis Hierusalem
urbem terrenam reaedificandam lapidibus pretiosis in fundamenta eius iacien-
30 dis, et de lapide iaspidi muros eius erigendos, et propugnacula eius exornanda ex
lapide crystallo; peribolum quoque habituram ex lapidibus electis et uariis, id est
iaspide et sapphiro et chalcedonio et smaragdo et sardio et onyce et chrysolito

1 *titulus: de repromissionibus* α μ Ab *edd.* : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S   3 sit : est δ   13 nauet : amet C^{pc} : habet δ B γ *Merl* : habeat *Del*   14 declinauit C^{ac} γ   19 aliquis A^{pc} B σ   21 delectationis δ C^{ac} : dilectioni G : delectioni M^{ac} : uel electioni σ   22 litterae solius δ B *Koe Goe*   30 iaspide β σ *Koe Goe*   exornanda *om.* γ   31 chyrstallo α   32 calchedonio B M^{ac} : calchidonio G M^{pc} : calcedonio σ   zmaragdo B μ   onicae A : onyce B : oniche C : onichino G M^{pc} σ : onicheno M^{ac} chrisolito C : crisolito δ σ   *post* chrysolito *add.* et beryllo et topaz *Koe in appar.* (*uide Apoc. 21:20*)

The Promises

2.11.1. Let us now see briefly what must be thought regarding the promises. It is certain that no animated being can be wholly inactive and immobile, but eagerly delights in moving in all kinds of ways and in being perpetually active and in willing something; and I think it is clear that this nature is in all animated beings. Much more, then, is it necessary for a rational animal, that is, a human being, always to be in some movement or action. And if he forgets himself and is ignorant of what befits him, his whole purpose moves around bodily enjoyments and in all his movements he is occupied with the desires and lusts of the body; but if he be one who strives to care or provide for the common good, then he exerts himself either by working in service of the state or by obeying the magistrates or whatever else may seem clearly to be of common benefit. And if, now, any one is such that he understands that there is something better than those things that seem bodily, and can diligently bestow his labour upon wisdom and knowledge, then he will undoubtedly direct all his activity towards endeavours of that kind, that he may, by inquiring into the truth, know the causes and reasons of things. As, therefore, in this life one person judges that the highest good is the pleasure of the body, another to serve for the common good, and another to devote attention to study and learning, so let us inquire whether in that life, which is the true one, which is said to be *hidden with Christ in God*,[1] that is, in that eternal life, there will be for us some such order or condition of living.[2]

2.11.2. Certain persons, then, rejecting the labour of thinking and following the superficial view of the letter of the law, or yielding, rather, in some way to their own desires and lusts, being disciples of the letter alone, reckon that the promises of the future are to be looked for in the pleasure and luxury of the body; and especially because of this they desire to have again, after the resurrection, flesh of such a kind that never lacks the ability to eat and drink and to do all things that pertain to flesh and blood, not following the teaching of the Apostle Paul regarding the resurrection of a *spiritual body*.[3] And consequently they say that there will be contracts of marriages and procreation of children even after the resurrection, picturing for themselves the rebuilding of the earthly city of Jerusalem,[4] with precious stones laid down for its foundations and its walls constructed of jasper and its battlements adorned with crystal; that it will have an outer wall composed of different precious stones, namely, jasper and sapphire and chalcedony and emerald and carnelian and onyx and chrysolite

[1] Col. 3:3.

[2] On 'true life', see Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.181–2; 2.155–7; 13.140; *Comm. Matt.* 16.28; *Comm. Rom.* 6.14; *Hom. Num.* 19.4; *Sel. Ps.* 26.1 (PG 12, 1276).

[3] 1 Cor. 15:44. Origen is referring again to 'millenarians' such as Papias; cf. *Princ.* 2.10.3, n.7.

[4] A position developed by Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.34.4–35.2. Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 81.

et chrysoprasso et hyacintho et amethysto. Tum etiam ministros deliciarum suarum dandos sibi *alienigenas* putant, quos uel *aratores uel uinearum* cultores
35 habeant uel *structores parietum*, a quibus diruta ipsorum et conlapsa ciuitas extruatur; et arbitrantur quod *facultates gentium* accipiant ad edendum et in diuitiis eorum dominentur, ut etiam cameli Madian et Gefar ueniant et afferant eis *aurum et thus et lapides pretiosos*. Et hoc conantur ex auctoritate prophetica confirmare ex his, quae de Hierusalem repromissionibus scripta sunt; ubi etiam
40 dicitur quia *Qui seruiunt deo manducabunt et bibent, peccatores autem esurient et sitient*, et quod *laetitiam agent iusti, impios uero confusio possidebit*. Et de nouo quoque testamento uocem proferunt saluatoris, qua discipulis repromittit de uini laetitia dicens quia *Non bibam ex hoc iam usquequo bibam illud uobiscum nouum in regno patris mei*. Addunt quoque et illud, quod saluator beatos dicit
45 eos, qui nunc *esuriunt et sitiunt*, pollicens eis quia *saturabuntur*; et multa alia ex scripturis exempla proferunt, quorum uim figuraliter uel spiritaliter intellegi debere non sentiunt. Tum uero secundum formam, quae in hac uita est, et secundum mundi huius dispositiones dignitatum uel ordinum uel eminentias potestatum reges se fore et principes arbitrantur, sicut sunt isti terreni, propter illud
50 uidelicet, quod in euangelio dictum est: *Eris potestatem habens super quinque ciuitates*. Et, ut breuiter dicam, secundum uitae huius conuersationem per omnia similia esse uolunt cuncta, quae de repromissionibus expectantur, id est ut iterum sit hoc, quod est. Haec ita sentiunt qui Christo quidem credunt, Iudaico autem quodam sensu scripturas diuinas intellegentes, nihil ex his dignum diuinis
55 pollicitationibus praesumpserunt.

2.11.3. Hi uero, qui secundum apostolorum sensum theoriam scripturarum recipiunt, sperant manducaturos quidem esse sanctos, sed *panem uitae*, qui ueritatis et sapientiae cibis nutriat animam et inluminet mentem et potet eam diuinae sapientiae poculis, sicut dicit scriptura diuina quia *Sapientia*
60 *praeparauit mensam suam, iugulauit uictimas suas, miscuit in cratere uinum suum et summa uoce clamat: Deuertite ad me et manducate panes, quos paraui uobis, et bibite uinum, quod miscui uobis*. Quibus sapientiae escis nutrita mens ad integrum et perfectum, sicut ex initio factus est homo, *ad imaginem* dei *ac*

33 chrisoprasso δ : chrysopasso C : crisopasso S : chrissoprasso Ab iacinto A S : yacinto W : yachynto B[ac] : yacintho C : iachinto μ 34 uel uinearum cultores *om.* γ 37 madiam β gefar : caesar G[ac] : caedar G[pc] : gesar M σ 38 tus A[ac] β 40 seruient δ B 41 confusio possidebit : conpossidebit μ : tristicia possidebit σ 42 qua : quia δ C 46 uel spiritaliter *om.*γ 52 cuncta : ea C : omnia γ 53 *ante* haec *add. titulum:* quo sensu manducandi et bibendi in futuruo saeculo quo etiam regnandi uel potestatem habendi super alios accipi debeat repromissio C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) 54 sensus δ G[ac] M[ac] : sensum S 57 esse quidem γ 61 diuertite W B M[pc] : deueritate C

and chrysophrase and jacinth and amethyst.[5] Then, also, they think that *foreigners* are to be given to them as the servants of their pleasure, whom they will have as *ploughmen or vinedressers* and as *wall-builders*,[6] by whom their ruined and fallen city may be raised up again; and they think that they will receive the *wealth of the nations* to consume and that they will have control over their riches, that even the camels of Midian and Gaiphar will come and bring to them *gold and incense and precious stones*.[7] And they think to confirm this by the authority of the prophets, from those promises which are written about Jerusalem; where it is also said that *They who serve God shall eat and drink, but sinners shall hunger and thirst*, and that *The righteous shall be joyful but the wicked will be possessed by confusion*.[8] And from the New Testament, they quote the saying of the Saviour, in which he makes a promise to his disciples about the gladness produced by wine, saying, *I shall not drink of this, until I drink of it anew with you in my Father's kingdom*.[9] They add, moreover, that statement in which the Saviour calls those blessed who now *hunger and thirst*, promising them that *they shall be satisfied*;[10] and many other illustrations are adduced by them from the Scriptures, the meaning of which they do not perceive [because they] must be understood figuratively or spiritually. Then, again, after the fashion of the form of things in this life, and according to the grades of dignities or ranks or the degrees of authorities in this world, they reckon they are to be kings and princes, like those earthly ones are, obviously because of that saying in the Gospel, *You shall have authority over five cities*.[11] And, to speak briefly, they desire that all things, which are looked for in the promises, should be similar, in every respect, with the fashion of things in this life, that is, that what is should be again. Such then are the thoughts of those who believe indeed in Christ, but, understanding the divine Scriptures in a sort of Judaistic sense, draw from them nothing worthy of the divine promises.

2.11.3. Those, however, who accept the interpretation of Scriptures in accordance with the sense of the apostles, do indeed hope that the saints will eat, but that they will eat *the bread of life*,[12] which nourishes the soul with the food of truth and wisdom, and enlightens the intellect, and causes it to drink from the cup of divine Wisdom, just as the divine Scripture says, *Wisdom has prepared her table, she has slaughtered her victims, she has mixed her wine in the bowl, and she cries with a loud voice: 'Turn to me and eat the bread which I have prepared for you, and drink the wine which I have mixed for you.'*[13] By this food of Wisdom, the intellect, being nourished to a whole and perfect state, as the human being was made in the beginning, is restored to the *image*

[5] Cf. Rev. 21:10–21; Isa. 54:12; Ezek. 28:13. [6] Isa. 61:10, 60:5.
[7] Isa. 61:6; 60:5–6. [8] Isa. 65:13–14. [9] Matt. 26:49.
[10] Matt. 5:6; Luke 6:21. [11] Luke 19:19. Cf. Jer. 18:25; Origen, *Hom. Num.* 11.4.
[12] John 6:35. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.406; *Comm. Matt.* 14.6; *Comm. Cant.* 1 (GCS 8, p. 104); *Cels.* 1.48; *Hom. Lev.* 16.5.
[13] Prov. 9:2–5. For Christ, the Wisdom of God, as the fruit of the vine, see Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.205–8; *Hom. Cant.* 2.7; *Comm. Cant.* 3 (GCS 8, p. 200); *Hom. Lev.* 7.1–2.

similitudinem reparetur: ut etiamsi quis ex hac uita minus eruditus abierit,
65 probabilia tamen opera detulerit, instrui possit in illa Hierusalem ciuitate sanctorum, id est edoceri et informari et effici *lapis uiuus*, lapis *pretiosus et electus*, pro eo quod fortiter et constanter pertulerit agones uitae et certamina pietatis; ibique hoc, quod iam hic praedictum est, uerius manifestiusque cognoscet, quod *non in pane solo uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo, quod procedit*
70 *de ore dei*. Sed et principes et rectores intellegendi sunt hi, qui inferiores et regunt et erudiunt et edocent atque instituunt ad diuina.

2.11.4. Verum si minus haec uidentur sperantibus ea dignum mentibus incutere desiderium, paululum repetentes, quam naturalis sit et insita animae rei ipsius cupiditas inquiramus, ut ita demum uelut species ipsas *panis uitae* et qualitatem
75 *uini* eius ac proprietatem *principatuum* per theoriae consequentiam describamus. Igitur sicut in artibus his, quae manu adimpleri solent, ratio quidem, quid uel qualiter uel ad quos usus fiat, uersatur in sensu, efficacia uero operis manuum ministerio explicatur: ita in operibus dei, quae ab eo facta sunt, sentiendum est quod eorum, quae uidemus ab eo facta, ratio et intellegentia
80 manet in occulto. Et sicut ea, quae ab artifice facta sunt, cum oculus noster uiderit, si quid praecipue fabre factum perspexerit, continuo qualiter uel quomodo uel ad quos usus factum sit, ardet animus sciscitari: multo amplius et super omnem comparationem eorum, quae a deo facta peruidemus, ineffabili desiderio ardet animus agnoscere rationem. Quod desiderium, quem amorem
85 sine dubio a deo nobis insitum credimus; et sicut oculus naturaliter lucem requirit et uisum, et corpus nostrum escas et potum desiderat per naturam: ita mens nostra sciendae ueritatis dei et rerum causas noscendi proprium ac naturale desiderium gerit. Accepimus autem a deo istud desiderium non ad hoc, ut nec debeat umquam nec possit expleri; alioquin frustra a conditore deo
90 menti nostrae uidebitur *amor ueritatis* insertus, si numquam desiderii compos efficitur. Vnde et in hac uita qui summo labore piis studiis ac religiosis operam dederint, quamuis parua quaeque ex multis et inmensis diuinae scientiae capiant thesauris, tamen hoc ipsum, quod animos suos mentemque erga haec

65 posset A[ac] W C : potest B : poterit γ 68 predicatum δ : praedicatum B 71 docent δ B : edoceant C instruunt δ B 72 *ante* uerum *add. titulum:* quod cupiditas scientiae arcanorum dei naturaliter mentibus insita sit et per hanc omne quidquid in praesenti saeculo uidetur occultum in futuro mens et assequi gestiat et exuta pondere corruptionis facilius possit adipisci C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) 73 quam : quamquam γ 79 quae : ut δ
89 posset B[ac] C 93–4 hoc … praeueniunt *secl. Goe*

and likeness of God,[14] so that even though a certain person may have departed from this life insufficiently instructed, yet if he bears the report of approved works, he will be capable of being instructed in that Jerusalem, the city of saints, that is, of being taught and being formed, and being made a *living stone*, a stone *elect and precious*,[15] because he has borne with fortitude and constancy the trials of life and the struggles of piety; and will come there to a truer and clearer knowledge of that which has here already been spoken beforehand, that *the human being shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God*.[16] Moreover, the princes and rulers must be understood to be those who both govern those of lower rank and instruct and teach them and establish them in things divine.

2.11.4. But if these considerations should appear scarcely able to inspire a worthy desire in intellects hoping in literal promises, resuming our discussion a little further let us examine how that desire for the reality of things is natural to us and implanted in our soul, so that we may at last be able to describe, as it were, the very forms of the *bread of life* and the quality of that *wine* and the characteristics of the *principalities* according to the spiritual interpretation. Just as, therefore, in those arts which are usually accomplished manually, the design—the why or what quality or for what purpose something is made—remains indeed in the intellect, while the actuality is unfolded by the aid of the work of our hands, so also in those works of God, which were created by him, it must be held that the design and meaning of those things which we see done by him remains in secret. And just as, when our eye sees the things made by an artist, the intellect, if it perceives something made exceptionally skilfully, immediately burns to know of what nature it is or how or for what purpose it was made, so also, in a much greater degree, and in one that is beyond all comparison, does the intellect burn with an inexpressible desire to know the reason of those things which we see done by God. This desire, this love, we believe, has undoubtedly been implanted in us by God; and as the eye naturally seeks light and vision, and our body naturally desires food and drink, so our intellect bears an appropriate and natural desire for knowing the truth of God and to learn the causes of things. Now we have received this desire from God, not that it should not or could not ever be satisfied; otherwise the *love of truth*[17] would appear to have been implanted in our intellects by God the Creator with no purpose, if the possession of its desire is never accomplished. Whence also, even in this life, those who devote themselves with great labour to the studies of piety and religion, although they obtain only some small fragments from the numerous and immense treasures of divine knowledge, yet, by this very fact—that they occupy their understanding and intellect with these things and surpass

[14] Gen. 1:26. [15] 1 Pet. 2:4–6. Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 8.19; *Hom. Ex.* 13.3.
[16] Matt. 4:4; cf. Deut. 8:3. [17] 2 Thess. 2:10.

occupant atque in hac semet ipsos cupiditate praeueniunt, multum utilitatis
95 accipiunt ex hoc ipso, quod animos suos ad inquirendae ueritatis studium amoremque conuertunt et paratiores eos faciunt ad eruditionis futurae capacitatem (sicut, cum aliquis uelit imaginem pingere, si ante futurae formae liniamenta tenuis stili adumbratione designet et superponendis uultibus capaces praeparet notas, sine dubio per adumbrationem iam inposita
100 praeformatio ad suscipiendos ueros illos colores paratior inuenitur), si modo adumbratio ipsa ac deformatio stilo domini nostri Iesu Christi *in cordis nostri tabulis* perscribatur. Et idcirco fortasse dicitur quia *omni habenti dabitur et adicietur.* Vnde constat habentibus iam deformationem quandam in hac uita ueritatis et scientiae addendam esse etiam pulchritudinem perfectae imaginis
105 in futuro.

2.11.5. Tale opinor indicabat *desiderium* suum ille, qui dicebat: *Coartor autem ex duobus, desiderium habens dissolui et cum Christo esse, multo enim melius,* sciens quod tunc cum regressus fuisset ad Christum, omnium quae geruntur in terris manifestius agnosceret rationes, id est uel de homine uel de anima
110 hominis uel de mente, uel ex quibuscumque illis homo constat, qui sit *spiritus principalis*, qui sit *spiritus qui inoperetur*, qui sit quoque *uitalis spiritus*, uel quae sit gratia quae datur fidelibus spiritus sancti. Tunc quoque intelleget, quid sibi uideatur Israhel, uel quae diuersitas gentium, quid etiam sibi uelint in Israhel duodecim tribus, et quid singuli populi per singulas tribus. Tunc intelleget
115 etiam de sacerdotibus et leuitis et de diuersis sacerdotalibus ordinibus rationem, et cuius forma erat in Moyse, noscet nihilominus quae ueritas sit apud deum iubeleorum, et septimanas annorum; sed et festorum dierum et feriarum rationem uidebit, et omnium sacrificiorum et purificationum intuebitur causas; quae sit quoque ratio leprae purgationis et leprae diuersae, quae etiam purificatio

94 *post* praeueniunt *add.* lucri habent et *Koe in appar.* 95 inquirendae : requirendae A[ac] : acquirendae A[pc] W 98 tenui S 99 praepararet A[pc] G[ac] M 100–1 si *om.* C : sic *γ* ut *post* modo *add.* C 106 *ante* tale *add. titulum:* quod nihil sine summa ratione sit quod a deo factum est siue caelestium siue terrestriam quam ratione etiamsi in praesenti saeculo hominibus adsequi inpossibile est possibile tamen sit in futuro cum anima uel meritis uel eruditione profecerit conuenire namque bonitati dei ut eorum intellegentiam non subtrahat animae quorum intuitum praestitit aspectum C (*in can. sed non in textu* B) 110 homo ... principalis *om. γ* 112 spiritus *post* gratia *add. γ* 113 in *om. γ* 116 Moyse noscet : mosen et G M[pc] : moysen et M[ac] *σ* 117 iobeleorum *α Koe Goe*

themselves in the eager desire—they receive much advantage from this fact itself, for they turn their intellects to the study and love of searching for the truth and make themselves fitter for receiving the instruction to come; just as, when someone would paint an image, if he first with a light pencil trace a sketch of the shape to come and prepare the marks ready for the superimposition of the features, undoubtedly, by the outline now laid down through the sketch, the canvas is found to be more ready for the reception of the real colours, [so it will be with us] if only that sketch and outline may be traced *on the tablets of our hearts*[18] by the pencil of our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore, perhaps, it is said, *To everyone who has shall be given and be added.*[19] From which it is clear that to those who have, in this life, a kind of outline of truth and knowledge, shall be added the beauty of the perfect image in the future.[20]

2.11.5. Such, I think, was the *desire* indicated by him who said, *I am hard pressed between the two, having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better,*[21] knowing that when he should have returned to Christ he would know more clearly the reasons for all things which are done upon earth, that is, regarding the human being or the soul of the human being or the intellect, or whichever of these constitutes the human being, what is *the guiding Spirit, the Spirit who works,* and *the Spirit of life,*[22] or what is the grace of the Holy Spirit which is given to the faithful.[23] Then he will also understand what Israel signifies,[24] or what the diversity of the nations and what the twelve tribes of Israel mean and what the individual people of each tribe [signify].[25] Then he will also understand the reason for the priests and the Levites and the different priestly orders,[26] whose type was in Moses,[27] and will learn, too, what is the true meaning of the jubilees and the weeks of years with God;[28] and he will also see the reasons for the feast days and the holy days,[29] and will perceive the causes of all the sacrifices and purifications;[30] he will observe what is the

[18] 2 Cor. 3:3. [19] Matt. 25:29. Cf. Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 69.

[20] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Ps. 36*, 5.1 (PG 12, 1359–60).

[21] Phil. 1:23. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.5.

[22] Ps. 50:14; Eph. 2:2, and 1 Cor. 12:6, 11; Rom. 8:2, 11; and 1 Cor. 15:45.

[23] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.5. In the remainder of this chapter, Origen expounds in a typically apocalyptic fashion those things that human beings will come to know when returning to Christ. Many of the items he mentions are treated elsewhere in *Princ.* or his other works. For this theme more generally, see M. E. Stone, 'List of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature', in F. M. Cross et al. eds., *Magnalia Dei* (New York, 1976), 414–52.

[24] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.12. All aspects of the history of Israel upon earth are, for Origen, types of the heavenly Israel. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.7; *Hom. Ex.* 1.2; *Hom. Lev.* 13.4; *Hom. Num.* 1.3; 3.3; *Cels.* 7.29.

[25] Cf. Num. 1, 26. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.7–8.

[26] Cf. Num. 3, 4, 8, 18. Cf. Philo, *Leg.* 3.82; *Det.* 132–4; *Spec.* 2.120–2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.11.72; 4.25.157; 5.6.32–3; Origen, *Hom. Num.* 3.2; *Hom. Lev.* 2.3–4; 3.1; 6.3–6; 7.1.

[27] For Moses, see esp. Origen, *Hom. Exod.* and *Hom. Num.*

[28] Cf. Lev. 25. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.32; *Or.* 27.13–16.

[29] Cf. Lev. 23. [30] Cf. Lev. 1–7, 11–16. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 3, 4, 5, 9.

120 sit eorum, qui seminis profluuium patiuntur, aduertet; agnoscet quoque, quae et quantae qualesque uirtutes sint bonae, quaeque nihilominus contrariae, et qui uel illis affectus sit cum hominibus uel istis contentiosa aemulatio; intuebitur quoque etiam quae sit ratio animarum quaeue diuersitas animalium uel eorum, quae in aquis uiuunt, uel auium uel ferarum, quaeue sit causa, quod in tam 125 multas species singula genera deducantur, qui creatoris prospectus, uel quis per haec singula sapientiae eius tegitur sensus. Sed et agnoscet qua ratione radicibus quibusdam uel herbis adsociantur quaedam uirtutes, et aliis e contrario herbis uel radicibus depelluntur; quae ratio apostatarum angelorum, quaeue causa, quod his, qui eos non tota fide contempserint, uel adulari in aliquibus possunt 130 uel erroris causa ac deceptionis existere. Sed et de singulis diuinae prouidentiae iudicium discet, de his, quae accidunt hominibus, quod non fortuito uel casu accidunt, sed ratione quadam tam examinata, tam ardua, ut eam non solum sanctorum sed fortassis omnium hominum ne numerus quidem praetereat *capillorum*, cuius prouidentiae ratio perducatur usque ad *duos passeres*, qui 135 denario distrahuntur, siue spiritaliter siue etiam secundum litteram passeribus intellectis. Nunc enim adhuc interim quaeritur, tunc autem ibi iam manifeste uidebitur.

2.11.6. Ex quibus omnibus putandum est quod interim non parum temporis transeat, usquequo eorum tantummodo, quae super terram sunt, ratio post 140 uitae abscessum dignis et bene meritis ostendatur, ut per horum omnium agnitionem et plenae scientiae gratiam laetitia inenarrabili perfruantur. Tum deinde si aer iste, qui inter caelum terramque est, non est uacuus ab animantibus, et animantibus rationabilibus, sicut et apostolus dixit: *In quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis* 145 *aeris huius, spiritus qui nunc operatur in filiis diffidentiae*, et iterum ait: *Rapiemur in nubibus obuiam Christo in aerem, et ita semper cum domino erimus*, putandum est igitur quod tamdiu sancti ibi permaneant, usquequo utriusque modi rationem dispensationis eorum, quae in aere geruntur, agnoscant. Quod autem dixi: utriusque modi, hoc est: uerbi gratia, cum in terris essemus, uidimus 150 uel animalia uel arbores, et differentias eorum perspeximus sed et diuersitatem

120 et *ante* agnoscet *add.* γ 124 causa *om.* γ 138 *ante* ex quibus *add. titulum:* quod gradibus quibusdam per diuersas locorum qualitates et glorias conscendatur ad regna caelorum et simul cum locorum profectibus etiam ratio eorum proficientibus ac scientia clarescat β interim : iterum γ paruum δ 146 aere δ B : aera M[ac]

reason for the purification from leprosy and the different kinds of leprosy,[31] and for the purification of those who suffer an emission of seed;[32] he will come to know, moreover, about the good powers, what they are, their greatness and qualities, and of those also of the opposite kind,[33] and what is the affection of the former towards human beings and the contentious jealousy of the latter;[34] he will perceive also the principle of souls and the diversity of animals, whether of those that live in the water or of birds or of beasts, and what is the cause why each genus is divided into so many species, and what intention of the Creator, or what meaning of his Wisdom, is concealed in each individual thing. He will also come to know the reason why certain powers are associated with certain roots or herbs,[35] and why, on the other hand, they are absent from others; and what is the reason for the apostate angels,[36] and for what cause they are able to flatter in some things those who do not despise them with complete faith, and to exist for the purpose of error and deception.[37] He will also learn the judgement of divine providence upon each individual thing;[38] about things that happen to human beings, that they happen not by chance or by accident, but by a reason so carefully considered, so lofty, that it does not overlook even the number of *hairs on the heads*, not only of the saints but probably of all human beings, the scope of which providence extends even to the *two sparrows* sold for a denarius,[39] whether the sparrows there are understood spiritually or literally. For now, in the meantime, [the judgement of divine providence] is still sought out; but then and there it will forthwith be seen clearly.[40]

2.11.6. From all this it must be reckoned that not a little time may pass meanwhile, until the reason merely of those things which come to pass on earth may be shown to the worthy and deserving after their departure from life, that by the knowledge of it all and by grace full of knowledge, they may enjoy an unspeakable joy. Then, next, if that air which is between heaven and earth is not devoid of animated and rationally animated beings—as the Apostle said, *In which you once walked, following the course of this world, following the prince of the power of the air, the spirit who is now at work in the sons of disobedience*,[41] and again he says, *We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so we shall always be with the Lord*[42]—it must be supposed, then, that the saints will remain there for some time, until they learn the reason of the twofold mode of the arrangement of those things that happen in the air. When I say 'twofold mode', I mean, for example, when we were upon earth, we saw either animals or trees, and perceived

[31] Cf. Lev. 13–14. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 8.5–11. [32] Cf. Lev. 15:13–18.
[33] Cf. 1 Cor. 12:10. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.1–2; 1.6.2; 1.8.1. [34] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2.1–3.
[35] Cf. Wis. 7:20; Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 21.6. [36] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.1.12; *Hom. Ezech.* 9.5.
[37] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2–3; *Hom. Ezech.* 6.8. [38] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1.2.
[39] Matt. 10:29–30. Cf. Origen, *Mart.* 34; *Or.* 11.5; *Cels.* 8.70; *Hom. Luc.* 32.3.
[40] Cf. 2 Cor. 13:12. [41] Eph. 2:2. [42] 2 Thess. 4:17.

quam plurimam inter homines: uerum uidentes haec, rationes eorum non intelleximus, sed hoc nobis tantum ex ipsa qua uidimus, diuersitate suggestum est, ut inquiramus et perscrutemur, qua ratione ista omnia uel diuersa fuerint creata uel uarie dispensentur, et concepto in terris huiuscemodi agnitionis uel
155 studio uel amore, dabitur nobis post exitum etiam cognitio eius et intellegentia, si tamen res procedat ex uoto; cum ergo conprehenderimus integre eius rationem, tunc utroque modo conprehendemus ea, quae uidimus super terram. Tale ergo aliquid etiam de aeria sede dicendum est. Puto enim quod sancti quique discedentes ex hac uita permanebunt in loco aliquo in terra posito,
160 quem *paradisum* dicit scriptura diuina, uelut in quodam eruditionis loco et, ut ita dixerim, auditorio uel schola animarum, in quo de omnibus his, quae in terris uiderant, doceantur, indicia quoque quaedam accipiant etiam de consequentibus et futuris, sicut in hac quoque uita positi indicia quaedam futurorum, licet *per speculum et aenigmata*, tamen *ex aliqua parte* conceperant,
165 quae manifestius et lucidius sanctis in suis et locis et temporibus reuelantur. Si qui sane *mundus corde* et purior mente et exercitatior sensu fuerit, uelocius proficiens cito et ad aeris locum ascendet et ad caelorum regna perueniet per locorum singulorum, ut ita dixerim, *mansiones*, quas Graeci quidem σφαίρας, id est globos, appellauerunt, scriptura uero diuina *caelos* nominat; in quibus
170 singulis perspiciet primo quidem ea, quae inibi geruntur, secundo uero etiam rationem quare gerantur agnoscet: et ita per ordinem digreditur singula, sequens eum, *qui penetrauerit caelos, Iesum filium dei* dicentem: *Volo ut ubi ego sum, et isti mecum sint.* Sed et de his locorum diuersitatibus indicat, cum dicit: *Multae mansiones sunt apud patrem.* Ipse tamen ubique est et uniuersa percurrit:
175 nec ultra intellegamus eum in ea exiguitate, in qua nobis propter nos effectus est, id est non in illa circumscriptione, quam in nostro corpore in terris positus inter homines habuit, quo uelut in uno aliquo circumsaeptus loco putetur.

2.11.7. Cum ergo, uerbi gratia, ad caelestia loca peruenerint sancti, tunc iam rationem astrorum per singula peruidebunt et, siue animantia sunt, siue quidquid
180 illud est, conprehendent. Sed et alias rationes operum dei, quas eis ipse reuelabit,

152 <eorum> *post* ipsa *add. Koe* qua : quae μ *Koe* : que σ : quam *Merl Del* 154 dispensantur γ 157 uidimus : uidemus γ : sunt δ : *om.* C 160 uelut : uel γ 167 ad *om.* γ 168 spheras A^{ac} W : speras A^{pc} β γ : faeras C 170 inibi : ibi γ 171 digredietur *Del Koe* 172 penetrauerit : transgressus est γ *Goe* : penetrauit *corr. Koe* 175 ea *om.* γ similis *post* nobis *suppl. Klostermann*

the differences among them, and also the very great diversity among human beings; yet, although we saw these, we did not understand the reasons for them, but this alone was suggested to us from the diversity which we saw, that we should search out and examine for what reason these things were either created diverse or were arranged diversely, and that a zeal and love for knowledge of this kind be conceived upon earth, the knowledge and understanding of which will be granted after our departure, if indeed things turn out as desired; when, therefore, we shall have fully comprehended the reason, then we shall understand in a twofold manner what we saw on earth. Some such thing, then, must be said about the abode in the air. I think that the saints who depart from this life will remain in some place situated upon the earth, which the divine Scripture calls *paradise*,[43] as if in some place of instruction and, so to speak, an auditorium or school for souls, in which they may be instructed regarding all things which they had seen on earth and may also receive some information regarding things that are to follow in the future, just as when placed in this life they had received some indications of future events, *through a mirror, in enigmas*, indeed, yet comprehended *in part*,[44] which are revealed more clearly and luminously to the saints in their proper place and time. If anyone indeed is *pure in heart*[45] and more clear in intellect and more practised in understanding, he will make quicker progress and speedily ascend to a place of the air,[46] and will reach the kingdom of heaven, through each of those *stages*,[47] so to speak, which the Greeks have termed 'spheres', that is, 'globes', but which the divine Scripture calls *heavens*; in each of these he will first observe the things that are done there, and, second, he will come to know the reason why they are done: and thus he will pass in order through each stage, following him *who has passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God*,[48] who has said, *I will that where I am, they may also be with me*.[49] He also alludes to this diversity of places, when he says, *There are many stages with my Father*.[50] He is himself everywhere,[51] however, and traverses all things; we are no longer to understand him in those narrow limits, in which he came to be amongst us for our sake, that is, not in that circumscribed condition which he had when placed among human beings upon earth in our body, by which he might be thought of as enclosed in some one place.

2.11.7. When, then, for example, the saints shall have reached the heavenly places, then they will clearly see the natures of the stars one by one, and will understand whether they are animated or something else.[52] And they will

[43] Gen. 2:8; Luke 23:43. [44] 1 Cor. 13:12. [45] Matt. 5:9.

[46] Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 246–7; *Tim.* 42a–b; *3 Bar.*; *Ascen. Isa.*; Origen, *Cels.* 6.21–4.

[47] The Latin word *mansiones* clearly translates the *μοναί* of John 14:2, cited below, which in this context is most appropriately translated as 'stages' rather than the more familiar 'dwelling-places'.

[48] Heb. 4:14. [49] John 17:24.

[50] John 14:2. On the translation as 'stages' see n.47 above. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 10.1; 23.4; *Hom. Num.* 27.2.

[51] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1.3; *Comm. Jo.* 6.188–90. [52] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* Pr.10; 1.7.2–5.

intellegent. Iam enim tamquam filiis rerum causas et uirtutem suae conditionis ostendet, et edocet eos, quare illa stella in illo loco posita caeli est, et quare ab alia tanto dirimente spatio separatur: uerbi gratia, si propinquior fuisset, quid ex hoc esset futurum, si uero longius, quid accideret; aut si maior fuisset illa stella quam illa, quomodo sibi similis non seruaretur uniuersitas, sed in aliam quandam formam cuncta mutarentur. Sic ergo decursis omnibus, quae in astrorum ratione et in his conuersationibus, quae in caelo sunt, continentur, uenient etiam ad ea, quae *non uidentur*, uel ad ea, quorum sola nomina nunc audiuimus, et ad *inuisibilia*; quae multa quidem esse Paulus apostolus docuit, quae autem sint uel quam habentia differentiam, ne exiguo quidem aliquo intellectu conicere possumus. Et ita crescens per singula rationabilis natura, non sicut in carne uel corpore et anima in hac uita crescebat, sed mente ac sensu aucta ad perfectam scientiam mens iam perfecta perducitur, nequaquam iam ultra istis carnalibus sensibus inpedita, sed intellectualibus incrementis aucta, semper ad purum et, ut ita dixerim, *facie ad faciem* rerum causas inspiciens, potiturque perfectione, primo illa, qua in id ascendit, secundo qua permanet, cibos quibus uescatur habens theoremata et intellectus rerum rationesque causarum. Sicut enim in hac uita nostra corporea primo in hoc ipsum, quod sumus, corporaliter crescimus, in prima aetate ciborum sufficientia nobis incrementa praestante, postea uero quam crescendi ad mensuram sui fuerit expleta proceritas, utimur cibis iam non ut crescamus, sed ut uiuamus et conseruemur in uita per escas: ita arbitror et mentem etiam cum iam uenerit ad perfectum, uesci tamen et uti propriis et conpetentibus cibis cum ea mensura, cui neque deesse aliquid debeat neque abundare. In omnibus autem cibus hic intellegendus est theoria et intellectus dei, habens mensuras proprias et conpetentes huic naturae, quae facta est et creata; quas mensuras singulos quosque incipientium uidere deum, id est intellegere per *puritatem cordis*, conpetit obseruare.

2.11.7, lines 191–5

Jerome, Ep. *124.7.3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.3–10):*

Cumque in tantum profecerimus, ut nequaquam carnes et corpora, forsitan ne animae quidem fuerimus, sed mens et sensus ad perfectum ueniens nulloque perturbationum nubilo caligatus, intuebitur rationabiles intellegibilesque substantias *facie ad faciem*.

182 et edocet : et docet γ : et docebit *Merl Del* : edocens *corr. Koe* : et edocebit *corr. Sim* 185 sibi *om.* γ 186 *ante* sic ergo *add. titulum:* quod cum mens ad summam perfectionis ascenderit cibus ei sit dei sapientia et potus rerum scientia [et potus rerum scientia *om.* C] et his alimentis aut incrementum capiat si adhuc indiget incrementis aut stabilitatem teneat si in id loci uentum est ubi addi iam nihil possit β 189 multa : ex multo G M^{ac} : ex mult M^{pc} 190 habent γ : habeant *Merl Del* 196 qua : quae A^{pc} W : quia γ 201 conseruemur : seruemur δ : reseruemur G σ : reseruemus M 203 cibis A^{ac} γ 204 conpetenti μ : conpetentis conuenit σ 206 *post* obseruare *add.* periarchon liber secundus explicit δ : explicit liber secundus B G Ab : finit periarchon liber II C : explicit liber II M

understand also the other reasons for the works of God, which he will himself reveal to them. For now he will show to them, as to sons,[53] the causes of things and the power of his creation, teaching them why that star was placed in that particular position in the heavens and why it is separated from another by so great an intervening space; for example, if it had been nearer, what would have come about from this, or if it had been further, what would have happened; or, if this star had been larger than that, how the universe would not have remained the same, but everything would have been changed into another form. And when they have finished going through all those matters pertaining to the reason of the stars and their circulations in the heavens, they will come to those things which are *unseen*[54] or to those whose names alone we have as yet heard, and to things which are *invisible*,[55] which, the Apostle Paul has taught, are many, although what they are or what difference there may be among them, we are not able even to conjecture with our feeble intellect.[56] And so,[57] the rational being, growing through each step, not as it grew in this life in flesh and body and soul but enlarged in intelligence and understanding, is advanced as an intellect already perfected to perfect knowledge, no longer impeded by those fleshly senses, but being enlarged by intellectual increase and beholding, always purely and, so to speak, *face to face*,[58] the cause of things, it thus attains perfection, firstly, that by which it ascends, and, secondly, that by which it remains, having, as the food upon which it feasts, the contemplation and understanding of things and the reasons for their causes. For just as in this bodily life of ours, we first grew bodily into that which we now are, in the first years a sufficiency of food supplying us with the means of increase, but after the stature has been attained by growth to its measure, we use food no longer that we might grow, but that we might live and might remain in life by it, so also, I think the intellect, when it has reached perfection, still feeds on appropriate and suitable food in such a measure that it ought neither to lack anything or to be in excess. And this food, in every respect, must be understood to be the contemplation and understanding of God, having measures appropriate and suitable to this nature, which was made and created; it is appropriate that every one of those beginning to see God, that is, to understand him through *purity of heart*,[59] observe these measures.

[53] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.92–3. [54] 2 Cor. 4:18. [55] Rom. 1:20; Col. 1:16.

[56] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.1.7; *Comm. Jo.* 6.241; 10.283–4.

[57] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.7.3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.3–10): 'And, at the end of the second volume, discussing our final perfection, he says: when we have progressed so far that we are no longer flesh and bodies, and perhaps not even souls, but intellect and understanding, coming to perfection, not blinded by any cloud of disturbing passions, we shall see rational and spiritual substances *face to face*.'

[58] 1 Cor. 13:12. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.4.1 and the material cited there in n.74.

[59] Matt. 5:8. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 18.5; *Or.* 27.13.

LIBER TERTIUS

Praefatio Rufini

Superiores duos *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* libellos te non solum insistente, uerum etiam cogente, diebus quadragesimae interpretatus sum. Sed quoniam illis diebus
5 etiam tu, frater religiose Macari, et uicinus manebas et amplius uacabas, etiam ego amplius operabar; hos uero posteriores duos tardius explicuimus, dum tu ad nos ab extrema et ultima urbis parte rarior exactor accedis. Verum si meministi quod in praefatiuncula priore communui, quia indignaturi essent quidam, si nos audissent non aliquid de Origene male loqui, continuo id, ut arbitror, prosecutum
10 probasti. Quodsi in illo opere ita inflammati sunt hi qui hominum linguas ad male loquendum excitant daemones, in quo nondum ad plenum eorum secreta nudauerat: quid in hoc futurum putas, in quo omnes eorum caecas et occultas uias, quibus humanis cordibus inrepunt et animas infirmas ac fragiles decipiunt, reuelauit? Videbis illico perturbari omnia, seditiones moueri, clamores tota urbe
15 diffundi, ad damnationem uocari eum qui euangelicae lucernae lumine diabolicas ignorantiae tenebras fugare conatus est. Verum haec parui pendat qui cupit salua fidei catholicae regula in diuinis eruditionibus exerceri.

Illud autem necessario commoneo, quod sicut in prioribus libris fecimus, etiam in istis obseruauimus, ne ea quae reliquis eius sententiis et nostrae fidei
20 contraria uidebantur, interpretarer, sed uelut inserta ea ab aliis et adulterata praeterirem. De creaturis uero rationabilibus si quid noui dixisse uisus est, quia non in hoc est summa fidei, scientiae gratia et exercitii, cum forte nobis aduersum nonnullas haereses tali ordine necessario respondendum est, neque in his libellis neque in superioribus praetermisi, nisi si qua forte iam in superioribus
25 dicta repetere etiam in his posterioribus uoluit, et breuitatis gratia aliqua ex his resecare commodum duxi. Si qui tamen proficiendi et non obtrectandi studio haec legit, rectius faciet, si exponi sibi haec a peritioribus uelit. Absurdam namque est poetarum ficta carmina et comoediarum ridiculas fabulas a grammaticis exponi, et ea quae uel de deo uel de caelestibus uirtutibus ac de omni
30 uniuersitate dicuntur, in quibus omnis uel paganorum philosophorum uel haereticorum prauus error arguitur, sine magistro et explanatore putare aliquem posse se discere; et ita fit ut res difficiles et obscuras malint homines per temeritatem et inscientiam condemnare, quam per studium et diligentiam discere.

1 *titulus:* incipit liber tertius δ 2 *praefationem om. et canones add. β* : incipit praefatio. qui legis memor esto mei in tuis sanctis orationibus ut nos effici mereamur aemulatores spiritus μ : incipit praefatio rufini presbyteri libri III periarchon Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 3 perarchon δ γ 5 macari M *Koe Goe* : machari α G σ *Sim Fern* 10 in opere illo γ 14 reuelabit δ σ illico : loco A[ac] W : loca A[pc] : ilico μ S 19 obseruabimus W 27 legit δ γ : leget *Merl Del Koe Sim* 33 *post* discere *add.* explicit prefatio G : explicit prologus Ab

Rufinus' Preface to Book Three

The two previous books of *On First Principles* I translated, not only being urged on by you but even being constrained by you, during the forty days of Lent. But since in those days you, my devout brother Macarius, were living nearby and had more leisure, so I also worked harder; whereas I have been slower in interpreting these two latter books, seeing as you visited me, from the outermost and furthest parts of the city, to urge me on less frequently. Now, if you remember what I warned about in my former preface—that certain persons would be angry if they did not hear us speak some evil of Origen—that immediately followed, as, I think, you found out. But if those demons who incite the tongues of human beings to speak evil were so incensed by that work, in which he not as yet fully laid bare their secrets, what, do you think, will happen to this, in which he has revealed all their dark and hidden ways, by which they creep into the hearts of human beings and deceive weak and fragile souls? You will immediately see all things thrown into confusion, seditions stirred up, clamours raised throughout the whole city, and him, who endeavoured to dispel the diabolical darkness of ignorance by the evangelical lamp, summoned to condemnation. Let such things, however, be weighed lightly by him who desires to be trained in divine instruction, preserving the rule of the Catholic faith.

I must mention this, however, that, as we did in the former books, so in these we have taken care not to translate such passages as appear to be contrary to the rest of Origen's teaching and to our faith, but to omit them as being interpolations and forgeries of others. If he appeared to have uttered any novelties about rational beings, since the chief point of the faith does not consist in this, for the sake of knowledge and exercise (since perhaps by necessity we must reply to certain heresies in such a manner) I have neither omitted them in these nor in the preceding books, except when perhaps he wished to repeat in the subsequent books what he had already said in those previous ones and, for the sake of brevity, I thought it convenient to cut out some of these repetitions. If anyone, however, reads these passages with a desire to advance in knowledge and not to raise objections, he will do better if he choose to have them expounded to him by experts. For it is absurd to have the fictitious songs of the poets and the ridiculous fables of comedies expounded by grammarians, while anyone thinks he can learn without a master or an interpreter those things which are spoken either of God or of the heavenly powers and of the whole universe, in which every distorted error either of pagan philosophers or of heretics is refuted; thus it comes about that human beings would rather rashly and ignorantly condemn things that are difficult and obscure than learn by study and diligence.

De arbitrii libertate

3.1.1. Talia quaedam de repromissionibus diuinis credimus sentienda, cum intellegentiam nostram ad contemplationem aeterni illius et nullo fine claudendi saeculi iaculamur atque ineffabilem eius laetitiam ac beatitudinem contemplamur.
5 Verum quoniam in ecclesiastica praedicatione inest etiam de futuro dei iudicio fides, quae iudicii credulitas prouocat homines et suadet ad bene beateque uiuendum et omni genere refugere peccatum, et per hoc sine dubio indicatur quod in nostra sit positum potestate uel laudabili nos uitae uel culpabili dedere: propterea necessarium reor pauca etiam de arbitrii nostri libertate disserere, eo
10 quod non ignobiliter haec quoque quaestio a quam plurimis agitetur. Vt autem facilius quid sit libertas arbitrii cognoscamus, quid sibi uelit natura ipsius arbitrii uoluntatisque requiramus.

3.1.2. Omnium quae mouentur alia in semet ipsis causas motuum suorum gerunt, alia extrinsecus accipiunt: ut puta extrinsecus tantummodo mouentur

1 *titulus:* de arbitrii libertate δ μ : de arbitrii libertate cum absolutionibus quaestionum quae aduersum hoc de scribturis obtendi [ostendi B] solent β : capitulum I de liberi arbitrii libertate Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 5 dei iudicio : iudicio γ : dei <iusto> iudicio *Del Koe (ex Phil.)* 9 et *ante* propterea *add.* δ B

Περὶ αὐτεξουσίου

3.1.1. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ περιέχεται ὁ περὶ κρίσεως δικαίας θεοῦ λόγος, ὅστις καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πιστευθεὶς εἶναι ἀληθής, προκαλεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ καλῶς βιοῦν καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φεύγειν τὴν*
5 *ἁμαρτίαν, δηλονότι συγκατατιθεμένους τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τὰ ἐπαίνου καὶ ψόγου ἄξια, φέρε καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ἰδίᾳ ὀλίγα διαλάβωμεν, ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα προβλήματος. Ἵνα δὲ νοήσωμεν τί τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ ἀναπτύξαι δεῖ, ἵνα ταύτης σαφηνισθείσης ἀκριβῶς παρασταθῇ τὸ ζητούμενον.*

1 *Titulus: περὶ αὐτεξουσίου καὶ τῶν δοκούντων τοῦτο ἀναιρεῖν ῥητῶν γραφικῶν* [*ἀναιρεῖν τοῦτο γραφικῶν ῥητῶν* E] *λύσις καὶ ἑρμηνεία ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀρχῶν τρίτου τόμου* **2–25** *Ἐπεὶ … αὐτὸν deficit* C 4 *τὸ om.* B^{ac} : *τῶ* B^{pc} : *τῷ corr. Koe Goe* 5 *τῷ* : *τῶ* B^{pc} : *τὸ codd. Rob Sim* 6 *τὰ om.* E H : *secl. Koe Goe* *ἴδια* B D *ὀλίγω* D

Free Will

3.1.1.[1] Some such opinions, we believe, are to be held regarding the divine promises, when we direct our understanding to the contemplation of that eternal and never-ending age and contemplate its ineffable joy and blessedness. But since the ecclesiastical preaching includes a belief in a future righteous judgement of God, which belief summons and persuades human beings to live in a good and blessed manner and to avoid sin in every way, and as by this it is undoubtedly indicated that it is within our power to devote ourselves either to a life worthy of praise or one worthy of blame, I therefore think it necessary to discuss also a few points regarding the freedom of our will, seeing as this question has been treated by very many writers in no insignificant a manner. But that we may more easily understand what freedom of the will is, let us inquire what the nature of this will and desire may signify.

1: On Free Will

3.1.2. Of all things that move, some have the causes of their movements within themselves, while others receive them from without; for example, all things which

[1] For Origen, *Princ.* 3.1, we also have the Greek text (set below) from the *Philocalia*. As will be clear, Rufinus has not infrequently extended the text in his translation; those places where it is likely that the *Philocalia* has either omitted a passage or abridged it are noted.

On Self-Determination

3.1.1.[1] Since in the ecclesiastical preaching there is included the doctrine of the righteous judgement of God, which, when believed to be true, summons those who hear it to live well and to avoid sin in every way, clearly acknowledging that things worthy of praise and blame are within our own power, come and let us discuss separately a few points regarding self-determination, a problem that is one of the most necessary importance. And that we may understand what self-determination is, it is necessary to unfold the meaning of it, in order that, this being made clear, that which is sought may be posed precisely.

[1] The Greek text of Origen, *Princ.* 3.1, has been preserved for us by its inclusion, as chapter 21, in the *Philocalia*, a compendium of passages from Origen made by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus; there it bears the title: 'Concerning self-determination and an explanation and interpretation of those scriptural passages which seem to deny it, from the third book of *On First Principles*'. The numeration of the paragraphs in the editions and translations of the *Philocalia* differ slightly from those given here, which are aligned to the text of *Princ.*

15 omnia, quae sine uita sunt, ut lapides uel ligna et quaecumque huiusmodi sunt, quae solo habitu materiae suae uel corporum constant. Omittenda sane nunc est illa quaestio, quae etiam illum motum putat esse, cum per corruptelam corpora dissoluuntur; nihil enim nunc haec ad propositum conducunt. Alia uero in semet ipsis habent mouendi causam, ut animalia uel arbores et omnia,
20 quae uel per naturalem uitam uel per animam constant; inter quae etiam metallorum uenas deputari aliquibus uisum est, sed et ignis sui motus esse putandus est, fortassis autem etiam et fontes aquarum. Haec autem, quae in semet ipsis causam suorum motuum habent, quaedam dicuntur ex se, quaedam ab se moueri: et ita diuidunt quod ex se moueantur ea, quae uiuunt quidem
25 non tamen animantia sunt, a se autem mouentur animantia, cum eis fantasia, id est uoluntas quaedam uel incitamentum, adfuerit, quae ea moueri ad aliquid uel incitari prouocauerit. Denique etiam in quibusdam animalibus inest talis fantasia, id est uoluntas uel sensus, qui ea naturali quodam instinctu prouocet et concitet ad ordinatos et conpositos motus; sicut uidemus araneas facere,
30 quae fantasia, id est uoluntate quadam uel studio textrinae, ad opus texendi ordinatissime concitantur, sine dubio naturali quodam motu intentionem huiuscemodi operis prouocante, nec tamen ultra alium aliquem sensum quam texendi naturale studium habere ipsum animal inuenitur, sicut et apis fingendi fauos ac mella, ut aiunt, aeria congregandi.

15 huius mundi *μ* 18 haec nunc W *β Goe* : nunc A 20 uel[1] *om. γ* 22 et *om. β Koe Goe* 23 dicunt *β Koe Sim* 25 a se autem moueri dicunt animantia *post* sunt *add* W *Goe* moueantur *Koe* 27 prouocet *β* animantibus *γ* inest : id est G M[ac] : est M[pc] *σ* 28 qui ea : quia *δ* : quae a G *σ* 31 ornatissime *μ* 33 apes *Del* 34 aeria acria *μ* : auaritia *Merl*

10 **3.1.2.** *Τῶν κινουμένων τὰ μέν τινα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχει τὴν τῆς κινήσεως αἰτίαν, ἕτερα δὲ ἔξωθεν μόνον κινεῖται. Ἔξωθεν μὲν οὖν μόνον κινεῖται τὰ φορητά, οἷον ξύλα καὶ λίθοι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ ἕξεως μόνης συνεχομένη ὕλη. Ὑπεξηρήσθω δὲ νῦν τοῦ λόγου τὸ κίνησιν λέγειν τὴν ῥύσιν τῶν σωμάτων, ἐπεὶ μὴ χρεία τούτου πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον. Ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δὲ ἔχει*
15 *τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ κινεῖσθαι ζῷα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς ὅσα ὑπὸ φύσεως καὶ ψυχῆς συνέχεται· ἐξ ὧν φασιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ μέταλλα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτοκίνητόν ἐστι, τάχα δὲ καὶ αἱ πηγαί. Τῶν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ κινεῖσθαι ἐχόντων τὰ μέν φασιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὲν τὰ ἄψυχα, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ τὰ ἔμψυχα. Καὶ ἀφ'*
20 *ἑαυτῶν κινεῖται τὰ ἔμψυχα φαντασίας ἐγγινομένης ὁρμὴν προκαλουμένης. Καὶ πάλιν ἔν τισι τῶν ζῴων φαντασίαι γίνονται ὁρμὴν προκαλούμεναι φύσεως φανταστικῆς τεταγμένως κινούσης τὴν ὁρμήν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀράχνῃ*

10 *ἔχει om.* E 11 *ἔξωθεν*[2] … *κινεῖται om.* A 12 *ξύλον* B *μόνη* E 13 *ὑφεξηρήσθω* B A 16 *καὶ*[1] : *ἢ* B[pc] D *Koe* : *καὶ ἢ* B[ac] *καὶ*[2] *om.* B 17 *ἑαυτοῖς* : *αὐτοῖς* B *Fern* 19 *καὶ om.* E 20 *γάρ ante κινεῖται add.* E *ὁρμὴν προκαλουμένης om.* A

are without life—such as stones, and pieces of wood, and whatever things are of this kind, which are held together solely by the constitution of their material substance or bodies—are moved only from without. That view, which regards it as movement when bodies dissolve in corruption, must be excluded for now, for it contributes nothing to our present purpose. Other things, again, have the cause of movement in themselves, such as animals and trees and all things that are held together by natural life or by the soul; among which some think that even the veins of metals are to be counted; and fire, also, is supposed to be self-moving and perhaps even springs of water. Of those things which have the cause of their movements within themselves, some are said to be moved *of* themselves, others *by* themselves: and they are thus divided because those which are moved *of* themselves are alive but are not, however, animated beings, while animated beings move *by* themselves when there comes to them an image, that is, a sort of desire or incitement, which stimulates them to be moved or roused towards something.[2] Then again, in certain animated beings there is such an image, that is, a desire or feeling, which by a kind of natural instinct stimulates and drives them to an ordered and complex movement; just as we see spiders doing, when they are roused by an image, that is, a sort of wish and desire for weaving, to the task of weaving in a most orderly manner, some natural movement undoubtedly stimulating the impulse to work of this kind; nor is this same animal found to possess any other feeling besides the natural desire of weaving, just as the bee for fashioning honeycombs and gathering, as they say, aerial honey.

[2] For the Stoic background to Origen's comments, see *SVF* 3.40; Philo, *Leg.* 1.30; *Deus* 41–4; Clement, *Strom.* 2.20.110–11. See also the material referred to in *Princ.* 2.8.1, n.3.

3.1.2. Of things that move, some have the cause of their movement within themselves, while others are only moved from without. Thus, portable things, such as pieces of wood and stone and all matter held together by its constitution alone, are only moved from without. Let the view that calls the flux of bodies 'motion' be set aside for now, since there is no need of this for our purpose. But animals and plants, and generally whatever is held together by nature and soul, have the cause of movement in themselves; among these, they say, are included even metals; besides these, fire also is self-moved and perhaps also springs of water. But of those things having the cause of movement within themselves, some, they say, are moved *of* themselves, others *by* themselves: inanimate beings *of* themselves, animated beings *by* themselves. And animated beings are moved by themselves, when there arises an image, inciting an impulse. And, again, in certain animals images arise inciting an impulse, the imaginative nature moving the impulse in an orderly manner; as in the spider, the image of

3.1.3. Rationabile uero animal cum habeat in se et hos naturales motus, habet tamen amplius ceteris animalibus etiam rationis uim, qua iudicare et discernere de motibus naturalibus possit et alios quidem reprobare et abicere, alios uero probare atque suscipere, cuius rationis iudicio dirigi et gubernari hominis motus ad uitam probabilem possent. Vnde consequens est ut, quoniam natura rationis huius, quae est in homine, habet in se uim dinoscendi boni uel mali, idque cum discreuerit, inest ei facultas etiam eligendi quod probauerit, in eligendo quidem quod bonum est laudabilis, in sequendo uero quod turpe uel malum est iure culpabilis iudicetur. Illud sane nequaquam latere nos debet, quod in nonnullis mutis animalibus ordinatior quidam motus a ceteris animalibus inuenitur, ut in sagacibus canibus uel bellatoribus equis, ita ut uideantur aliquibus uelut rationabili quodam sensu moueri; sed id non tam ratione quam incentiuo quodam et naturali motu, pro huiuscemodi usibus largius indulto, fieri credendum est. Verum ut dicere coeperamus, cum ita se habeat rationabile animal, nobis hominibus incidere quidem extrinsecus possunt aliqua et occurrere siue ad uisum siue ad auditum uel ad alios sensus, quae nos concitent ac prouocent ad bonos uel contrarius motus; quae utique quia extrinsecus iucidunt, non est in nostra positum potestate ne incidant uel occurrant: iudicare uero et probare, qualiter uti debeamus his, quae incidunt, nullius alterius res est uel opus nisi rationis eius, quae est in nobis, id est nostri iudicii; cuius rationis iudicio incidentibus extrinsecus concitamentis abutimur

36 qua : quia *μ* 39 possunt *σ* : possint *Del Koe Goe* 44 quidem *γ* a : ac *γ*
49 inuidere *γ*

φαντασία τοῦ ὑφαίνειν γίνεται καὶ ὁρμὴ ἀκολουθεῖ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑφαίνειν, τῆς φανταστικῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως τεταγμένως ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν προκαλουμένης καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μετὰ τὴν φανταστικὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν πεπιστευμένου τοῦ ζῴου, καὶ ἐν τῇ μελίσσῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κηροπλαστεῖν.

3.1.3. *Τὸ μέντοι λογικὸν ζῷον καὶ λόγον ἔχει πρὸς τῇ φανταστικῇ φύσει, τὸν κρίνοντα τὰς φαντασίας καί τινας μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζοντα, τινὰς δὲ παραδεχόμενον, ἵνα ἄγηται τὸ ζῷον κατ' αὐτάς. Ὅθεν ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ λόγου εἰσὶν ἀφορμαὶ τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρόν, αἷς ἑπόμενοι θεωρήσαντες τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν αἱρούμεθα μὲν τὸ καλόν, ἐκκλίνομεν δὲ τὸ αἰσχρόν, ἐπαινετοὶ μέν ἐσμεν ἐπιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ πράξει τοῦ καλοῦ, ψεκτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον μέντοι γε ὅτι τὸ πλέον τῆς εἰς πάντα τεταγμένης φύσεως ποσῶς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις, ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον· ὥστε ἐγγύς που εἶναι, ἵν' οὕτως*

24 *προκαλουμένης incipit* C 31 *αἱρούμεθα* : *ἑρούμεθα* A 32 *ἐπιδιδόντες* ε
35 *δὲ* om. C *ἐπὶ* om. C *τὸ om.* B

3.1.3. But while a rational animal has in itself these natural movements, it has moreover, to a greater extent than other animals, the power of reason, by which it is able to judge and discern between the natural movements, disapproving of and rejecting some and approving of and accepting others, so that by the judgement of this reason the movements of human beings may be directed and governed towards a commendable life. From this it follows that, since the nature of this reason which is in the human being has within itself the power of distinguishing between good and evil, and, when he has determined, there is also in him the faculty of choosing what he has approved, he may rightly be deemed praiseworthy when choosing what is good and blameworthy when following that which is base or wicked. This indeed must in no way escape our notice, that in some dumb animals there is found a more regulated movement than in other animals, such as in hunting dogs or war horses, so that they appear to some to be moved by a kind of rational sense. But it must be believed that this is not so much of reason as of some instinctive and natural movement, abundantly bestowed for purposes of this kind. But, as we began to say, with this being the case for the rational animal, some things may happen to us human beings from without and, presenting themselves to our sight or hearing or any of our other senses, may arouse and stimulate us to good movements or the contrary, which movements, because they come to us from without, it is not in our power to ensure that they neither happen nor occur; but to judge and determine how we ought to use them, when they happen, is a matter and act of nothing other than that reason which is in us, that is, our own judgement. By the judgement of this reason we use the stimuli that come to us from

weaving arises and the impulse to weaving follows, its imaginative nature inciting it in an orderly manner to this task, with the insect being entrusted with nothing beyond its imaginative nature; and in the bee [there is the impulse] to make a honeycomb.

3.1.3. The rational animal, however, in addition to its imaginative nature, also has reason, which judges the images, rejecting some and accepting others, so that the animal may be led in accordance with them. Therefore, since there are, in the nature of reason, means to contemplate both the good and the shameful—following which, contemplating the good and the shameful, we choose the good but avoid the shameful—we are praiseworthy when devoting ourselves to the practice of the good, but blameworthy in the opposite case. One must not fail to note, however, that the greater part of the nature assigned to all [rational beings] is, in the case of animals, of a certain amount, some more,

ad id, quodcumque ipsa ratio probauerit, naturalibus motibus nostris nutu eius uel ad bona uel ad contraria gubernatis.

3.1.4. Si uero quis dicat ea quae extrinsecus incidunt motus nostros prouocantia, talia esse, ut possibile non sit aduersari eis, siue ad bonum nos siue ad malum
60 concitantibus: in semet ipsum paulisper qui haec aestimat conuertat animos et proprios diligentius introspiciat motus, nisi inuenerit, cum alicuius desiderii pulsat inlecebra, nihil prius geri quam animi accommodetur assensus et suggestioni prauae nutus mentis indulgeat; ita ut etiam uerisimilibus quibusdam causis intra cordis nostri tribunalia uelut iudici residenti ex utraque parte
65 adhiberi uideatur assertio, ut causis prius expositis gerundi sententia de rationis iudicio proferatur. Non enim, ut uerbi gratia dixerim, huic, qui statuit continenter et caste uiuere atque ab omni se muliebri contagio continere, si forte apparuerit mulier prouocans eum et inliciens aliquid contra propositum gerere, causa ei uel necessitas praeuaricandi mulier extitit, cum possit utique statuti sui memor
70 libidinis incitamenta refrenare et inritantis inlecebrae delectamenta austerioribus uirtutis increpationibus cohercere, ut omni luxuriae sensu fugato propositi

60 animos *ω Sim Fern* : animum *Del Koe Goe* **61** proprius G M[ac] : propius *σ* intro inspiciat δ **62** assensus : sensus *γ* **68** e *ante* contra *add. γ* perfecta et absoluta *post* causa ei *add. Del Koe*

εἴπω, τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἰχνευταῖς κυσὶν ἔργον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἵπποις. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑποπεσεῖν τόδε τι τῶν ἔξωθεν, φαντασίαν ἡμῖν κινοῦν τοιάνδε ἢ τοιάνδε, ὁμολογουμένως οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν· τὸ δὲ κρῖναι οὑτωσὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ γενομένῳ ἢ ἑτέρως, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔργον ἢ τοῦ
40 *ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου ἐστίν, ἤτοι παρὰ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐνεργοῦντος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ καλὸν προκαλουμένας καὶ τὸ καθῆκον ὁρμάς, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκτρέποντος.*

3.1.4. *Εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸ τὸ ἔξωθεν λέγοι εἶναι τοιόνδε, ὥστε ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἀντιβλέψαι αὐτῷ τοιῷδε γενομένῳ, οὗτος ἐπιστησάτω τοῖς ἰδίοις πάθεσι*
45 *καὶ κινήμασιν, εἰ μὴ εὐδόκησις γίνεται καὶ συγκατάθεσις καὶ ῥοπὴ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ ἐπὶ τόδε τι διὰ τάσδε τὰς πιθανότητας. Οὐ γάρ, φέρ' εἰπεῖν, ἡ γυνὴ τῷ κρίναντι ἐγκρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ μίξεων, ἐπιφανεῖσα καὶ προκαλεσαμένη ἐπὶ τὸ ποιῆσαί τι παρὰ πρόθεσιν, αὐτοτελὴς αἰτία γίνεται τοῦ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἀθετῆσαι· πάντως γὰρ*
50 *εὐδοκήσας τῷ γαργαλισμῷ καὶ τῷ λείῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀντιβλέψαι αὐτῷ μὴ βεβουλημένος μηδὲ τὸ κεκριμένον κυρῶσαι, πράττει τὸ ἀκόλαστον. Ὁ δέ*

38 *ἢ τοιάνδε om.* C *ὁμολογουμένως* post *ἐφ' ἡμῖν transp.* C **41** *προσκαλουμένας* A C H **43** *λέγει* C H *ἔχειν om.* C **44** *οὕτως* B **50** *ἀντιβλέψαι om.* C *αὐτὸ ε* **51** *βεβουλημένως* B

without for whatever purpose that reason itself may approve, directing by its bidding our natural movements either to the good or the contrary.

3.1.4. But if anyone should say that those things which strike from without, arousing our movements, are such that it is not possible to resist them, whether they incite us to good or to evil, let the one who holds this turn his attention for a little while to himself, and carefully examine his own movements, and see if he does not find that, when the enticement of any desire strikes him, nothing is accomplished until the assent of the soul is gained and the bidding of the mind indulges the wicked suggestion; just as if an appeal were seen to be made from two parties on certain plausible grounds to a judge residing within the tribunals of our heart, in order that when the grounds have first been set forth the determination to act may be brought forth from the judgement of reason. To give an example, if to a man who has determined to live continently and chastely and to keep himself from all intercourse with women, a woman should happen to appear, inciting and alluring him to act against his purpose, that woman is not a cause or necessity of his transgressing, since he is certainly able by remembering his resolution to bridle the incitements of lust and by the stern admonitions of virtue to restrain the pleasures of the allurement that solicits him, so that, all desire for indulgence being driven away, the firmness

some less; so that the action of hunting dogs and war horses comes close, if I may speak thus, to the rational faculty. To fall under one of those causes from without, which incites such or such an image, is admittedly not one of those things that are within our power; but to determine to use what has happened either in this way or that is the work of nothing other than the reason which is in us, either activating us, from its promptings, to the impulse inciting us to what is good and befitting, or turning us aside to the opposite.

3.1.4. But if someone says that that which comes from without is such that it is impossible to resist it, whatever it might be, let him turn his attention to his own affections and movements [and see] whether the approval and assent and inclination of the controlling faculty towards some action is not on account of some specious attractions. To take an example, a woman who has appeared before a man, determined to be chaste and to keep himself from intercourse, and who has incited him to act contrary to his purpose, is not the complete cause of the abandonment of his purpose; for being entirely delighted with the titillation and allure of the pleasure, neither wishing to resist it nor to strengthen his determination, he commits the licentious act. But someone else, on the

firmitas et constantia perseueret. Denique si eruditioribus quibusque uiris et in diuinis institutionibus roboratis huiuscemodi inritamenta prouenerint, memores continuo sui, ea quae dudum meditati sunt et in quibus eruditi sunt in memoriam
75 reuocantes et sanctioris se doctrinae adminiculis munientes, respuunt ac refellunt omnem incitamenti inlecebram atque aduersas concupiscentias insitae sibi rationis obiectione depellunt.

3.1.5. Cum ergo haec ita esse naturalibus quodammodo testimoniis conprobetur, quomodo non superfluum est gestorum nostrorum causas ad ea quae
80 extrinsecus incidunt, retorqueri et a nobis culpam, in quibus omnis causa est, remoueri, hoc est dicere similes nos esse lignis uel lapidibus, quae intra se quidem nullum habent motum, causas autem motus sui extrinsecus patiuntur? Quod utique nec uere dicitur nec decenter, sed ad hoc solum fingitur, ut libertas

τις ἔμπαλιν, τῶν αὐτῶν συμβεβηκότων τῷ πλείονα μαθήματα ἀνειληφότι καὶ ἠσκηκότι· οἱ μὲν γαργαλισμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐρεθισμοὶ συμβαίνουσιν, ὁ λόγος δέ, ἅτε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἰσχυροποιηθεὶς καὶ τραφεὶς τῇ μελέτῃ καὶ
55 *βεβαιωθεὶς τοῖς δόγμασι πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἢ ἐγγύς γε τοῦ βεβαιωθῆναι γεγενημένος, ἀνακρούει τοὺς ἐρεθισμοὺς καὶ ὑπεκλύει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.*

3.1.5. *Τὸ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἡμῖν γινομένων τὰ ἔξωθεν αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολῦσαι ἐγκλήματος, ὁμοίους ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφηναμένους ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις ἑλκυσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτὰ κινησάντων, οὐκ ἀληθὲς*
60 *οὐδὲ εὔγνωμον, βουλομένου τε λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ τοιοῦτος τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου παραχαράττειν. Εἰ γὰρ πυθοίμεθα αὐτοῦ, τί ἦν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, λέγοι ἂν ὅτι εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀπήντα, ἐμοῦ τόδε τι προθεμένου, τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον προκαλούμενον. Πάλιν τε αὖ ψιλὴν τὴν κατασκευὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἐναργές ἐστι, λόγου παιδευτικοῦ τοὺς*
65 *ἀκρατεστάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους παραλαμβάνοντος, εἰ τῇ προτροπῇ παρακολουθήσαιεν, καὶ μεταβάλλοντος· ὥστε παρὰ πολὺ γεγονέναι τὴν*

53 *γὰρ post μὲν add* C *Fern : Koe in appar.* 53–4 *ὁ δὲ λόγος ϵ* 55 *ἢ om.* B A *γε* : *δέ* A 57 *οὕτως om.* C 58 *ἀπολύειν* AH *ὁμοίως* DH *ἀποφαινομένους* A H 59 *οὐκ* : *οὔτ' Koe in appar. (cf.* nec *Ruf.)* 61 *πειθοίμεθα* B[ac] *τί* : *εἴ τι* B 62 *τι* : *ἔστι* C 63 *τῶν … προκαλουμένων Koe in appar.* 65 *ἀκρατεστέρους* A C H *ἀγριωτέρους* C 66 *καὶ μεταβάλλοντος om.* A C

and constancy of his determination may endure. Finally, if allurements of this kind present themselves to men of greater learning, who have been strengthened by divine training, remembering at once who they are, recalling to mind what had recently been their meditation and in which they had been instructed, and fortifying themselves by the support of a holier teaching, they reject and repel every allurement of the incitement and drive away the opposing lusts by the interposition of the reason implanted within them.

3.1.5. Since, then, it is established by a sort of natural evidence that these things are so, is it not specious to refer the causes of our actions back to those things which happen to us from without, and to remove the blame from ourselves, in whom the entire cause lies, that is, to say that we are like pieces of wood or stones, which have no movement in themselves, but suffer the causes of their movements from without? It is, indeed, neither true nor becoming for this to

other hand, when the same things have happened to him, having received more instruction and disciplined himself, the titillations and enticements do occur, but his reason, as being strengthened to a higher degree and trained by practice and confirmed towards the good by [right] doctrines, or near to being confirmed, repels the enticements and weakens the desire.

3.1.5. To accuse things from without for what thus happens to us and to absolve ourselves from blame, by declaring that we are like pieces of wood and stones dragged about by those that move them from without, is neither true nor reasonable, but is the argument of someone wishing to give a false account of self-determination. For if we were to ask such a one what self-determination was, he would say it is that when I propose something, nothing from without opposes, inciting me to the contrary. Again, to blame our bare natural constitution is contrary to the evidence, for formative discourse takes hold of the most intemperate and savage, if they will follow the exhortation, and transforms them, so that the alteration and transformation for the better is

arbitrii denegetur; nisi si putemus ita demum constare posse arbitrii libertatem,
85 si nihil sit quod nos extrinsecus incidens ad bona prouocet aut ad mala. Si uero quis ad naturalem corporis intemperiem culparum referat causas, contra rationem id esse totius eruditionis ostenditur. Quomodo enim uidemus quam plurimos, qui cum incontinenter prius intemperateque uixissent ac luxuriae fuissent libidinisque captiui, si forte uerbo doctrinae atque eruditionis in melius
90 prouocati sunt, tantam extitisse commutationem, ut ex luxuriosis ac turpibus sobrii et castissimi, ex ferocibus et inmanibus mitissimi ac mansuetissimi redderentur: et rursum uidemus in aliis quietis et honestis, qui cum se inquietis forte hominibus ac turpibus sociarunt *corrumpi mores bonos conloquiis malis* et effici eos tales, quales sunt illi quibus nihil ad turpitudinem deest; et hoc
95 interdum euenit matura iam aetate uiris, ita ut continentiores in iuuentute uixerint, quam cum prouectior aetas facultatem uitae liberioris indulsit. Consequentia igitur rationis ostendit quod ea quidem, quae extrinsecus incidunt, in nostra potestate non sunt; bene uero uel male uti his quae incidunt, ea ratione, quae intra nos est, discernente ac diiudicante quomodo his uti oporteat, nostrae
100 est potestatis.

85 si *om.* B *σ* 87–8 in quam plurimis *β Del Koe* 91 ex ferocibus ... mitissimi *om. γ*
92 et[1] *ω Sim Fern* : ita *Del Koe Goe* [qui] *secl. Koe Sim Fern* : *om. Del* 92–3 forte inquietis *γ*

προτροπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολήν, πολλάκις τῶν ἀκολαστοτάτων βελτιόνων γινομένων παρὰ τοὺς τῇ φύσει πρότερον οὐ δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοιούτους, καὶ τῶν ἀγριωτάτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμερότητος
70 *μεταβαλλόντων, ὥστε τοὺς μηδὲ πώποτε οὕτως ἀγριωθέντας ἀγρίους εἶναι δοκεῖν συγκρίσει τοῦδέ τινος μεταβεβληκότος ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμερον. Ὁρῶμέν τε ἑτέρους εὐσταθεστάτους καὶ σεμνοτάτους ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπὶ τὰς χείρους διατριβὰς ἐκκρουομένους τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ εὐσταθοῦς, ὥστε εἰς ἀκολασίαν αὐτοὺς μεταβαλεῖν, πολλάκις ἀρχομένους τῆς ἀκολασίας*
75 *μεσούσης τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐμπίπτοντας εἰς ἀταξίαν μετὰ τὸ παρεληλυθέναι τὸ τῆς νεότητος ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει ἄστατον. Οὐκοῦν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ οὕτως ἢ ἐναντίως χρήσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον κριτὴν παραλαβόντα καὶ ἐξεταστὴν τοῦ πῶς δεῖ πρὸς τάδε τινὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀπαντῆσαι, ἔργον ἐστὶν ἡμέτερον.*

67 *προτροπὴν* : *τροπὴν* A H 73 *εἰς om.* C 77 *ἐστιν* B *Fern*

be said, but it is contrived for this purpose only, that the freedom of the will may be denied; unless we suppose that freedom of will can stand just like that, or that nothing occurring to us from without can incite us to good or evil. And if anyone were to refer the causes of our faults to the natural intemperance of the body, this is shown to be contrary to the rationale of all instruction. For how many do we see who have previously lived incontinently and intemperately and have been captives of luxury and lust, yet if perchance they are aroused by the word of teaching and instruction to that which is better there takes place so great a change that from being immoderate and foul they are converted to being sober and most chaste, and from being fierce and savage to being exceedingly mild and gentle? So also, on the other hand, we see in the case of others, quiet and honest people who have associated with disturbed and foul persons, *good manners corrupted by bad company*,[3] and they are made such as those who lack nothing in wickedness; and this sometimes happens to men of mature age, so that such have lived more continently in youth than when more advanced age has granted the opportunity for a freer life. The result of our reasoning, therefore, shows that those things which happen from without are not within our power; but that to use well or badly those things which do happen, by that reason which is within us, distinguishing and determining how these things ought to be used, is within our power.

[3] 1 Cor. 15:33.

very great, the most licentious people often becoming better than those who formerly did not seem to be such by nature, and the most savage changing to such a degree of gentleness, so that those who were never at any time savage in this way appear to be savage in comparison with the one who has changed into gentleness. And we see others, most stable and honourable, through perversion to lower ways being driven from their solemnity and honour, so as to change into a state of licentiousness, often beginning their licentiousness in middle age and plunging into disorder after the period of youth—which, as regards its nature, is unstable—has passed. Reason, therefore, demonstrates that things from without are not within our power, but to use them in this way or otherwise—having received reason as a judge and investigator of the manner in which we ought to meet those things that come from without—this is our doing.

3.1.6. Vt autem ea, quae ratio consequenter ostendit, etiam scripturarum auctoritate firmemus, id est, quod nostri operis est recte uel minus recte uiuere, et non uel ex his, quae extrinsecus incidunt, uel, ut quidam putant, fatis urgentibus cogimur, testimonium dabit Micheas propheta his uerbis dicens: *Si*
105 *annuntiatum tibi est, o homo, quid est bonum, aut quid dominus quaerit abs te, nisi ut facias iudicium et diligas misericordiam et paratus sis ire cum domino deo tuo?* et Moyses ita dicit: *Posui ante faciem tuam uiam uitae et uiam mortis, elige quod bonum est, et incede in eo*, et Esaias ita ait: *Si uolueritis et audieritis me, quae bona sunt terrae edetis; si uero nolueritis neque audieritis me, gladius uos*
110 *consumet; os enim domini locutum est haec*, et in psalmis ita scriptum est: *Si populus meus audisset me, et Israhel si in uiis meis ambulasset, in nihilum utique inimicos eius humiliassem*, per quod ostendit quia erat in populi potestate *<audire et> incedere in uiis* dei.

Sed et saluator dicens: *Ego autem dico uobis: nolite resistere malo* et:
115 *Quicumque iratus fuerit fratri suo, reus erit iudicio* et: *Quicumque inspexerit*

105 requiret *γ* : requirit *Del Koe* **111** meus *om. α* in[1] *om.* C **112** *post* humiliassem *lacunam signauit Koe* erat : erit G σ : fuerit *dub. Koe in appar.* **113** <audire et> *suppl. Koe Sim Fern (ex Phil.)* : *add. Del* in *om.* δ C **114** nolite : non *γ Koe* **115** inpexit G M[ac]

80 **3.1.6.** Ὅτι δὲ ἡμέτερον ἔργον τὸ βιῶσαι καλῶς ἐστι, καὶ αἰτεῖ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὡς οὐκ αὐτοῦ ὂν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἑτέρου τινὸς παραγινόμενον ἤ, ὥς οἴονταί τινες, ἀπὸ εἱμαρμένης, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἡμέτερον ἔργον, μαρτυρήσει ὁ προφήτης Μιχαίας λέγων· **εἰ ἀνηγγέλη σοι, ἄνθρωπε, τί καλόν; Ἢ τί κύριος ἐκζητεῖ παρὰ σοῦ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τοῦ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεος καὶ ἕτοιμον εἶναι τοῦ πορεύεσθαι**
85 **μετὰ κυρίου θεοῦ σου;** Καὶ Μωσῆς· **τέθεικα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου· ἔκλεξαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ πορεύου ἐν αὐτῷ.** Καὶ Ἠσαΐας· **ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλητε μηδὲ εἰσακούσητέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.** Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς· **εἰ ὁ λαός μου ἤκουσέ μου, καὶ**
90 **Ἰσραὴλ ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου εἰ ἐπορεύθη, ἐν τῷ μηδενὶ ἂν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν ἐταπείνωσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θλίβοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπέβαλον ἂν τὴν χεῖρά μου,** ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ ὄντος τοῦ **ἀκούειν καὶ πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς** τοῦ θεοῦ.

Καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ δὲ λέγων τὸ **ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ** καὶ ὅτι **ὃς ἂν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει** καὶ **ὃς ἐὰν**
95 **ἐμβλέψῃ γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,**

82 ἀπὸ : αὐτό A ἢ *post* ἀλλ᾽ *add.* A C *Goe* Μιχαίας προφήτης B **84** τοῦ : τὸ φ *Rob* ἀγαπᾶν : ποιεῖν B **85** τοῦ *post* κυρίου *add.* ϵ **86** ἐκλέξασθαι γ πορεύεσθαι A δ αὐτό B **89** καί[2] *om.* ϵ *(= LXX)* **90** ἂν *om.* B **91** καὶ ἐπὶ … μοῦ *om.* B *secl. Sim (= Ruf.)* **92** τοῦ λαοῦ ϵ **94** ὅτι *om.* C αὐτοῦ *om.* γ ἐὰν : ἂν A D **95** γυναικὶ ϵ αὐτὴν *post* ἐπιθυμῆσαι *add.* C αὐτὴν *post* ἐμοίχευσεν *add.* C H

3.1.6. But that we may confirm, by the authority of the Scriptures, those things which the results of reasoning have shown, that is, that it is our doing whether to live rightly or not, and we are not compelled either by those causes which happen from without or, as some think, by the pressure of fate, the prophet Micah will bear witness, saying these words, *Has it been told to you, O human being, what is good or what the Lord seeks from you, but to do judgement and to love mercy and to be ready to walk with the Lord your God?*[4] And Moses speaks thus, *I have set before your face the way of life and the way of death; choose what is good and walk in it.*[5] And Isaiah says, *If you are willing and listen to me, you shall eat the good things of the land; but if you are not willing nor listen to me, the sword will consume you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things*,[6] and in the Psalms it is written, *If my people had heard me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I would have humbled her enemies to nothing*,[7] by which he shows that it was in the power of the people <*to hear and*> *to walk* in the ways of God.

And also when the Saviour says, *I say to you, resist not one who is evil*,[8] and, *Whoever shall be angry with his brother shall be liable to judgement*,[9] and, *Whoever*

[4] Micah 6:8. [5] Deut. 30:15, 19. [6] Isa. 1:19–20. [7] Ps. 80:14–15.
[8] Matt. 5:39. [9] Matt. 5:22.

3.1.6. Now, that it is our doing to live in a good manner, and that God asks this of us, not as something coming about from him nor any other, nor, as some think, from fate, but as our own work, the prophet Micah will bear witness, saying, *Has it been told to you, O human being, what is good, or what the Lord seeks from you, but to do judgement and to love mercy and to be ready to walk with the Lord your God?* Moses also, *I have set before your face the way of life and the way of death; choose what is good and walk in it.* Isaiah too, *If you are willing and listen to me, you shall eat the good things of the land; but if you are not willing nor listen to me, the sword will consume you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken these things.* And in the Psalms, *If my people had heard me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I would have humbled their enemies to nothing and laid my hand upon those that afflict them*, as being in the power of the people *to hear and to walk in the ways* of God.

The Saviour also, saying, *But I say to you, resist not one who is evil*, and, *Whoever shall be angry with his brother shall be liable to judgement*, and, *Whoever shall look at a woman to lust [after her], he has already committed adultery in his heart*, and if he gives any other commandment he says that it is

mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatus est eam in corde suo, et cum dat cetera quaeque mandata, quid aliud indicat, nisi quod in nostra potestate est obseruare posse quae mandantur, et propter hoc recte *rei* efficimur *iudicio*, si praeuaricemur ea quae utique seruare poteramus? Vnde et ipse ait quia
120 *Omnis qui audit uerba mea haec et facit ea, similis est uiro prudenti, qui aedificauit domum suam super petram*, et cetera, et quod ait: *Qui autem audit haec et non facit, similis est uiro stulto, qui aedificauit domum suam super harenam*, et reliqua. Sed et illud quod dicit *his, qui a dextris sunt: Venite ad me omnes benedicti patris mei* et cetera; *esurii enim et dedistis mihi manducare, sitii*
125 *et dedistis mihi bibere* euidenter ostendit quia in ipsis fuit, ut uel isti laudabiles essent, facientes quae mandata sunt et percipientes quae promissa sunt, uel hi culpabiles, qui contraria uel audire uel percipere meruerunt, quibus dicitur: *Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum*.

Videamus quomodo etiam Paulus apostolus uelut potestatem arbitrii
130 habentibus nobis loquitur et tamquam in nobis ipsis uel salutis uel perditionis habentibus causas ait: *Aut diuitias bonitatis eius et patientiae ac longanimitatis*

116 iam *om. γ* 118 efficimus *μ* 121 aedificat δ C 123 arenam C σ : arena G : harena M 124 esuriui B *γ Koe Goe* (= *Vulg.*) sitii enim C : sitiui *γ Koe Goe* (= *Vulg.*) 129 <autem> *post* uideamus *add. Koe in appar.*

καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην δίδωσιν ἐντολήν, φησὶν ὡς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντος τοῦ φυλάξαι τὰ προστεταγμένα, καὶ εὐλόγως ***ἐνόχων*** *ἡμῶν* ***τῇ κρίσει*** *ἐσομένων, εἰ παραβαίνοιμεν αὐτά. Ὅθεν καὶ* ***πᾶς*** *φησιν* ***ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ***
100 ***τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*** *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς,* ***ὁ δὲ ἀκούων καὶ μὴ ποιῶν ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον*** *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Καὶ λέγων δὲ* ***τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν· δεῦτε πρός με, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός μου*** *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς,* ***ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με*** *σφόδρα σαφῶς ὡς αἰτίοις οὖσι τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι δίδωσι τὰς*
105 *ἐπαγγελίας, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τοῖς ἑτέροις ὡς ψεκτοῖς παρ' αὐτοὺς λέγει τὸ* ***πορεύεσθε οἱ κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον****.*

Ἴδωμεν δὲ πῶς καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ὡς αὐτεξουσίοις ἡμῖν διαλέγεται καὶ ἑαυτοῖς αἰτίοις τυγχάνουσιν ἀπωλείας ἢ σωτηρίας· ἢ ***τοῦ πλούτου*** *γάρ φησι* ***τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς****,*

96 *φησὶν ἐντολὴν* A D : *φυσυκὴν ἐντολὴν* C *φησί ante προστεταγμένα l.97* H 97 *ἡμῶν ἐνόχων ε* 97–8 *εἰ παραβαίνοιμεν αὐτὰ om.* A 98 *παραβαίνομεν ε* *ὁ om.*B 99 *ᾠκοδόμησε* C 99–100 *τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δ* 101 *τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ* C H 104 *σαφές* C 105 *αὐτοῖς* A : *αὐτοῦ* B

shall look at a woman to lust after her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart,[10] and when he gives any other commandments, what else does he indicate but that it is in our power to observe what is commanded, and that for this reason we are rightly rendered *liable for judgement* if we transgress that which we are certainly able to keep? And hence he himself also says, *Everyone who hears these my words and does them is like a wise man, who built his house upon a rock,* and the rest, and he says, *He who hears these things and does not do them, is like a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand,* and the rest.[11] And even that which he says *to those at his right hand, 'Come unto me, all you blessed of my Father'*, and the rest, *'for I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink'*,[12] clearly shows that it depended upon themselves, whether they should be those worthy of praise, for keeping the commandments and receiving what was promised, or those worthy of censure, who deserved to hear or receive the opposite, to whom it was said, *Depart, you cursed, into everlasting fire.*[13]

Let us see how the Apostle Paul also addresses us as having power over our will and as having within ourselves the causes either of our salvation or destruction; he says, *Or do you despise the riches of his goodness and*

[10] Matt. 5:28. [11] Matt. 7:24, 26. [12] Matt. 25:34, 35. [13] Matt. 25:41.

within our power to keep what is enjoined and that we shall reasonably be *liable to judgement* for transgressing them. And hence he says, *Everyone who hears these my words and does them is like a wise man, who built his house upon a rock,* and so on, *while he who hears and does not do them is like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand,* and the rest. And when he says *to those at his right hand, 'Come unto me, you blessed of my Father'*, and the rest, *'for I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink'*, it is exceedingly clear that he gives the promises as to those who are worthy of being praised, and, on the contrary, to the others as being blameworthy compared to the former, he says, *Depart, you cursed, unto everlasting fire.*

Let us see how Paul addresses us as having self-determination and as being ourselves the cause of destruction or salvation: he says, *Or do you despise the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the*

contempnis, ignorans quoniam benignitas dei ad paenitentiam te adducit? Secundum duritiam autem tuam et cor inpaenitens thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua:
135 *his quidem, qui secundum patientiam boni operis gloriam et honorem et incorruptionem quaerunt, uitam aeternam, his autem, qui ex contentione et qui non credunt quidem ueritati, credunt autem iniquitati, ira et indignatio. Tribulatio et angustia in omnem animam hominis operantis malum, Iudaeo primum et Graeco; gloria autem et honor et pax omni operanti bonum, Iudaeo*
140 *primum et Graeco.* Multa quidem alia et innumera in sanctis scripturis inuenias, quae euidenter ostendant habere nos liberi arbitrii potestatem. Alioquin contrarium esset dari nobis mandata, ex quorum uel obseruatione saluemur uel praeuaricatione damnemur, si obseruandi ea facultas in nobis non est.

3.1.7. Verum quoniam inueniuntur in ipsis diuinis scripturis quaedam uerba
145 ita posita, ut contrarium aliquid ex his posse uideatur intellegi, proferentes ea

133 thesaurizasti *γ* 135 et honorem *om. γ* 136 qui *ante* quaerunt *add. γ* 140 inuenies M[pc] 145 ita : ipsa *μ*

110 **ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει; Κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι, ζωὴν αἰώνιον, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας καὶ**
115 **ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός· θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν, Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνος· δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι.** Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σφόδρα σαφῶς παριστῶντα τὸ αὐτεξούσιον.

120 3.1.7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον, τουτέστι τὸ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τυγχάνειν τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ σῴζεσθαι καὶ τὸ παραβαίνειν αὐτὰς καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι,

112 *καὶ*[2] *om.* A (= *Ruf.*) 113 *δόξαν post δόξαν add.* A 115 *μὲν post ἀπειθοῦσι add.* A[mg] C *Koe Goe* *τῇ*[1] *om.* C *καὶ post θυμός add. δ* 116 *ἐπὶ post ἀνθρώπου add.* A 117 *καὶ τιμὴ om.* C 120 *μὴ om.* A *τὸ ante τηρεῖν suppl. Goe* 121 *τὸ ante σῴζεσθαι add.* Pap *τὸ secl. Koe*

forbearance and long suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leads you to repentance? But by your hard and impenitent heart you are treasuring up wrath for yourself in the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgement of God, who will render to every one according to his works: to those who, by patience in doing good, seek for glory and honour and incorruptibility, eternal life; but to those who are factious and obey not the truth, but obey iniquity, wrath and anger. There will be tribulation and distress upon every human soul working evil, the Jew first and also the Greek; but glory and honour and peace for every one working good, the Jew first and also the Greek.[14] You will find many other, even innumerable, passages in the holy Scriptures which clearly show that we have the power of free will. Otherwise it would be a contradiction for us to be given commandments, by the observing of which we may be saved or by transgressing we may be condemned, if the power of observing them is not in us.

2: Difficult Passages in Scripture

3.1.7. But since there are found in the divine Scriptures themselves certain words so set down that the opposite of this may seem to be possibly understood from them, let us, bringing them forward and discussing them according to

[14] Rom. 2:4–10.

goodness of God leads you to repentance? But by your hard and impenitent heart you are treasuring up wrath for yourself in the day of wrath and of the revelation and the just judgement of God, who will render to every one according to his works; to those who, by patience in doing good, seek for glory and honour and incorruptibility, eternal life; but to those who are factious and obey not the truth, but obey iniquity, wrath and anger; there will be tribulation and distress upon every human soul working evil, the Jew first and also the Greek; but glory and honour and peace for everyone working good, the Jew first and also the Greek. There are, indeed, ten thousand passages in the Scriptures which with the utmost clarity establish the existence of self-determination.

3.1.7. But since certain texts from both the Old and the New [Testaments] tend to the opposite conclusion, that is, that it is not within our power either to keep

in medium et secundum pietatis regulam disserentes adhibeamus eorum absolutiones, quo ex his paucis quae exponimus etiam ceterorum, quae similiter dicta sunt, quibus arbitrii potestas uidetur excludi, absolutio euidens fiat. Igitur quam plurimos mouent ea, quae de Pharaone a deo dicta sunt, 150 dicente frequentius: *Ego indurabo cor Pharaonis*. Si enim a deo induratur et per hoc quod induratur delinquit, non sibi ipse existit causa delicti. Quod si ita est, non uidebitur Pharao habere arbitrii libertatem, et iam consequenter asseritur quod hoc exemplo ne ceteri quidem qui pereunt ex arbitrii sui libertate causam perditionis accipiant. Sed et illud quod in Hiezechihele scriptum est, cum dicit: 155 *Auferam eorum lapidea corda et inmittam eis carnea, ut in praeceptis meis incedant et iustitias meas custodiant*, mouet aliquem pro eo, quod a deo dari uidetur uel *incedere in mandatis eius uel iustificationes ipsius custodire*, quippe si ipse id, quod obstat ad custodienda mandata, *lapideum cor* auferens, cor melius et sensibilius, quod nunc *carneum* nominatur, inmittit et inserit.

160 Videamus autem etiam illud, quod in euangelio dominus et saluator respondit ad eos, qui quaerebant de ipso quare *ad turbas in parabolis loqueretur*, quale sit; ait enim: *Vt uidentes non uideant, et audientes non audiant et non intellegant, ne forte conuertantur, et remittatur eis*. Sed et illud, quod a Paulo

149 aiunt *post* a deo *add.* *β* 156 mouet *ω Sim Goe Fern* : moueat *Koe* : mouere possit *Del* dare *γ* 158 ipse *om.* *γ* 160 uideamus : uide *γ* 162 ut *om.* *γ* 163 et illud : et aliud A : illud G

περισπᾷ ῥητά τινα ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς καινῆς, φέρε ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ ἐκ τούτων παραθέμενοι θεασώμεθα αὐτῶν τὰς λύσεις, ἵνα ἀφ' ὧν παρατιθέμεθα κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐκλεξάμενός τις ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα 125 *ἀναιρεῖν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, ἐπισκέψηται τὰ περὶ τῆς λύσεως αὐτῶν. Καὶ δὴ πολλοὺς κεκίνηκε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Φαραώ, περὶ οὗ χρηματίζων ὁ θεός φησιν·* **ἐγὼ δὲ σκληρυνῶ τὴν καρδίαν Φαραώ** *πλεονάκις. Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σκληρύνεται καὶ διὰ τὸ σκληρύνεσθαι ἁμαρτάνει, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αἴτιος· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ αὐτεξούσιος ὁ Φαραώ. Καὶ φήσει* 130 *τις ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι οὐκ αὐτεξούσιοι οὐδὲ παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολοῦνται. Καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ δὲ λεγόμενον τὸ* **ἐξελῶ αὐτῶν τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασί μου πορεύωνται καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου φυλάσσωσι** *κινήσαι ἄν τινα ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος* **τὸ πορεύεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ** 135 **δικαιώματα** *ἐν τῷ τὸ ἐμποδίζον ὑπεξῃρηκέναι,* **τὴν λιθίνην καρδίαν**, *καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐντεθεικέναι,* **τὴν σαρκίνην**.

Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τί ὁ σωτὴρ ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς τοὺς πυθομένους, **διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς λαλεῖ·** *ἵνα φησὶν* **βλέποντες μὴ**

122 *περισσὰ* A C 123 *τὰς λύσεις αὐτῶν λ* 128 *ἑαυτῷ* : *αὐτῷ* Pap 130 *παρ' ἑαυτῶν* A H 131 *τὸ om. ϵ* 135 *ὑφεξῃρηκέαι* B A : *ἐξῃρηκέναι* C 138 *ἵνα φησὶν* : *καὶ φησὶν ἵνα* A *φ* (*ἵνα* A[mg])

the rule of piety, offer an explanation of them, so that, from those few passages which we now expound, the solution of other similar sayings, by which the power of the will seems to be excluded, may become clear. So, then, those sayings which are spoken by God about Pharaoh trouble a great many, for he says frequently, *I will harden Pharaoh's heart.*[15] For if he is hardened by God and through being hardened sins, the cause of the sin is not himself. And if this is so, it will appear that Pharaoh does not possess freedom of will, and it will consequently be maintained, by this example, that neither do others who perish have the cause of perdition in the freedom of their own will. That, also, which is written in Ezekiel, when he says, *I will take away their stony hearts and will give them fleshly ones, that they may walk in my precepts and keep my ordinances,*[16] disturbs some, because it seems to be given by God both *to walk in his mandates and to keep his prescriptions*, if, indeed, he takes away that *stony heart* which impedes keeping the commandments and bestows and implants a better and more perceptible heart, which now is called *fleshly*.

Let us also consider what is the nature of that answer which the Lord and Saviour, in the Gospel, gives to those who asked of him *why he spoke to the multitude in parables*; for he says, *That seeing they may not see and hearing they may not hear and not understand, lest they should be converted and it be forgiven them.*[17] And that also which was said by the Apostle Paul, that, *It is not of him that*

[15] Exod. 4:21; 7:3. [16] Ezek. 11:19–20. [17] Mark 4:12. Cf. Isa. 6:9; Acts 28:26.

the commandments and to be saved or to transgress them and to be lost, come, let us also bring some of them forward and consider their explanation, in order that, from the cases we have brought forward, by their similarity, someone, picking out for himself every text seeming to destroy self-determination, may inspect aspects regarding their explanation. Now many have been troubled by the passages concerning Pharaoh, regarding whom God declared repeatedly, *I will harden Pharaoh's heart*. For if he is hardened by God, and through being hardened sins, he is not in himself the cause of sin; and if so, neither does Pharaoh possess self-determination. And someone will say that, in a similar way, those who perish neither have self-determination nor perish of themselves. The saying also in Ezekiel, *I will take away their stony hearts and will give them fleshly ones, that they may walk in my precepts and keep my ordinances*, disturbs some, as suggesting that God gives the ability *to walk in the commandments and to keep the ordinances* by the removal of the obstacle, *the stony heart*, and implanting the better *fleshly* one.

Let us also look at the passage in the Gospel, at what the Saviour answers to those asking *why he speaks to the multitude in parables*; *That*, he says, *seeing they may not see, and hearing they may hear and not understand, lest they should be converted and it be forgiven them*. And also the saying by Paul, *It is not of him*

apostolo dictum est quia *Non uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei*, et
165 in alio loco: *Et uelle et perficere ex deo est*, et item in alio: *Ergo cui uult miseretur, et quem uult indurat. Dicis itaque mihi: Quid ergo adhuc culpat? Voluntati enim eius quis resistet? O homo, tu quis es, qui contra respondeas deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei, qui se finxit: Quid me fecisti sic? aut non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere uas aliud quidem ad honorem, aliud autem ad*
170 *contumeliam?* haec et his similia non parum uidentur deterrere posse quam plurimos, ne putetur unusquisque habere sui arbitrii libertatem, sed quod ex dei uoluntate uel saluari aliquis uel perire uideatur.

3.1.8. Incipiamus igitur ab his, quae ad Pharaonem dicta sunt, qui a deo dicitur *induratus*, ne dimitteret populum; cum quo pariter etiam apostoli ille sermo
175 tractabitur, quo ait: *Ergo cui uult miseretur et quem uult indurat.* His enim

166 obdurat δ *Goe* dices C *Del Koe Goe* 167 resistit δ *ante* o homo *lacunam signauit Koe (Gal 5:8) quam Sim non admisit* 174 demitteret B μ 175 quod ait δ : *om.* B

βλέπωσι, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι καὶ μὴ συνιῶσι· μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ
140 **ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.** Ἔτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ τὸ **οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ,** καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· **καὶ τὸ θέλειν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν,** καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· **ἄρ' οὖν ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει. Ἐρεῖς μοι οὖν· τί ἔτι μέμφεται; Τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν;** [**Καὶ ἡ πεισμονὴ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος** καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν,] **μενοῦνγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ, ὁ**
145 **ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ;** [Καὶ πάλιν·] **μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι· τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως; Ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν;** Ταῦτα γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἱκανά ἐστι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκταράξαι, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτεξουσίου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σώζοντος καὶ ἀπολλύντος οὓς ἐὰν αὐτὸς βούληται.

150 **3.1.8.** *Ἀρξώμεθα* τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Φαραὼ εἰρημένων ὡς **σκληρυνομένου** ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαποστείλῃ τὸν λαόν· ᾧ συνεξετασθήσεται

139 μὴ *post* ἀκούοντες *add.* A[pc] ϵ (= *Ruf.*) ἀκούσωσι B μὴ *om.* C συνῶσι D 140 ἀφεθήσεται A ϵ H τὸ *om.* A 141 ἐλεῶντος A καὶ[2] *om.* D δὲ *om.* ϵ 142 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις *om.* B H ὁ θεὸς *post* θέλει *add.* H ὃν δὲ : καὶ ὃν C 142–3 οὖν μοι δ 143 βουλήματι : θελήματι ϵ ἀνθέστηκε δ 143–4 [καὶ ἡ ... ἐξ ἡμῶν] *Sim Goe Fern* 144 ἐξ : ἐκ τοῦ στόματος C καὶ πάλιν *ante* μενοῦνγε *suppl. Koe* ὦ *om.* A εἶ *om.* ϵ 145 καὶ πάλιν *secl. Koe Sim Goe Fern* : *om.* C 147–8 καθ' αὑτὰ A δ 148 τοῦ *om.* ϵ 150 εἰρημένων *om.* A ὡς : ὢ C

wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy;[18] and, in another place, *Both to will and to work are of God*;[19] and again, in another place, *Therefore he has mercy upon whom he wills, and he hardens whom he will. You will say to me then: 'Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?' O human being, who are you to answer back to God? Will what is moulded say to the one who moulded it: 'Why did you make me thus?' Has not the potter power over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?*[20] These and similar statements seem to have no small ability to deter many from believing that everyone is held to have the freedom of his own will, but makes it seem that it depends on the will of God whether one is either saved or lost.

I will harden Pharaoh's heart[21]

3.1.8. Let us begin, therefore, with what was said to Pharaoh, who is said to have been *hardened* by God, that he might not let the people go; and, with it, the word of the Apostle will also be considered, who says, *Therefore he has mercy upon whom he wills, and he hardens whom he wills.* For it is principally

[18] Rom. 9:16. [19] Phil. 2:13. [20] Rom. 9:18–21.

[21] On this passage, see also Origen, *Philoc.* 27; *Sel. Exod.* (PG 12, 281c); *Hom. Exod.* 3.3; 4.1–7; 6.9; *Or.* 29.16; *Comm. Rom.* 7.16.

that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy; and, in another place, *Both to will and to work are of God*; and, in another place, *Therefore he has mercy upon whom he wills, and hardens whom he wills. You will say to me then, 'Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?'* [*The persuasion is from him who calls*, not from us.[2]] *O human being, who are you to answer back to God?* [And again,] *Will what is moulded say to the one who moulded it: 'Why did you make me thus?' Has not the potter power over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?* These passages are sufficient of themselves to trouble the multitude, as suggesting that the human being does not have self-determination, but that it is God who saves and destroys whom he wills.

3.1.8. Let us begin, then, with what is said about Pharaoh as being *hardened* by God so that he might not send away the people; together with which will also

[2] Gal. 5:8. This quotation is not in Rufinus' translation; it is likely an interpolation.

praecipue nituntur haeretici, dicentes non esse in nostra potestate ut saluemur, sed naturas esse animarum tales, quae omni genere uel pereant uel saluentur, nec ullo modo possit anima, quae malae naturae est, bona fieri, aut quae bonae naturae fuerit, mala effici. Vnde aiunt et Pharaonem, quoniam
180 naturae erat perditae, propterea indurari a deo, qui indurat eos qui terrenae naturae sunt, miseretur autem eorum qui spiritalis naturae sunt. Videamus ergo quale est istud quod asserunt, et interrogemus eos primo, ut respondeant nobis, si terrenae naturae, quam perditam dicunt, adserunt fuisse Pharaonem. Respondebunt sine dubio: Terrenae. Si ergo terrenae naturae erat, credere deo
185 uel oboedire ei, resistente natura, omnino non poterat. Quodsi hoc ei inerat per naturam, quid adhuc opus erat a deo *indurari* cor eius, et hoc non semel sed frequenter, nisi quia utique possibile erat eum suaderi? Nec indurari ab alio diceretur nisi is qui a se non erat durus. Quodsi ex se non erat durus, consequens est, ut nec fuerit terrenae naturae, sed talis qui possit obstupefactus
190 signis et uirtutibus cedere. Necessarius etenim erat deo, ut pro salute multorum in ipso ostenderet uirtutem suam, dum resistit plurimum et obluctatur uoluntate dei, et per haec cor eius dicitur *indurari*.

185 inerat : erat *γ*   186 a deo : deo B : *om.γ*   191 plurimos G[ac] M : plurimis G[pc] : plurimis signis *σ*

ἅμα καὶ τὸ ἀποστολικόν· ***ἄρ᾽ οὖν ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει.*** *Καὶ ἐπεὶ χρῶνται τούτοις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων τινές, σχεδὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἀναιροῦντες διὰ τὸ φύσεις εἰσάγειν ἀπολλυμένας, ἀνεπιδέκτους τοῦ*
155 *σῴζεσθαι, καὶ ἑτέρας σῳζομένας, ἀδυνάτως ἐχούσας πρὸς τὸ ἀπολέσθαι, τόν τε Φαραὼ φασι φύσεως ὄντα ἀπολλυμένης διὰ τοῦτο σκληρύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐλεοῦντος μὲν τοὺς πνευματικούς, σκληρύνοντος δὲ τοὺς χοϊκούς, φέρε ἴδωμεν ὅ τί ποτε καὶ λέγουσι. Πευσόμεθα γὰρ αὐτῶν, εἰ χοϊκῆς φύσεως ὁ Φαραὼ ἦν. Ἀποκρινομένοις δὲ ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ὁ τῆς χοϊκῆς φύσεως πάντως*
160 *ἀπειθεῖ θεῷ· εἰ δὲ ἀπειθεῖ, τίς χρεία* ***σκληρύνεσθαι*** *αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πλεονάκις; Εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐπεὶ δυνατὸν ἦν πείθεσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ πάντως ἐπείσθη ἂν ἅτε οὐκ ὢν χοϊκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν τεράτων καὶ σημείων δυσωπούμενος, χρῄζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνδείξασθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν τὰ μεγαλεῖα ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπειθοῦντος, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ*
165 ***σκληρύνει*** *τὴν καρδίαν.*

152 *ὃν θέλει* : *ὅν ἂν θέλῃ* Cat   *καὶ ἐπεὶ* : *ἐπεὶ γὰρ* Cat   152–3 *ἐπεὶ χρῶνται* : *ἐπὶ χρῶνται* B : *ἐπιχρωνται* A *ϵ* H   153 *τινές τῶν ἑτεροδόξων* Cat   *σχεδὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ om.* Cat   154 *εἰσάγειν* : *εἶναι λέγειν* Cat   155 *σῳζομένας om.* B   156 *φασι* : *φύσει* A   *τοῦτο* : *τὸ* B   157 *τοῦ om.* B   158 *οὖν post φέρε add.* C H   *πευσώμεθα* A   159 *ὁ*[1] *om.* B   160 *τῷ post ἀπειθεῖ*[1] *add. ϵ* Cat   *αὐτοῦ* : *αὐτός* A   161 *πλεονάκις* : *πολλάκις* Cat   162 *τῶν om.* C   162–3 *σημείων καὶ τεράτων* Pap   164–5 *σκληρύνει αὐτοῦ* A *ϵ* H

upon these that the heretics rely, when they say that it is not in our power whether we will be saved, but that the nature of souls is such that they in any case either perish or are saved, and that in no way can a soul which is of an evil nature become good nor one which is of a good nature become evil. So they say that Pharaoh, also, since he was of a lost nature, was therefore hardened by God, who hardens those who are of an earthy nature, but has mercy on those who are of a spiritual nature. Let us see, then, what is the meaning of what they assert, and let us, in the first place, ask them to tell us whether they maintain that Pharaoh was of an earthy nature, which they term 'lost'. They will undoubtedly reply: 'An earthy one'. If, then, he was of an earthy nature, he was, with his nature opposing this, altogether unable to believe in God or to obey him. But if this condition was his by nature, what further need was there for his heart to be *hardened* by God, and this not once but several times, unless it was indeed possible for him to yield to persuasion? Nor could anyone be said to be hardened by another, except him who of himself was not hard. And if he were not hard of himself, it follows that neither was he of an earthy nature, but of such a kind that he might give way when amazed by signs and mighty works. But he was necessary to God, in order that, for the salvation of the many, God might demonstrate his power in him while he resists greatly and struggles against the will of God, and by this his heart is said to be *hardened.*

be examined the apostolic saying, *Therefore he has mercy upon whom he wills, and hardens whom he wills*. Since some of the heterodox use these passages, practically also destroying self-determination themselves by introducing natures which are lost, incapable of being saved, and other natures which are saved, unable to be lost—they say that Pharaoh, being of a lost nature, is on this account hardened by God, who has mercy upon the spiritual but hardens the earthy—come, let us now see what they mean. We shall ask them if Pharaoh was of an earthy nature. When they answer, we shall say that he who is of an earthy nature is completely disobedient to God; but if disobedient, what need is there for his heart to be *hardened*, and that not once but frequently? Unless, perhaps, it was possible for him to obey, and he certainly would have obeyed if not earthy when put to shame by the wonders and signs, but God needs him to be more disobedient in order to demonstrate his mighty deeds for the salvation of the many, and therefore *hardens* his heart.

Haec autem dicta sint primo aduersus illos, per quae illa eorum subruatur assertio, qua putant naturaliter fuisse perditum Pharaonem; sed et de his quae ab
195 apostolo Paulo dicta sunt, similiter aduersum eos agemus. Quos enim indurat deus secundum opinionem uestram? Nempe eos quos naturae perditae dicitis? quid aliud credo facturos, si non fuissent indurati? Si uero ex induratione ad perditionem ueniunt, iam non naturaliter, sed ex accidentibus pereunt. Tum deinde dicite nobis, quorum miseretur deus? Nempe eorum qui saluandi sunt?
200 Et in quo isti secunda misericordia indigent, qui semel saluandi sunt per naturam et ad beatitudinem naturaliter ueniunt? nisi quia etiam ex his ostenditur quod, quia perire eos possibile erat, idcirco misericordiam consequuntur, ut per hoc non pereant, sed ueniant ad salutem et piorum regna possideant. Et haec quidem dicta sint aduersum illos, qui naturas bonas uel malas, id est terrenas uel
205 spiritales, commenticiis fabulis introducunt, ex quibus fieri dicunt, ut uel saluetur unusquisque uel pereat.

3.1.9. Nunc uero respondendum est etiam his, qui deum legis iustum tantummodo uolunt esse, non etiam bonum: quomodo putant a deo *indurari* cor Pharaonis, quid faciente uel quid prospiciente? Obseruandus est enim

197 credo : cedo W *Goe* facturus δ B C[ac] 200 secundum μ : secundum nos σ
209 enim : etiam γ

Ταῦτα δὲ λελέξεται πρῶτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνατραπῆναι ὃ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὅτι φύσεως εἴη ἀπολλυμένης ὁ Φαραώ. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ λεγομένου λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτούς. Τίνας γὰρ σκληρύνει ὁ θεός; Τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους; Ὡς τί πεισομένους, εἰ μὴ
170 *σκληρυνθεῖεν; Ἢ δηλονότι σωθησομένους τῷ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φύσεως ἀπολλυμένης; Τίνας δὲ καὶ ἐλεεῖ; Ἆρα τοὺς σωθησομένους; Καὶ πῶς χρεία ἐλέου δευτέρου αὐτοῖς, ἅπαξ κατασκευασθεῖσι σωθησομένοις καὶ πάντως διὰ τὴν φύσιν μακαρίοις ἐσομένοις; Εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπεὶ ἐπιδέχονται ἀπώλειαν, εἰ μὴ ἐλεηθεῖεν, ἐλεοῦνται, ἵν' ὅπερ ἐπιδέχονται μὴ λάβωσι,*
175 *τὸ ἀπολέσθαι, ἀλλὰ γένωνται ἐν χώρᾳ σωζομένων. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἐκείνους.*

3.1.9. *Ἐπαπορητέον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας νενοηκέναι τὸ* **ἐσκλήρυνε**, *τί δήποτε λέγουσι τὸν θεὸν ἐνεργοῦντα σκληρύνειν καρδίαν, καὶ τί*

167 εἴη : ἦν H Cat *Rob* 168 τοῦ : τὸ A λεγομένου : λεγομένῳ A : εἰρημένου Cat 169 ὥς τι *Rob* ὡς τί πεισομένους *om.* A μὴ *om.* Cat 170 δηλονότι : δῆλον ὅτι B τῷ : τὸ A εἶναι αὐτοὺς φύσεως μὴ Pap φύσεως αὐτοὺς C 171 καὶ[1] *om.* C Cat 173 ἐπιδέχονται : δέχονται C 174 ἐπιδέχονται : ἐπιδέχωνται B

Let what has been said first be [our argument] against them, by which their assertion may be overturned, insofar as they think that Pharaoh was lost by nature. And let us also deal in a similar way against them regarding that which was said by the Apostle Paul. For who does God harden, according to your view? Those, really, you say are of a lost nature? Am I to believe they would have done something else if they had not been hardened? If, indeed, they come to perdition from being hardened, they no longer perish naturally but by accident. Then, in next place, upon whom, tell us, does God show mercy? On those, really, who are to be saved? And in what respect do they need a second act of mercy, those who are once for all saved by nature and come naturally to blessedness, unless it is shown even from their case that, because it was possible for them to perish, they therefore obtain mercy so that they, by this, do not perish but come to salvation and possess the kingdom of the devout. Let this be said, then, against those who by fabricated fables introduce good or evil natures, that is, earthy or spiritual, by which, as they say, each one is either saved or lost.

3.1.9. We must reply to those who would have the God of the Law to be only just and not also good: how do they suppose the heart of Pharaoh to have been *hardened* by God—by doing or foreseeing what? For the view and conception

These things have been said against them first, to overthrow their supposition that Pharaoh was of a lost nature. The same [argument] must also be addressed to them concerning the saying by the apostle. Whom does God harden? The lost? Because they would obey if they were not hardened? Or those who will be saved, since they are not of a lost nature? Upon whom does he have mercy? Is it upon those who will be saved? And how is there need of a second mercy for those who have once for all been fashioned for salvation and who by their nature are certain to become blessed? Unless, perhaps, since they are capable of being lost if they do not obtain mercy, they obtain mercy in order that they may not receive that of which they are capable, that is, to be lost, but may be in the position of those who are saved. This is our answer to such people.

3.1.9. But to those who think they understand the term *hardened*, we must address the question: what do they mean by saying that God in his work

210 prospectus et intuitus dei, secundum nos quidem iusti et boni, secundum ipsos uero iusti tantummodo. Et ostendant nobis quomodo deus, quem utique et ipsi iustum fatentur, iuste faciat cor hominis indurare, ut ex ipsa induratione peccet et pereat; et quomodo in hoc dei iustitia defendetur, si ipse his causa perditionis existit, quos pro eo quod duri et increduli extiterunt, ipse postmodum 215 iudicis auctoritate damnabit? Quid etiam culpat eum dicens: *Tu autem quoniam non uis dimittere populum meum, ecce percutiam omnia primitiua in Aegypto, etiam primitiuum tuum* et quaecumque alia scripta sunt per Moysen dicta esse a deo ad Pharaonem? Necesse est enim quod omnis, qui credit uera esse ea, quae in scripturis referuntur, et ostendere uult iustum deum esse legis 220 et prophetarum, pro his omnibus reddere rationem, quomodo per haec nihil prorsus dei iustitiae derogetur; quoniam quidem, licet bonum eum negent, iustum tamen et iudicem et mundi eum creatorem fatentur. Alius enim responsionis ordo est aduersum eos qui malignum, id est diabolum, mundi huius adserunt creatorem.

213 his : ex his *γ* : eis *Del* **214** duri et : duritiae G : duritie M **215** damnauit *γ* **218** quod omnis : omnem *Del* **219** esse deum *δ Del* **220** <debeat> *post* reddere *add. Koe in appar.*

προτιθέμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Τηρείτωσαν γὰρ καὶ ἔννοιαν θεοῦ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ 180 *ὑγιὲς δικαίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτοῖς συγκεχωρήσθω, μόνον δικαίου· καὶ παραστησάτωσαν, πῶς ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος ἢ ὁ δίκαιος μόνον φαίνεται δικαίως σκληρύνων καρδίαν τοῦ διὰ τὸ σκληρύνεσθαι ἀπολλυμένου, καὶ πῶς ὁ δίκαιος αἴτιος ἀπωλείας γίνεται καὶ ἀπειθείας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ σκληρύνεσθαι καὶ ἀπειθῆσαι αὐτῷ* 185 *κολαζομένων. Τί δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μέμφεται λέγων·* **σὺ δὲ οὐ βούλει ἐξαποστεῖλαι τὸν λαόν μου. Ἰδοὺ πατάσσω πάντα τὰ πρωτότοκα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸν πρωτότοκόν σου**, *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀναγέγραπται ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος διὰ Μωσέως τῷ Φαραώ; Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ τὸν πιστεύοντα ὅτι ἀληθεῖς αἱ γραφαὶ καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δίκαιος, ἐὰν εὐγνώμων ᾖ, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πῶς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις* 190 *λέξεσι δίκαιος τρανῶς νοηθῇ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπογραψάμενός τις γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἵστατο πρὸς τὸ πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸν δημιουργόν, ἄλλων ἔδει λόγων πρὸς αὐτόν.*

179 *προστιθέμενον φ* **180** *βούλωνται* B^{ac} A : *βούληται* B^{pc} **181** *συγκεχωρείσθω* A *μόνον* C *Ruf.* (*tantummodo*) *Fern* : *om.* B A *edd.* **182** *δικαίως* : *δικαίος* A H : *om.* C *σκληρύνων δικαίως* D *διὰ τὸ* : *διὰ τοῦ* B *ϵ* **183** *ἀπολουμένου* B *ἀπωλείας αἴτιος* *ϵ* **185** *δε*^{1} : *δαι* B **188** *μωϋσέος* Cat *ἀναγκαίως* B **189** *εὐγνώμων ᾖ* : *εὐγνωμονῇ* A *ϵ* H **190** *δίκαιος om.* *ϵ* : *δικαίως* Cat *νοηθείη* *ϵ* *κεφαλῇ* : *γραφῇ* C **191** *ἵσταται* Cat *δημιουργόν* : *θεὸν* Cat

of God must be noted, that he is, according to us, both just and good, but according to them only just. And let them show us how a God, whom they themselves admit to be just, acts justly in causing the heart of a human being to be hardened, such that from this very hardening he may sin and be lost; and how the justice of God may be defended in this case, if God himself is the cause of perdition for those whom thereafter he, with the authority of a judge, condemns on the grounds that they were hard and unbelieving. Why, also, does he blame him, saying, *But since you will not let my people go, behold, I will kill all the firstborn in Egypt, even your firstborn*,[22] and whatever else that is written as said by God through Moses to Pharaoh? For it is necessary for everyone who believes the things recounted in the Scriptures to be true, and desires to show the God of the Law and the Prophets to be just, to give an explanation for all these things and show how absolutely nothing in them diminishes the justice of God, since although they deny that he is good, they nevertheless admit that the judge and the creator of the world is just. There is, however, another way to answer those who assert that the creator of the world is a wicked being, that is, the devil.

[22] Exod. 4:23; 12:12.

hardens the heart, and what is his purpose in doing this? They must maintain a conception of God who is just and good, according to sound teaching; if they will not, let it be conceded to them for the moment that he is only just; and let them show how the good and just, or only the just, God appears just in hardening the heart of him who, on account of being hardened, is lost, and how the just God becomes the cause of the loss and disobedience of those who are punished by him on account of their being hardened and being disobedient. And why does he find fault with him, saying, *You will not let my people go. Behold, I will kill all the firstborn in Egypt, even your firstborn*, and whatever else that is written as said by God through Moses to Pharaoh? For one who believes that the Scriptures are true and that God is just must necessarily, if he is honest, endeavour to show how God, in using such expressions, may be clearly understood to be just. If, however, anyone should stand, denouncing with uncovered head[3] that the Creator is inclined towards evil, we should need other arguments for him.

[3] Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 243b.

225 **3.1.10.** Nos uero quoniam non solum iustum, sed et bonum deum fatemur, qui per Moysen locutus est, perspiciamus diligentius, quomodo iusto bonoque conueniat quod *cor indurare* dicitur *Pharaonis*. Et uideamus si forte possumus sequentes apostolum Paulum difficultatem rei exemplis quibusdam ac similitudinibus soluere, si ostenderimus quomodo uno eodemque opere deus *alterius*
230 *quidem miseretur et alium indurat*, non hoc agens nec uolens, ut induretur ille qui induratur; sed dum ipse benignitate sui et patientia utitur, his quidem, qui eius benignitatem et patientiam ad contemptum atque insolentiam ducunt, induratur cor, dum criminum poena differtur; hi uero, qui benignitatem et patientiam eius ad occasionem paenitentiae suae et emendationis accipiunt,
235 misericordiam consequuntur. Vt autem euidentius quod dicimus demonstretur, utimur exemplo, quo in epistola ad Hebraeos usus est apostolus Paulus dicens: *Terra enim, quae bibit frequenter super se uenientem imbrem et germinat herbam opportunam his, a quibus colitur, percipiet benedictiones a deo; quae autem profert spinas et tribulos, reproba est et maledicto proxima, cuius finis ad exus-*
240 *tionem*. Igitur ex his quos adsumpsimus Pauli sermonibus euidenter ostenditur quod uno eodemque opere dei, quo imbrem terrae largitur, alia quidem terra diligenter exculta fructus adferat bonos, alia uero, quae neglegitur et inculta est, spinas et tribulos proferat. Et si qui quasi ex persona imbrium loquens dicat:

225 eum *post* fatemur *add.* *β* 231 sui : sua M[pc] *σ* *Koe* 236 utamur *Del* 237 germinans *γ* 239 maleditio G : maledicito A[ac] 243 qui : quis C M[pc] *σ* : *om.* *δ*

3.1.10. *Ἐπεὶ δέ φασι διακεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς περὶ δικαίου, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἅμα καὶ δικαίου, σκοπήσωμεν, πῶς ἂν ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος* ***σκληρύνοι τὴν καρδίαν Φαραώ****. Ὅρα τοίνυν εἰ διά τινος παραδείγματος, ᾧ*
195 *ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐχρήσατο, δυνάμεθα παραστῆσαι, πῶς μιᾷ ἐνεργείᾳ ὁ θεὸς* ***ὃν μὲν ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ σκληρύνει****, οὐ προτιθέμενος σκληρύνειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ προθέσεως χρηστῆς, ᾗ ἐπακολουθεῖ διὰ τὸ τῆς κακίας ὑποκείμενον τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς κακοῦ τὸ σκληρύνεσθαι, σκληρύνειν λεγόμενος τὸν σκληρυνόμενον.* ***Γῆ*** *φησιν* ***ἡ πιοῦσα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον***
200 ***ὑετὸν καὶ τίκτουσα βοτάνην εὔθετον ἐκείνοις, δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται, μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους, ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάρας ἐγγύς, ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν****. Οὐκοῦν μία ἐνέργεια ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὑετόν· μιᾶς δὲ ἐνεργείας οὔσης τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὑετόν, ἡ μὲν γεωργηθεῖσα γῆ καρποφορεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀμεληθεῖσα καὶ χέρσος ἀκανθοφορεῖ.*

192 *αὐτοῦ ὡς περὶ om.* C 193 *ἅμα ante σκοπήσωμεν transp.* C 194 *σκληρύνει* B[ac] *ᾧ om.* A 195 *ὁ om.* C Cat *ἐπιστολῇ post Ἑβραίους add. ϵ* 196 *προθέμενος* C 198 *ἑαυτοῖς* : *ἑαυτῆς* C : *ἑαυτοῦ* Cat 200 *πολλάκις ante ὑετὸν Koe malit in appar. (ex Ruf. cf. l.237)* *τίκτοντα* A 203 *μιᾶς … ὑετόν* : *μιᾶς δὲ οὔσης αὐτῆς* Cat : *om. ϵ* 204 *καὶ om.* B

3.1.10. But since we acknowledge that the God who spoke through Moses is not only just, but also good, let us inquire carefully how it befits one who is just and good to be said *to harden the heart of Pharaoh*. Let us see whether, perhaps, following the Apostle Paul, we are able to solve the difficulty by the help of certain examples and illustrations, if we can show that by one and the same act God *has mercy on one but hardens another*, not working or willing that he who is hardened should be hardened, but that while he exercises his kindness and forbearance, the heart of those who treat his kindness and forbearance with contempt and insolence is hardened, while the punishment of their crimes is deferred, whereas those who receive his kindness and forbearance as an opportunity for their repentance and correction obtain mercy. To show more clearly what we mean, let us take the illustration used by the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, *For the land which has drunk the rain which frequently falls upon it and brings forth vegetation useful to those for whom it is cultivated receives a blessing from God; but that which bears thorns and thistles is rejected and close to being cursed, whose end is to be burned.*[23] Therefore, from those words of Paul which we have quoted, it is clearly shown that by one and the same act of God—that by which he bestows rain upon the earth—one piece of ground, when carefully cultivated, brings forth good fruit, but another, when neglected and uncultivated, produces thorns and thistles. And if, speaking as it were in the

[23] Heb. 6:7–8. For the images that follow here and in *Princ.* 3.1.11, using the action of rain and the sun respectively, see Matt. 5:45: 'He makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and he sends rain on the just and the unjust.'

3.1.10. But since they claim to hold him as just, and we as both good as well as just, let us consider how the good and just God could *harden the heart of Pharaoh*. See then whether, through an example used by the Apostle in [the Epistle] to the Hebrews, we are able to establish how by one act God *has mercy upon one, but hardens another*, not intending to harden, but [acting] with a good purpose, upon which the hardening follows on account of the underlying element of evil, the evil present in such people, so that he is said to harden the one who is hardened. It says, *The earth which has drunk the rain which falls upon it and brings forth vegetation useful to those for whom it is cultivated, receives a blessing from God; but that which bears thorns and thistles is rejected and close to being cursed, whose end is to be burned.* As regards the rain, then, there is one act; and there being one act as regards the rain, the earth which is

Ego imber feci fructus bonos, et spinas ac tribulos ego feci: quamuis dure dici
245 uideatur, uere tamen dicitur; nisi enim imber fuerit, nec fructus nec spinae tribulique nascentur, superueniente uero pluuia utraque ex se terra producit. Sed quamuis pluuiae beneficio terra germen utrumque produxerit, non tamen imbribus merito diuersitas germinis adscribetur, sed ad illos iure culpa mali seminis reflectetur, qui cum possint frequenti aratro terram scindere et rastris
250 grauibus torpentes glebas uertere et omnes inutiles radices noxii graminis amputare atque succidere cunctisque quibus cultus ille deposcit laboribus ac studiis purgata excultaque noualia uenturis imbribus praeparare, hoc quidem facere neglexerunt, desidiae autem suae aptissimos fructus, spinas ac tribulos metent; ita ergo fit ut bonitas et aequitas imbrium super omnem terram aequal-
255 iter ueniat, sed uno eodemque opere pluuiae ea quidem terra, quae culta est, diligentibus utilibusque cultoribus cum benedictione fructus utiles proferat, ea uero, quae cultorum desidia obduruit, spinas ac tribulos germinet. Sic ergo accipiamus quod ea signa et uirtutes, quae a deo fiebant, imbres quidam erant a deo desuper ministrati; propositum uero hominum et uoluntates terra accipi-
260 enda est uel inculta uel culta, unius quidem naturae utpote omnis terra cum terra, non tamen unius eiusdemque culturae. Ex quo fit ut uniuscuiusque propositum uel induretur uirtutibus et mirabilibus dei, si incultum est et ferum ac barbarum et semet ipso asperius ac spinosius fiat, aut mitescat amplius ac tota mente se in oboedientiam tradat, si purgatum a uitiis fuerit et excultum.

246 ex se *om.* γ 249 possent δ B *Koe Goe* 250 et omnes : omnesque β
254 ergo *om.* γ 257 obdurauit B γ

205 *Καὶ δύσφημον μὲν ἂν δόξαι εἶναι τὸ λέγειν τὸν ὕοντα· ἐγὼ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐποίησα καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας τὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ δύσφημον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθές· ὑετοῦ γὰρ μὴ γενομένου οὔτ᾽ ἂν καρποὶ οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἄκανθαι γεγόνεισαν, τούτου δὲ εὐκαίρως καὶ μεμετρημένως ἐπιρρεύσαντος ἀμφότερα γεγένηται.* **Ἐκφέρουσα γοῦν ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἡ πιοῦσα γῆ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς**
210 **ἐρχόμενον πολλάκις ὑετὸν ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάρας ἐγγύς**. *Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν τοῦ ὑετοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χείρονα γῆν ἐλήλυθε, τὸ δὲ ὑποκείμενον, ἠμελημένον καὶ ἀγεώργητον τυγχάνον, ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἐβλάστησεν. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεράστια οἱονεὶ ὑετός ἐστιν· αἱ δὲ προαιρέσεις αἱ διάφοροι οἱονεὶ ἡ γεγεωργημένη γῆ ἐστι καὶ ἡ ἠμελημένη,*
215 *μιᾷ τῇ φύσει ὡς γῆ τυγχάνουσα.*

206 ἀλλὰ Cat 207 οὔτ᾽ : οὔτε C ἂν[2] *om.* C H ἐγεγόνεισαν ϵ Cat
208 ἐπιρεύσαντος A : ἐπιρρέοντος Cat 209–10 ἐκφέρουσα … ἐγγύς *om.* Cat
209 γοῦν : γ᾽ οὖν B : γὰρ ϵ : οὖν H[ac] 211 τοῦ *om.* C 213 τεράστεια A ὁ *ante* ὑετός *add.* A 214 γεωργημένη B ἡ[2] *om.* A ϵ 215 μία *Goe* *post* τυγχάνουσα *lacunam signavit Koe*

character of the rain, one were to say, 'It was I, the rain, who made the good fruits, and it was I who made the thorns and thistles', however hard the saying might seem, it is nevertheless said truthfully; for unless the rain had fallen, neither fruits nor thorns nor thistles would spring up, whereas after the coming of showers the earth produces both from out of itself. But, although the earth has produced buds of both kinds by the beneficial action of the showers, it is not to the rain, however, that the diversity of buds is properly to be attributed, but the blame for an evil crop will justly fall upon those who, when they are able to break the ground by frequent ploughing, and to turn over the solid clods with heavy hoes, and to cut away and root out all useless roots of harmful weeds, and, with all the labour and toil that such cultivation demands, to clear and till the fields for the coming rains, have nevertheless neglected to do this, and who accordingly will reap the most appropriate fruit of their sloth, thorns and thistles; in this way, then, it happens that the goodness and impartiality of the rain comes upon the whole earth equally, yet by one and the same operation of the showers that land which has been cultivated yields, as a blessing, fruits useful to the diligent and careful cultivators, while that which, by the sloth of its cultivators, has become hardened, sprouts only thorns and thistles. Let us, therefore, take those signs and mighty works, which were done by God, as showers furnished by him from above; and the purposes and desires of human beings must be taken as the earth, whether uncultivated or cultivated, which is of one nature, as is every soil compared to another, yet not in one and the same state of cultivation. From which it follows that the will of each person is either hardened by the mighty and wonderful works of God, if it is untrained and uncultivated and barbarous, so that it becomes even more savage and thorny, or it becomes more pliant and yields itself up with the whole mind into obedience, if it be cleared from vices and cultivated.

cultivated bears fruit, while that which is neglected and barren bears thorns. It might seem outrageous for the giver of rain to say 'I produced the fruits and the thorns that are in the earth,' but even if outrageous, it is true; for had there been no rain, there would have been neither fruits nor thorns; but having fallen in due time and measure, both were produced. *The earth which has drunk the rain which frequently falls upon it, bearing thorns and thistles is rejected and close to being cursed.* The blessing, then, of the rain comes also upon the inferior earth, but the underlying element, being uncared for and uncultivated, yielded thorns and thistles. In this way, then, the wonders done by God are, as it were, the rain, while the differing human wills are, as it were, the cultivated and the neglected earth, both being, as earth, of one nature.

265 **3.1.11.** Verum ad euidentiorem rei probationem superfluum non erit uti etiam alia similitudine: uerbi causa, si qui diceret quia sol est qui stringit et qui resoluit, cum contrarium sit resolutio et constrictio. Sed non erit falsum quod dicitur, dum una eademque caloris sui uirtute sol ceram quidem soluit, limum uero arefacit et stringit: non quo uirtus eius aliter in limo, aliter operetur in cera, sed
270 quod limi alia, alia cerae sit qualitas, cum utique secundum naturam unum sit, quia utrumque de terra est. Ita ergo una eademque dei operatio, quae per Moysen in signis ac uirtutibus gerebatur, Pharaonis quidem duritiam arguebat, quam malitiae suae intentione conceperat, reliquorum uero Aegyptiorum, qui Israhelitis admiscebantur, oboedientiam declarabat, qui etiam cum Hebraeis
275 pariter excessisse Aegypto referuntur. Quod uero scriptum est quia paulatim edomaretur cor Pharaonis, ut aliquando diceret: *Non longe abeatis, iter tridui abibitis, sed uxores uestras relinquite et infantes uestros et pecora uestra*, sed et si qua alia scripta sunt, per quae paulatim uidetur adquiescere signis et uirtutibus: quid aliud ex his indicatur, nisi quod agebat quidem in eo aliquid signorum et
280 mirabilium uirtus, non tamen tantum, quantum deberet, operabatur? Si enim talis erat induratio, qualem plurimi putant, non utique inueniretur uel in paucis adquiescere.

266 qui[1] : quis M^{pc} *σ* restringit *Del* : constringit *Koe* 269 operatur *γ* 273 intentione conceperat : intentio nec ceperat *μ* : intentione acceperat M^{pc} : intentione permansuram cernebat *σ* 277 abibitis : habebitis *μ* : abeatis Ab : habeatis S

3.1.11. *Ὥσπερ δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἔλεγε φωνὴν προϊέμενος ὅτι ἐγὼ τήκω καὶ ξηραίνω, ἐναντίων ὄντων τοῦ τήκεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ξηραίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ψεῦδος ἔλεγε παρὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς θερμότητος τηκομένου μὲν τοῦ κηροῦ, ξηραινομένου δὲ τοῦ πηλοῦ· οὕτως ἡ μία ἐνέργεια ἡ διὰ*
220 *Μωσέως γινομένη σκληρυμμὸν μὲν ἤλεγχε τὸν τοῦ Φαραὼ διὰ τὴν κακίαν αὐτοῦ, πειθὼ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπιμίκτων Αἰγυπτίων, συνεξορμησάντων τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. Καὶ τὸ κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἀναγεγράφθαι οἱονεὶ μαλάσσεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν Φαραὼ λέγοντος· ἀλλ'* ***οὐ μακρὰν ἀποτενεῖτε, τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν πορεύσεσθε, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν καταλείπετε****, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ*
225 *βραχὺ ἐνδιδοὺς πρὸς τὰ τεράστια ἔλεγε, δηλοῖ ὅτι ἐνήργει μέν τι καὶ εἰς*

216 *καὶ εἰ* A D H *ὅτι om.* Cat *τήξω* B 217 *ἐνάντιον* C *τοῦ*[2] *om.* B H Fern 219 *κηροῦ* : *ξηροῦ* C 220 *γινομένου* A *τὸν om.* B *τοῦ om.* Cat 221 *τὴν* : *τῶν* B *συνεξορμισάντων* A 223 *τοῦ post καρδίαν add.* B *ἀποτενεῖται* A 224 *πορεύεσθε* Cat *καταλείψετε* Cat 225 *μέν τι* : *μέντοι* C

3.1.11. But to prove the point more clearly, it will not be superfluous to employ another illustration: for example, if one were to say that it is the sun which binds and loosens, when loosening and binding are opposites. Now it is not false to say that, by one and the same power of its heat, the sun loosens up wax yet dries out and binds together mud; not that its power works one way upon mud and another way upon wax, but that the qualities of mud and of wax are different, although according to nature they are one thing, because both are of the earth.[24] In this way, then, one and the same action of God, which was worked through Moses in signs and mighty acts, made known, on the one hand, the hardness of Pharaoh, which he had conceived in the intensity of his wickedness, and proclaimed, on the other hand, the obedience of those other Egyptians, who were mingled among the Israelites and are reported to have departed from Egypt along with them. Regarding what is written, that the heart of Pharaoh was gradually being softened, so that on one occasion he said, *You shall not go far; you shall go a three days' journey, but leave your wives and your children and your cattle*,[25] and any other passages according to which he seems to yield gradually to the signs and mighty works, what else is indicated by these except that the power of the signs and wonders had some effect on him, though not as much was wrought as ought to have been? For if the hardening were of such a kind as many reckon, he would certainly not be found acquiescing even a few times.

[24] Although Rufinus appears to have extended various passages in comparison with what we have in the *Philocalia*, such as the extended agricultural comparison in the preceding paragraph (*Princ.* 3.1.10, with reminiscences of Virgil), Simonetti and Crouzel (SC 269, p. 29, n.53c) suggest that the technical nature of this clause ('not that its power ... both are of the earth') make it unlikely that it is due to Rufinus alone, but have no explanation for why the *Philocalia* should have dropped it.

[25] Cf. Exod. 8:28, 27; 10:9, 11.

3.1.11. Just as if the sun, uttering a voice, said, 'I melt and dry out', melting and drying out being opposites, it would not speak falsely regarding the subject matter, as wax is melted and clay dried out by the same heat, so also the same act, which occurred through Moses, proved the hardening of Pharaoh on account of his wickedness and the persuasibility of the mixed Egyptians who departed together with the Hebrews. And the succinctly recorded comment that the heart of Pharaoh was, as it were, softened, when he said, *You shall not go far; you shall go a three days' journey, but leave your wives*, and whatever else he said, yielding slightly to the wonders, makes it clear that the signs had some

Tropum uero uel figuram sermonis eius qui scriptus est de *induratione*, etiam ex communi consuetudine exponere, puto quod non uideatur absurdum.
285 Frequenter enim benigniores quique domini ad eos seruos, qui per multam patientiam et mansuetudinem dominorum insolentiores improbioresque fiunt, dicere solent: Ego te talem feci, ego te perdidi, mea te patientia pessimum fecit, ego tibi causa huius tam durae et pessimae mentis existo, qui te non statim per singulas culpas punio pro merito delictorum. Necesse est enim
290 tropum nos primo uel figuram sermonis aduertere et ita demum uirtutem dicti intellegere nec inferre calumnias uerbo, cuius interiorem sensum non diligentius exploremus. Denique Paulus apostolus euidenter de talibus tractans ait ad eum, qui permanebat in peccatis: *Aut diuitias bonitatis eius ac patientiae et longanimitatis contemnis, ignorans quia benignitas dei ad paenitentiam te*
295 *adducit? Secundum duritiam autem tuam et cor impaenitens thesaurizas tibi ipsi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii dei.* Quae ergo dicit apostolus ad eum, qui in peccatis est, conuertamus haec ipsa nos ad Pharaonem dici, et uide si non ea etiam de ipso dici consonanter inuenies, quia *Secundum duritiam* suam *et cor impaenitens thesaurizauit* et recondidit sibi ipsi *iram in die irae*, pro
300 eo quod numquam duritia eius ita argui et in manifestum uenire potuisset, nisi signa et prodigia fuissent tam multa tamque magnifica prosecuta.

287 ego *post* patientia *add.* σ 288 feci γ mentis : *om.* μ : consuetudinis σ 292 apostolus paulus γ 296 quae ergo dicit α : dicit μ : dicit hoc σ : haec dicit *Del*

αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα, οὐ μὴν τὸ πᾶν κατειργάζετο. Οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, εἰ τὸ νοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ***σκληρυνῶ τὴν καρδίαν Φαραώ*** *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνηργεῖτο, τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι.*

Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς συνηθείας τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθήσασθαι,
230 *πολλάκις τῶν χρηστῶν δεσποτῶν φασκόντων τοῖς διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἐπιτριβομένοις οἰκέταις τό· ἐγώ σε πονηρὸν ἐποίησα, καί· ἐγώ σοι αἴτιος γέγονα τῶν τηλικούτων ἁμαρτημάτων. Δεῖ γὰρ τοῦ ἤθους ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ λεγομένου, καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν μὴ κατακούοντας τοῦ βουλήματος τοῦ λόγου. Ὁ γοῦν Παῦλος σαφῶς ταῦτα ἐξετάσας φησὶ πρὸς*
235 *τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα·* ***ἢ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει; Κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ***

227 εἰ : εἰς B καὶ *post* φαραώ *add.* ϵ 228 τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι *om.* Cat 230 τὴν *post* καὶ *add.* A ϵ H 233 μὴ[2] : μηδὲ ϵ 234 σαφῶς *post* ἐξετάσας *transp.* C 235 καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς *om.* Cat 237 σοῦ *om.* ϵ 238 καὶ[2] *om.* A H

It will not appear absurd, I think, to explain the tropological or figurative character of the language of him who wrote about the *hardening*, even from common usage. For often kindly masters are wont to say to their slaves, who, through the great forbearance and gentleness of their masters, have become insolent and reprobate: 'It was I who have made you like this; I have spoiled you; it is my forbearance that has made you good for nothing; I am the cause of your hard and worthless character, because I did not punish you at once for every single fault according to your deserts.' It is necessary to take note of the tropological or figurative character of the language, and so come to understand the force of the expression, and not find fault with a word whose inner meaning we have not carefully examined. Finally, the Apostle Paul, clearly treating of such things, says to him who remained in his sins, *Do you disdain the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leads you to repentance? But by your hard and impenitent heart you are treasuring up wrath for yourself in the day of wrath and the revelation of the just judgement of God.*[26] Let us, then, take these words of the Apostle to him who is in sin and convert the very same expressions to be said of Pharaoh, and see if you will not find it spoken appropriately of him, since, *by* his *hard and impenitent heart* he is *treasuring up* and storing away *wrath* for himself *in the day of wrath*, because of the fact that his hardness could never have been thus made known and come to be exposed unless signs and wonders of such number and magnificence had been in attendance.

[26] Rom. 2:4–5.

effect even upon him, but did not have their full effect. Yet even this would not have happened if, as is supposed by the multitude, the saying, *I will harden the heart of Pharaoh*, was wrought by him, that is, by God.

And it is not absurd to tone down such expressions even from our customary speech, for kind masters often say to their slaves, spoiled by kindness and forbearance, 'I have made you bad' and 'I am the cause of these grave sins in you.' It is necessary to attend to the character and the force of what is said, and not misrepresent it through failing to hear the meaning of the expression. Paul, at any rate, having clearly examined these points, says to the sinner, *Or do you disdain the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leads you to repentance? But by your hard and impenitent heart you are treasuring up wrath for yourself in the day of wrath and*

3.1.12. Quodsi minus plenae probationes uidentur esse quas diximus, et apostolicae similitudinis parum munimenti habere adhuc uidetur assertio, adhibeamus etiam propheticae auctoritatis adsensum et uideamus, quid etiam
305 prophetae pronuntient de his, qui primo quidem recte uiuentes benignitatis dei habere quam plurima experimenta meruerunt, postea uero ut homines deliquerunt; cum quibus se quoque unum faciens propheta ait: *Vt quid, domine, errare nos fecisti a uia tua? et quare indurasti cor nostrum, uti ne timeamus nomen tuum? Conuertere propter seruos tuos, propter tribus*
310 *hereditatis tuae, ut et nos parum aliquid hereditatis capiamus de monte sancto tuo.* Sed et Hieremias similiter dicit: *Seduxisti nos, domine, et seducti sumus; tenuisti et potuisti.* Quod ergo ait: *Ad quid, domine, indurasti cor nostrum, uti ne timeamus nomen tuum?* dictum ab his, qui misericordiam precabantur, morali utique tropo accipiendum est, uelut si quis dicat: Vt quid in tantum
315 pepercisti nobis nec requisisti nos, cum peccaremus, sed reliquisti nos, ut per hoc incresceret malum et propagaretur peccandi licentia animaduersione

304 uideatur *β* 307 propheta ait : prophetauit C *γ* 309 timeremus *γ*
312 posuisti *δ* B ad : ut *γ* 315 nos : nobis G M[ac] Ab : a nobis S

δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἃ γὰρ λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα ὁ ἀπόστολος,
240 λεγέσθω πρὸς τὸν Φαραώ, καὶ πάνυ ἁρμοδίως νοηθείη ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόμενα αὐτῷ, **κατὰ τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ ἀμετανόητον αὐτοῦ καρδίαν θησαυρίζοντος ἑαυτῷ ὀργήν**, τῆς σκληρότητος οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐλεγχθείσης οὐδὲ φανερᾶς γεγενημένης, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγεγόνει, ἢ ἐγεγόνει μέν, μὴ τὰ τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ τηλικαῦτα.

245 **3.1.12.** Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δυσπειθεῖς αἱ τοιαῦται διηγήσεις καὶ βίαιοι εἶναι νομίζονται, ἴδωμεν καὶ ἀπὸ προφητικοῦ λόγου, τί φασιν οἱ πολλῆς χρηστότητος θεοῦ πεπειραμένοι καὶ [μὴ] βιώσαντες καλῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἁμαρτήσαντες. **Τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς, κύριε, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου; Ἵνα τί ἐσκλήρυνας ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν, τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου; Ἐπίστρεψον**
250 **διὰ τοὺς δούλους σου, διὰ τὰς φυλὰς τῆς κληρονομίας σου, ἵνα μικρόν τι κληρονομήσωμεν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἁγίου σου·** καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ· **ἠπάτησάς με, κύριε, καὶ ἠπατήθην, ἐκράτησας καὶ ἐδυνάσθης.** Τὸ γὰρ ἵνα **τί ἐσκλήρυνας ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν, τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου;** λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλεηθῆναι παρακαλούντων, ἐν ἤθει λεγόμενον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἵνα

239 τοῦ *om.* B A H γὰρ *om.* B 240–1 νοηθείη … αὐτῷ *om.* Cat 241 αὐτοῦ *om.* B θησαυρίζοντα Cat 243 ἐγεγόνει[1] : γεγόνει B τὰ[2] *om.* ε H
246 ἴδωμεν *ante* λόγου *add.* C 247 θεοῦ *om.* C [μὴ] *secl. Sim Fern (ex Ruf)* : μὴ *codd. Rob* : μὴν *corr. Koe (a Schnitzer)* : *Goe crucem sign. et* δὴ *coni. in appar.* 249 μὴ *om.* B 253–4 λεγόμενον … ἐν ἤθει *om.* λ C

3.1.12. But if the proofs we have adduced seem less than complete, and the apostolic illustration insufficiently warranted, let us also add the witness of prophetic authority and see what the prophets proclaim about those who at first, indeed, living righteously, have deserved to receive very many proofs of the goodness of God, but afterwards have fallen, as human beings do, into sin. A prophet, identifying himself with them, says, *Why, O Lord, did you make us stray from your way? And why have you hardened our hearts so that we would not fear your name? Turn back on account of your slaves, on account of the tribes of your inheritance, that we may obtain as an inheritance a little of your holy mountain.*[27] Jeremiah also speaks in the same way: *O Lord, you have misled us, and we were misled; you have held fast and have prevailed.*[28] The saying, then, *Why, O Lord, have you hardened our heart so that we would not fear your name?*, said by those who prayed for mercy, is certainly to be taken in a moral or figurative sense, as if one were to say: 'Why have you spared us so long and did not requite us when we sinned, but abandoned us, so that our wickedness might increase and our license for sinning be extended when punishment

[27] Isa. 63: 17–18. [28] Jer. 20:7. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 19.15.

the revelation and the just judgement of God. Let what the Apostle says to the sinner be addressed to Pharaoh, and then it will be understood to be entirely appropriate that these things are declared to him, *by your hard and impenitent heart you are treasuring wrath up for yourself*, as his hardness would not have thus been proved nor made manifest unless the signs had been performed, or if they had been wrought but not so many or so great.

3.1.12. But since such narratives are hard to believe and are considered to be forced, let us see from the prophetic words also, what those say who have experienced the great kindness of God and have {not} lived well, but have afterwards sinned. *Why, O Lord, did you make us stray from your way? Why have you hardened our heart, not to fear your name? Turn back on account of your slaves, on account of the tribes of your inheritance, that we may obtain as an inheritance a little of your holy mountain.* And in Jeremiah: *You have misled me, O Lord, and I was misled; you were stronger and have prevailed.* For the statement, *Why have you hardened our heart, not to fear your name?*, said by those begging to receive mercy, said in character, means this: 'Why have you

cessante? Sic equus si non assidui sessoris ferratam patitur calcem et frenis ora serratis obteritur, indurescit. Sic puerilis aetas si nulla plagae assiduitate curuetur, insolentem simul et ad uitia praecipitem iuuenem reddet. Relinquit
320 ergo deus et neglegit eos, quos correptione iudicarit indignos. *Quem enim diligit dominus, corripit et castigat: flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit.* Ex quo arbitrandum est in filiorum iam et ordinem et affectum recipi eos, qui flagellari a deo meruerint et corripi, quo scilicet per temptationum et tribulationum patientiam possint etiam ipsi dicere: *Quis nos separabit a caritate*
325 *dei, quae est in Christo Iesu? tribulatio an angustia an fames an nuditas an periculum an gladius?* Per haec enim omnia manifestatur et proditur uniuscuiusque propositum, et perseuerantiae firmitas indicatur, non tam deo, qui *nouit omnia antequam fiant,* quam rationabilibus caelestibusque uirtutibus, quae utique procurationem salutis humanae uelut quaedam adiutrices dei
330 ministraeque sortitae sunt. Hi uero, qui nondum se tanta constantia neque tanto affectu offerunt deo neque parati sunt accedentes ad seruitutem dei

318 serratis : seratis δ : ferratis *Del* 319 curetur *Del* 321 et castigat *om.* γ

255 *τί ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφείσω ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐπισκεπτόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν ἕως εἰς μέγεθος ἔλθῃ πταισμάτων τὰ ἡμέτερα;* Ἐγκαταλείπει δὲ μὴ κολαζομένους τοὺς πλείονας, ἵνα τε τὰ ἑκάστου ἤθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐξετασθῇ, καὶ φανεροὶ μὲν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης βασάνου οἱ κρείττους γένωνται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μὴ λαθόντες, οὐχὶ θεὸν (**πάντα** γὰρ **οἶδε**
260 **πρὸ γενέσεως αὐτῶν**), ἀλλὰ τὰ λογικὰ καὶ ἑαυτούς, ὕστερον τύχωσιν ὁδοῦ θεραπείας, οὐκ ἂν ἐγνωκότες τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, εἰ μὴ ἑαυτῶν κατεγνώκεισαν· ὅπερ συμφέρει ἑκάστῳ, ἵνα αἴσθηται τῆς ἰδιότητος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς χάριτος τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ μὴ αἰσθανόμενος τῆς ἰδίας ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος, κἂν εὐεργετῆται μὴ ἑαυτοῦ πεπειραμένος μηδὲ ἑαυτοῦ
265 κατεγνωκώς, οἰήσεται ἴδιον εἶναι ἀνδραγάθημα τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος αὐτῷ ἐπιχορηγηθέν. Τοῦτο δέ, οἴημα ἐμποιῆσαν καὶ φυσίωσιν, αἴτιον ἔσται καταπτώσεως· ὅπερ νομίζομεν καὶ περὶ τὸν διάβολον γεγονέναι, ἑαυτῷ χαρισάμενον ἃ εἶχε προτερήματα, ὅτε ἄμωμος ἦν. ***Πᾶς*** **γὰρ ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, ὡς πᾶς ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.**
270 Κατανόει δὲ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο **ἀποκέκρυπται ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν** τὰ θεῖα, ἵνα, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, **μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ**·

258 *γινομένης* B *οἱ om.* A 260 *ἑαυτούς : ἐπουρανίους Koe Goe in appar. (ex Ruf. l.328)* *ὁδῷ* B A 262 *συμφέρει : συμβαίνει* C 263 *τῆς*[1] *om.* φ 266 *φυσίωμα* C

ceased?' In this way, a horse, if it does not continually feel the spur of its rider and have its mouth chafed by a rough bridle, becomes hardened. In this way, a young boy, if not constantly disciplined by whipping, will become an insolent youth and ready to fall headlong into vice. God, accordingly, abandons and neglects those whom he has judged undeserving of chastisement. *For the Lord chastens and punishes those whom he loves, and scourges every son whom he receives.*[29] From which it must be supposed that those to be received into the rank and affection of sons are they who have deserved to be scourged and chastened by the Lord, in order that through endurance of trials and tribulations they also may be able to say, *Who shall separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus? Shall tribulation or distress or famine or nakedness or peril or sword?*[30] For through all these is each one's resolve manifested and exhibited, and the firmness of perseverance made known, not so much to God, who *knows all things before they happen*,[31] as to the rational and heavenly powers, who have been allotted to be, as it were, assistants and ministers of God in the procurement of human salvation. But those who do not yet offer themselves to God with such constancy and affection, and who are not yet ready, when

[29] Prov. 3:12; Heb. 12:6. This quotation and the next do not appear in the *Philocalia*, though they certainly are in the character of Origen; Schnitzer (*Origenes*, 179) suggested that there is a lacuna here in the *Philocalia*, and Koetschau (p. cxxxiv) that Rufinus might have taken a passage from another work of Origen.

[30] Rom. 8:35. [31] Sus. *Θ* 42.

spared us for so long, not visiting us because of our sins, but abandoning us until our transgressions have grown so great?' He abandons most people by not punishing them, in order that, from the things within our power, the character of each may be tested and the better ones may become manifest from the trial applied, while the others, not escaping notice—not from God (for *he knows all things before they come to be*), but from the rational beings and from themselves—may later come upon the way of healing, for they would not have known the benefit if they had not condemned themselves; and this is beneficial to each, that he perceive his own particularity and the grace of God. For one who does not perceive his own weakness and the grace of God, if he receive a benefit, without having made a trial of himself nor having condemned himself, will imagine that what is bestowed upon him by the grace of heaven is his own good work. And this produces conceit and pride, and will be the cause of a downfall; which, we think, also happened to the devil, who attributed to himself the superiority which he had when he was blameless. *For everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled, as everyone who humbles himself shall be*

praeparare animas suas ad temptationem, derelinqui dicuntur a deo, id est non erudiri, pro eo quod ad erudiendum parati non sunt, in posterius sine dubio tempus eorum dispensatione uel curatione dilata. Qui utique quid a deo
335 consequantur ignorant, nisi prius ad beneficii consequendi desiderium uenerint; quod ita demum fiet, si quis ante semet ipsum quid sit agnoscat et sentiat quid sibi desit et quod deest a quo quaerere uel debeat uel possit intellegat. Qui enim non intellexerit prius infirmitatem uel aegritudinem suam, quaerere medicum nescit; uel certe cum receperit sanitatem, non erit gratus
340 medico, qui non prius periculum sui languoris agnouit. Ita et si qui non prius animae suae uitia et peccatorum suorum cognouerit mala ac proprii oris confessione prodiderit, purgari is absoluique non poterit, ne ignoret sibi per gratiam concessum esse quod possidet et diuinam liberalitatem proprium bonum putet; quae res sine dubio arrogantiam rursus animae generat et
345 elationem, et denuo ei causa fiet ruinae. Quod etiam de diabolo sentiendum est, qui primatus suos proprios et non a deo datos esse credidit, quos habebat tunc, cum inmaculatus erat; et adimpleta est in eo illa sententia, quae dicit quod *Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur.* Vnde mihi uidetur quod propterea *occultata sint a prudentibus et sapientibus* diuina mysteria, quemadmodum et
350 scriptura dicit: *Vti ne glorietur omnis caro in conspectu dei, et reuelata sunt paruulis*, his uidelicet, qui posteaquam infantes facti fuerint et paruuli, id est ad humilitatem se et simplicitatem reuocauerint paruulorum, tunc proficiunt, et cum ad perfectionem uenerint, meminerunt utique quod non tam suis uirtutibus, sed gratia et misericordia dei beatitudinem consecuti sunt.

καὶ ἀποκεκάλυπται νηπίοις, *τοῖς μετὰ τὴν νηπιότητα ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα ἐληλυθόσι καὶ μεμνημένοις ὅτι οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἰτίαν τοσοῦτον ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἄρρητον εὐεργεσίαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον μακαριότητος*
275 *ἐληλύθασιν.*

334 quid : qui G M[ac] Ab[ac] S[ac] 336 sit *om.* *μ* : *om. Del* 343 libertatem A[ac] B
345 fiet : fit *γ* 350 sint *β Koe Goe*

entering into the service of God, to prepare their souls for trial, are said to be abandoned by God, that is, not to be chastened, since they are not ready for chastisement, their treatment or healing being undoubtedly postponed to a later time. These indeed do not know what they will obtain from God, unless they first come to the desire of obtaining a benefit; which will only happen in this way, if one first comes to a knowledge of oneself and perceives what is lacking from oneself and understands from whom one should or can seek what is lacking. For he who does not first understand his infirmity or sickness, does not know to seek a physician;[32] or at any rate, having recovered his health, he will not be grateful to the physician if he did not first recognize the danger of his sickness.[33] And so, if one has not first learned the defects of his soul and the wickedness of his sins, and exposed this by confession with his own lips, he cannot be cleansed and absolved, lest he be unaware that what he possesses has been granted to him by grace and should think of the divine liberality as his own good; which idea would undoubtedly generate arrogance of soul and pride, and once again become the cause of his ruin.[34] It must be understood that this was the case with the devil, who believed that the primacy which he had then, when he was blameless, was his own and not given to him by God; and thus was fulfilled in him that statement which says that *everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled*.[35] Whence it seems to me that the divine mysteries were *concealed from the prudent and the wise* (so that, as Scripture says, *no flesh might glory before the presence of God*[36]) *and revealed to babes*,[37] to those, that is to say, who, after they have become infants and babes, that is, who have returned to the humility and simplicity of infants, then make progress, and when they reach perfection remember that they have obtained blessedness not, indeed, by their own virtues, but by the grace and mercy of God.

[32] Cf. Matt. 9:12.
[33] For other uses of medicinal imagery, see Origen, *Princ.* 2.7.3; 2.10.6; 3.1.13, 15.
[34] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.5; *Hom. Num.* 12.4; *Hom. Judic.* 3.1; *Hom. Ezech.* 9; *Comm. Ps.* 4 (= *Philoc.* 26.7).
[35] Luke 14:11, 18:14. [36] 1 Cor. 1:29. [37] Luke 10:21.

exalted. And consider whether on this account the divine things *have been concealed from the wise and prudent* (so that, as the Apostle says, *no flesh might glory before the presence of God*) *and revealed to babes*, to those who, after childhood, have come to better things and who remember that it is not from their own effort so much as by the unspeakable bounty [of God] that they have reached the heights of blessedness.

355 **3.1.13.** Igitur dei iudicio derelinquitur is qui derelinqui debet et patientiam habet deus super nonnullis peccantibus, non tamen sine certa ratione. Sed et hoc ipsum, quod patiens est, ad utilitatem ipsorum facit, quoniam quidem immortalis est anima, cuius curam et prouidentiam gerit; et utique quod immortale et aeternum est, etiamsi non cito curetur, non tam excluditur a salute, quam in tempora oppor-
360 tuniora differtur. Nam et fortassis expedit tardius salutem consequi his qui uenenis malitiae profundioris infecti sunt. Sicut enim medici interdum cum possint celerius obducere uulnerum cicatrices, praesentem dissimulant et differunt sanitatem melioris sanitatis firmiorisque prospectu, dum melius esse norunt moram facere in tumoribus uulnerum et maligni humoris fluentes
365 paulisper sinere meatus, quam festinare ad superficiem sanitatis et abstrusis in uenis fomitem uenenati humoris includere, qui utique exclusus a solitis meatibus serpet sine dubio in interiora membrorum atque ipsa uitalia uiscerum penetrabit, non iam morbum corporis, sed uitae inlaturus exitium: hoc ergo modo etiam deus, qui cognoscit occulta cordis et praenoscit futura, per multam patientiam
370 indulget fieri quaedam, quae extrinsecus incidentia hominibus prouocent proferri et in lucem procedere passiones et uitia, quae celantur intrinsecus, ut per haec expurgari et curari possint hi qui per multam neglegentiam et incuriam

359 tam : tamen *γ* quam : quia *σ* **368** corpori *β Koe Sim* **372** possent G M[ac] : possunt S[ac]

3.1.13. *Οὐκοῦν ἐγκαταλείπεται θείᾳ κρίσει ὁ ἐγκαταλειπόμενος καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπί τινας τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα τοῦ μὴ ταχὺ συνεργηθῆναι εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ βράδιον ἐπὶ ταύτην*
280 *ἀχθῆναι μετὰ τὸ πειραθῆναι πολλῶν κακῶν. Ὥσπερ γάρ τινα καὶ ἰατροὶ δυνάμενοι τάχιον ἰάσασθαι, ὅταν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἰὸν ὑπονοῶσιν ὑπάρχειν περὶ τὰ σώματα, τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ ἰάσασθαι ἐργάζονται, διὰ τὸ ἰᾶσθαι βούλεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἡγούμενοι κρεῖττον εἶναι πολλῷ χρόνῳ παρακατασχεῖν τινα ἐν τῷ φλεγμαίνειν καὶ κάμνειν ὑπὲρ*
285 *τοῦ βεβαιότερον αὐτὸν τὴν ὑγείαν ἀπολαβεῖν ἤπερ τάχιον μὲν ῥῶσαι δοκεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ ἀναδῦναι καὶ πρόσκαιρον γενέσθαι τὴν ταχυτέραν ἴασιν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ θεός, γινώσκων τὰ κρύφια τῆς καρδίας καὶ προγινώσκων τὰ μέλλοντα, διὰ τῆς μακροθυμίας ἐπιτρέπει τάχα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμβαινόντων ἐφελκόμενος τὸ ἐν κρυπτῷ κακὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ*
290 *καθᾶραι τὸν δι᾽ ἀμέλειαν τὰ σπέρματα τῆς ἁμαρτίας κεχωρηκότα, ἵνα εἰς*

280 *οἱ ante ἰατροὶ add.* A H **282** *τῷ* : *τὸ* A **282–3** *ἐργάζονται ... βούλεσθαι om.* A *ἰᾶσθαι* : *ἰάσασθαι ϵ* **283–4** *πολλῷ χρόμῳ κρεῖττον εἶναι ϵ* **284** *παρακατέχειν* A **285** *ὑγίειαν* B *ῥώσειν ϵ* **288** *ἐπιτρέφει coni. Goe in appar.* **289** *συμβαιόντων* A *πρὸς post ἐφελκόμενος add. ϵ*

3.1.13. It is, therefore, by the judgement of God that one who deserves to be abandoned is abandoned, while over some sinners God has forbearance, not, however, without a definite reason. For this very fact, that he is forbearing, makes for their advantage, since the soul, for whose healing and oversight he acts, is immortal; and, as something immortal and everlasting, it is not, even if not quickly cared for, excluded from salvation, which is postponed to more appropriate times. It is, moreover, perhaps expedient for those who have been more deeply infected with the poison of wickedness to obtain salvation slowly. Just as physicians, when they could quickly cover over the scars of wounds, occasionally conceal and defer the cure for the present, with a view to a better and sounder health, since they know that it is preferable to cause a delay in cases of swellings caused by wounds and to allow the malignant humours to flow for a while, rather than to hasten to a superficial cure and, by covering it, to shut up in the veins the poison of the morbid tumour, which, when cut off from its usual outlets, will undoubtedly creep into the inner parts of the limbs and penetrate to the vitals of the entrails themselves, so as to bring about no longer mere disease in the body but the loss of life; so also, in like manner, God, who knows the secret things of the heart and foreknows the future, through great forbearance allows certain things to happen, which, coming from without upon human beings, provoke the passions and vices which are concealed within to come out and proceed into the light, so that by these means those may be cleansed and saved who through great negligence and carelessness

3.1.13. That the one who is abandoned is abandoned by divine judgement and that God is long-suffering with certain sinners is not without reason, but because, with regard to the immortality of the soul and the limitless age, it will be for their advantage that they not be too quickly assisted to salvation, but be slowly led to it after experiencing many evils. Just as physicians, though able to heal a patient quickly, when they suspect that hidden poison exists in the body do the reverse of healing, doing this because they wish to heal the patient more surely, deeming it better to retain the patient in inflammation and sickness so that he may regain his health more securely than that he should seem to regain strength quickly but later relapse and the hasty cure prove to be temporary, in the same way, God also, knowing the secret things of the heart and foreknowing the things to come, through his long-suffering perhaps forbears, and while drawing out the hidden evil by means of things that happen from without, so as to cleanse the one who through carelessness has received the seeds of sin, in order that having vomited them out when they come to the surface, even

peccatorum in sese radices ac semina receperunt, ut eiecta foras atque ad superficiem prouocata, euomi quodammodo possint et digeri; ut etiamsi uideatur quis
375 in grauioribus effici malis, dum membrorum omnium sustinet conuulsiones, possit tamen cessare aliquando et desinere et satietatem capere malorum et sic ad statum suum post multas molestias reparari. Deus enim dispensat animas non ad istud solum uitae nostrae tempus, quod intra sexaginta fere aut si quid amplius annos concluditur, sed ad perpetuum et aeternum tempus, tamquam
380 aeternus ipse et immortalis, immortalium quoque animarum prouidentiam tenens. Incorruptibilem namque fecit esse rationabilem naturam, quam et *ad imaginem* suam *ac similitudinem* condidit: et ideo non excluditur breuitate temporis huius uitae nostrae a cura et remediis diuinis anima, quae immortalis est.

3.1.14. Sed adsumamus etiam de euangeliis horum quae diximus similitudines,
385 ubi refertur esse quaedam petra habens paruam et exiguam terram, in quam si ceciderit semen, cito memoratur exoriri, sed cum exortum fuerit, quoniam radicem non dedit in profundum, *ascendente sole aestuare* dicitur et *arescere* quod exortum est. Quae utique petra sine dubio pro anima posita est humana, pro sui neglegentia indurata et propter malitiam saxea effecta. Nulli enim a

378 breue *ante* tempus *add. Del Koe*

ἐπιπολὴν ἐλθόντα αὐτά τις ἐμέσας, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐν κακοῖς γεγένηται, ὕστερον δυνηθῇ καθαρσίου τυχὼν τοῦ μετὰ τὴν κακίαν ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι. Θεὸς γὰρ οἰκονομεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς οὐχ ὡς πρὸς τὴν φέρ' εἰπεῖν πεντηκονταετίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα·
295 *ἄφθαρτον γὰρ φύσιν πεποίηκε τὴν νοερὰν καὶ αὐτῷ συγγενῆ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκλείεται ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ τῆς θεραπείας.*

3.1.14. *Φέρε δὲ καὶ τοιαύτῃ εἰκόνι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου χρησώμεθα. Ἔστι τις πέτρα ὀλίγην ἔχουσα καὶ ἐπιπόλαιον γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἂν πέσῃ τὰ σπέρματα ταχὺ ἀνθεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀνθήσαντα, ἐπεὶ* **ῥίζαν οὐκ ἔχει, ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος**
300 **καυματίζεται καὶ ξηραίνεται**. *Καὶ αὕτη ἡ πέτρα ἀνθρωπίνη ἐστὶ ψυχὴ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν σκληρυνθεῖσα καὶ διὰ τὴν κακίαν ἀπολιθωθεῖσα·* **λιθίνη** *γὰρ οὐδενὶ ἔκτισται ὑπὸ θεοῦ* **καρδία**, *ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρίας τοιαύτη*

291 *πλέον* C *γένηται* B : *γένοιτο* C **293** *οὐχί* B *τὴν* : *τήνδε* B[pc] *τὴν post εἰπεῖν add.* B **294** *ἀλλ' ὡς* : *ἀλλὰ* A **295** *αὐτῷ συγγενῆ* : *αὐτοσυγγενῆ* B
298 *τις* : *τῆς* A *καὶ ἐπιπόλεον ἔχουσα* B **302** *ὑπὸ* : *ἀπὸ* A ϵ

have admitted within themselves the roots and seeds of sin, which having been driven outwards and brought to the surface may in a way be vomited out and dispersed. And so, even if someone seems to be afflicted with very serious evils, suffering convulsions in all his limbs, he may yet at some point be able to cease and desist and to reach satiety of evils and so, after many troubles, to be restored to his [proper] state.[38] For God deals with souls not merely with reference to this time of our life, which is concluded in sixty or a few more years, but with reference to an everlasting and eternal age, as he himself is eternal and immortal, exercising his providence over immortal souls. For he made the rational being, which he fashioned in his own *image and likeness*,[39] incorruptible, and therefore the soul, which is immortal, is not excluded by the brevity of the time of our present life from the divine healing and remedies.

3.1.14. But let us also take from the Gospels illustrations of those things we have been speaking about, where a certain rock is mentioned, having on it a little and shallow earth, in which, when a seed falls, it is said to spring up quickly, but after it has sprung up, because it did not cast its roots deeply, *when the sun arises* what has sprung up is said to *be scorched and to wither away*.[40] Now this rock without a doubt stands for the human soul, hardened through its own negligence[41] and made stony by its wickedness. For no one has a *stony heart*

[38] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.1.17; 3.4.3; *Or.* 29.13.
[39] Gen. 1:26. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.1.7; 3.6.1; 4.4.9–10; *Cels.* 3.40; *Comm. Matt.* 17.27; *Mart.* 47.
[40] Matt. 13:3–9; Mark 4:3–10; Luke 8:4–8.
[41] On 'negligence' see also Origen, *Princ.* 1.4.1 and the material cited in n.73 there.

though he may have been greatly immersed in evil deeds, he may later on, attaining to purification after his wickedness, be renewed. For God deals with souls not with reference, let me say, to the fifty years of the present life, but with reference to the limitless age, for he made the intellectual being incorruptible and akin to himself, and the rational soul is not excluded from healing, as [it might seem] in this present life.

3.1.14. Come now, and let us use the following image from the Gospel. There is a certain rock, with a little surface soil, on which, if seeds fall, they sprout up quickly, but when sprouted, because *they have no root, when the sun arose they are scorched and wither away*. Now this rock is a human soul, hardened on account of its carelessness and made stone through its evil; for no one has a

390 deo *cor lapideum* creatum est, sed per malitiam unicuique et inoboedientiam lapideum cor fieri dicitur. Sicut ergo si quis increpet agricolam, quare non citius semina super terram petrosam iecerit, pro eo quod uideat aliam terram petrosam accepta semina uelociter germinasse, utique respondebit agricola et dicet quia Idcirco tardius semino terram istam, ut possit semina quae susceperit retinere;
395 expedit enim huic tali terrae ut posterius seminetur, ne forte citius germinata seges et e summa tenuis soli fronte procedens solis aestibus obuiare non possit (nonne rationi et peritiae adquiescet agricolae et quod prius sibi uidebatur inconsequens rationabiliter factum probabit?): ita ergo etiam deus, uniuersae creaturae suae peritissimus agricola, dissimulat et differt in aliud sine dubio
400 tempus haec, quae nobis uidentur citius debuisse consequi sanitatem, uti ne superficies magis eorum quam interna curentur. Si uero quis nobis ad haec obiciat: Quare ergo quaedam semina cadunt etiam super petrosam terram, id est duram aliquam et saxeam animam? dicendum ad haec quia ne hoc quidem absque diuinae dispensationis fieri prouidentia potest, quia nisi per hoc

390 per *om.* γ   391 sicut : sic γ   ergo *om. Sim*   393 acceptis seminibus β
396 seges et e : segete γ : seges *Del*   397 qui prius increpabat *post* nonne *add.*σ *Koe Goe*   adquiescit B γ   398 probauit B μ   401 eorum magis γ   404 non *post* per hoc *add.* B γ

γίνεται. Ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ἐγκαλοῖ τις τῷ γεωργῷ, μὴ τάχιον τὰ σπέρματα ἐπὶ τὴν πετρώδη γῆν βαλόντι, ὁρῶν ἄλλην τινὰ πετρώδη γῆν λαβοῦσαν
305 *τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνθοῦσαν, ἀποκρίναιτο ἂν ὁ γεωργὸς ὅτι βράδιον σπερῶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἐπιβαλὼν τὰ δυνάμενα παρακατασχεῖν τὰ σπαρησόμενα, κρείττονος ἐσομένου τῇδε τῇ γῇ τοῦ βραδυτέρου καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρου παρὰ τὴν τάχιον εἰληφυῖαν καὶ ἐπιπολαιοτέρως, πεισθείημεν ἂν ὡς εὐλόγως λέγοντι τῷ γεωργῷ καὶ ὡς ἐπιστημόνως*
310 *πεποιηκότι· οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέγας πάσης φύσεως γεωργὸς ὑπερτίθεται τὴν νομισθεῖσαν ἂν τάχιον εὐποιΐαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπόλαιος γένηται. Ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα ἡμῖν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυπενεγκεῖν· διὰ τί δέ τι τῶν σπερμάτων πίπτει ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἔχουσαν τὴν γῆν, οἱονεὶ πέτραν οὖσαν, ψυχήν; Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὅτι βέλτιον τῇδέ τινι προπετέστερον*
315 *βεβουλημένῃ τὰ κρείττονα καὶ οὐχὶ ὁδῷ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ὁδευσάσῃ τυχεῖν οὗ βεβούληται, ἵνα ἑαυτῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καταγνοῦσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν γεωργίαν μακροθυμήσῃ ὕστερον πολλῷ χρόνῳ λαβεῖν.*

303 *ἐγκαλοίη* B[pc] ϵ : *ἐγκαλοῖ* B[ac]   *τάχιον* *om.* A   304 *βάλλοντι* ϵ H
305 *ἀποκρίνετο* B[ac] C : *ἀποκρίνοιτο* B[pc]   306 *σπείρω* *coni. Koe Goe in appar.*
309 *πεισθείημαν ἂν* : *πεισθείη μὲν ἂν* *Koe Goe in appar.*   314 *τοῦτον* ϵ   *τινι* : *τῇ γῇ* ϵ   315 *οὗ* : *ὃ* B : *οὐ* C H   316 *ἐπὶ τοῦτο* A ϵ

created by God, but the heart of each one is said to become stony through his own wickedness and disobedience. Just as if, therefore, one were to blame the farmer for not casting his seed more quickly upon rocky ground, because he sees that seed cast upon other rocky ground was quickly springing up, the farmer would certainly say in reply: 'I sow this earth more slowly for this reason, that it may retain the seed which it has received; for it is better for earth like this to be sown somewhat slowly, lest perhaps the crop should spring up too rapidly, and coming from the very top of a shallow soil, should not be able to withstand the rays of the sun' (would he not now acknowledge the reason and the skill of the farmer and approve as rationally done what had formerly seemed to him irrational?); in the same way, therefore, God, the most skilled farmer of his entire creation, conceals and defers, undoubtedly to another time, those things which seem to us ought to obtain health sooner, in order that not the outside, but rather the inside, may be cured. But if someone were to pose this question to us, 'Why do certain seeds even fall upon rocky ground, that is, on a hard and stony soul?', we must reply to this that even this does not happen without the arrangement of divine providence, since, unless by this means the condemnation

stony heart created by God, but it becomes such from wickedness. Just as, then, if someone were to reproach the farmer for not sowing the seed upon the rocky ground sooner, when he saw the other rocky ground receiving the seed and flowering, the farmer would reply, 'I sow this ground more slowly, laying down seeds that might be able to endure, the slower way being better for this ground and more secure than that which receives the seed more quickly but more superficially,' and we would be persuaded that the farmer spoke reasonably and acted skilfully, so also, the great farmer of all nature postpones the benefit which might have been deemed premature, so that it may not prove superficial. But it is likely that someone may object to us about this, 'why do some seeds fall upon the soul having superficial soil, being as it were a rock?' In response to this one must say that it was better for this soul, desiring better things too precipitously and not by the way leading to them, to obtain what it desired, in order that, condemning itself for this, it might thereafter have patience to receive over a long period the cultivation that accords with nature.

405 cognosceretur, quid condemnationis haberet temeritas auditus et perscrutationis inprobitas, non utique agnosceretur, quid esset utilitatis erudiri per ordinem. Et inde fit ut cognoscat anima uitium suum seque ipsa reprehendat ac consequenti se culturae reseruet ac tradat, id est ut uideat sibi prius uitia resecanda, tum deinde ad instructionem scientiae ueniendum.

410 Quia ergo, sicut innumerabiles sunt animae, ita et mores earum atque propositum diuersique singularum motus et adpetentiae et incitamenta, quarum uarietatem humana mens considerare nullatenus potest: et ideo soli deo ars et potentia et scientia dispensationis huiuscemodi relinquenda est, qui solus nosse potest et remedia singularum et curationum tempus metiri. Ipse 415 ergo, qui solus, ut diximus, agnoscit singulorum mortalium uias, scit qua uia etiam Pharaonem adducere deberet, *ut per ipsum nomen suum nominaretur in uniuersa terra*, pluribus plagis antea castigatum et usque ad submersionem maris adductum. In qua submersione non utique putandum est finitam esse erga Pharaonem prouidentiam dei: non enim quia demersus est, continuo 420 etiam substantialiter interisse putandus est. *In manu enim dei et nos et sermones nostri et omnis prudentia atque operum disciplina*, sicut scriptura dixit. Verum haec pro uiribus nostris disseruimus capitulum scripturae discutientes, in quo dicitur *deus indurasse cor Pharaonis*, et pro eo quod dictum est: *Cui ergo uult miseretur, et quem uult indurat.*

405 temeritatis *γ* 407 ipsam B M ac : et *β* 411 proposita *Del* adpetentia *γ* 412 et *om.* B *Koe Goe* 414 curarum *β* 415 scit *om.* *γ* 421 prudentia : prouidentia *γ* dicit W[ac] *Del*

Ἄπειροι γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ ἄπειρα τὰ τούτων ἤθη, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα τὰ κινήματα καὶ αἱ προθέσεις καὶ αἱ ἐπιβολαὶ καὶ αἱ 320 *ὁρμαί· ὧν εἷς μόνος οἰκονόμος ἄριστος, καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιστάμενος καὶ τὰ ἁρμόζοντα βοηθήματα καὶ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ὁδούς, ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ὁ εἰδὼς πῶς καὶ τὸν Φαραὼ ἄγει διὰ τοσῶνδε καὶ καταποντισμοῦ, εἰς ὃν οὐ καταλήγει ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ Φαραώ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπεὶ κατεποντώθη, ἀνελύθη·* **ἐν γὰρ χειρὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἡμῶν** 325 **πᾶσά τε φρόνησις καὶ ἐργατιῶν ἐπιστήμη**. *Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μετρίως εἰς ἀπολογίαν περὶ τοῦ* **ἐσκληρύνθαι τὴν καρδίαν Φαραὼ** *καὶ περὶ τοῦ·* **ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει**.

318 *ἡμῖν post τις transp.* C 319 *ἐπιβουλαί* ε 322 *τοσῶνδε* : *τούτων δὲ* A : *τοσῶν δὲ* C : *τοσῶν* B 325 *ἐργατειῶν* ε : *ἐργασιῶν* A H

which follows heedlessness in hearing and wickedness in examination became known, it would certainly not be known what benefit there would be by being trained in an orderly fashion. And hence it happens that the soul comes to know its faults and blames itself, and, consequently, keeps and submits itself to cultivation, that is, it sees for itself that its faults must first be removed and then it must come to instruction in wisdom.

Since, therefore, just as souls are innumerable, so also are their manners and purposes and diverse individual movements, and inclinations and impulses, the variety of which the human mind is in no way able to consider; and therefore to God alone must be left the skill and the power and the knowledge needed for an arrangement of this kind, as he alone is able to know the remedy for each and to measure out the time for its healing.[42] He, then, who alone, as we said, recognizes the ways of individual mortals, knows by what way he ought to lead Pharaoh, *that through him his name might be named in all the earth*,[43] having previously chastised him by many blows and then leading him on to be drowned in the sea. It must certainly not be supposed that in this drowning the providence of God towards Pharaoh came to an end; for it must not be supposed that, because he was drowned, he immediately perished substantially. *For in the hand of God are both we and our words, and all understanding and skill in crafts*,[44] as Scripture declares. But these points we have discussed according to our ability, treating that chapter of Scripture in which it says that *God hardened the heart of Pharaoh*, and concerning the saying, *He has mercy upon whom he wills, and he hardens whom he will.*[45]

[42] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.3.2; *Hom. Jer.* 18.6. [43] Exod. 9:16; Rom. 9:17.
[44] Wis. 7:16. [45] Exod. 10:20; Rom. 9:18.

For souls are, as one may say, innumerable, and their dispositions are innumerable, so many as are also the movements and purposes and inclinations and impulses, of which there is only one most excellent administrator, who understands both the seasons and the appropriate aids and the paths and the ways, the God and Father of all, who knows how he guides even Pharaoh by means of great events and by drowning in the sea, at which his dispensation for Pharaoh does not end, for he was not destroyed when drowned: *For in the hand of God are both we and our words, and all understanding and skill in crafts.* This, then, sufficiently provides a defence of the texts: *Pharaoh's heart was hardened*, and, *He has mercy upon whom he wills and hardens whom he wills.*

425 **3.1.15.** Nunc uideamus etiam de his quae Hiezechiel dicit cum ait: *Auferam lapideum cor ab eis, et immittam eis cor carneum, ut in iustificationibus meis incedant et praecepta mea custodiant.* Si enim cum uult deus *aufert lapideum cor et immittit carneum*, ut praecepta sua seruentur et mandata custodiantur, neque malitiam auferre in nostra uidebitur esse potestate (*auferri* enim *cor* 430 *lapideum* non aliud uidetur esse quam malitiam, qua quis obduratur, abscidi a quo deus uult) neque quod inicitur *cor carneum*, ut in praeceptis ambuletur dei et seruentur mandata eius, quod nihil aliud est nisi oboedientem fieri et non resistentem contra ueritatem et operantem opera uirtutum. Si ergo haec promittit deus se facturum, et antequam ipse *auferat cor lapideum* deponere 435 illud a nobismet ipsis non possumus, consequens est ut non sit in nostra potestate abicere malitiam, sed in deo. Et iterum si non in nostro actu est ut fiat in nobis *cor carneum*, si solius dei opus est, non erit nostrum opus secundum uirtutem uiuere, sed in omnibus dei gratiae opus uidebitur.

425 nunc *om.* W cum : ubi *β* 426 cor lapideum *γ* mittam *γ* 428 immittit carneum : immitit cor carneum *γ* : carneum dat *Del* 432 quod : in quo A contra *ante* fieri *add. γ* 437 si : sed M[pc] *Del*

3.1.15. *Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ λέγοντος·* **ἐξελῶ τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας,** *ὅπως* **ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασί μου** 330 **πορεύωνται καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου φυλάσσωσιν.** *Εἰ γὰρ ὅτε βούλεται ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρεῖ* **τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐντίθησι σαρκίνας,** *ὥστε τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖσθαι τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐκ ἔστι τὴν κακίαν ἀποθέσθαι ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν. Τὸ γὰρ* **ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας** *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ τὴν κακίαν, καθ᾽ ἣν σκληρύνεταί τις, περιαιρεθῆναι ἀφ᾽* 335 *οὗ ὁ θεὸς βούλεται· καὶ τὸ ἐγγενέσθαι* **καρδίαν σαρκίνην,** *ἵνα ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασί τις πορεύηται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσῃ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς, τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ εἰκτικὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀντίτυπον πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν; Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ θεὸς ποιεῖν, καὶ πρὶν* **ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸν τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας** *οὐκ ἀποτιθέμεθα αὐτάς, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ* 340 *ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν κακίαν· καὶ εἰ οὐχ ἡμεῖς τι πράττομεν, ἵνα ἐγγένηται ἡμῖν ἡ* **σαρκίνη καρδία,** *ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἔργον, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον ἔσται τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν βιοῦν, ἀλλὰ πάντῃ θεία χάρις.*

330 *πορεύσωνται* C 331–2 *τῷ προστάγματι* A 334 *τις σκληρύνεται* C 339 *αὐτὸν* : *αὐτῶν* B ε *ἀπετιθέμεα* B 340 *εἰ om.* B 342 *ἀλλὰ … χάρις om.* C

I will take away their stony heart
3.1.15. Let us now look at those passages of Ezekiel where he says, *I will take away the stony heart from them and I will put in them a fleshly heart, that they may walk in my ordinances and keep my statutes.*[46] For if God, when he wills, *takes away a stony heart and puts in a fleshly heart*, so that his precepts may be observed and his commandments be kept, then it will appear that it is not in our power to put away wickedness (for the *taking away of a stony heart* seems to be nothing else than the removal of the wickedness, by which one is hardened, from whomsoever God wills), nor that the insertion of a *fleshly heart*, so that the precepts of God may be walked in and his commandments kept, is anything other than becoming obedient and not resisting the truth and performing works of virtue. If, then, God promises to do this, and before he *takes away the stony heart* we are unable to remove it from ourselves, it follows that it is not in our power to cast out wickedness, but in God's. And again, if it is not in our doing to form a *fleshly heart* within ourselves, but the work of God alone, then to live virtuously will not be our work, but it will in everything seem to be a work of the grace of God.

[46] Ezek. 11:19–20.

3.1.15. Let us also look at the passage in Ezekiel where he says: *I will take away the stony hearts from them and will put in them fleshly hearts, that they may walk in my ordinances and keep my statutes.* For if God, when he wills, *takes away the stony hearts and implants fleshly hearts*, so that his statutes are kept and his commandments are observed, then it is not in our power to put away wickedness. For the *taking away of stony hearts* is nothing other than the putting away of the evil, by which one is hardened, from whom God wills; and the engendering of a *fleshly heart*, so that one may walk in the ordinances of God and keep his commandments, what else is it than to become yielding and not opposed to the truth and able to practise the virtues? But if God promises to do this, and, before he *takes away the stony hearts*, we do not lay them aside, it is clear that it is not within our power to put away evil; and if we do not do anything that the *fleshly heart* may be engendered within us, but it is the work of God, to live virtuously will not be our work, but wholly divine grace.

Haec quidem dicunt hi qui uolunt ex auctoritate scripturae adstruere nihil
440 esse in nostra positum potestate. Quibus respondebimus haec non taliter intellegi oportere, sed sicut si sit aliquis inperitus et indoctus, is qui sentiens inperitiae suae notam, siue adhortatione cuiusquam siue prudentium quorumque aemulatione pulsatus, tradat se alicui, a quo confidat posse se diligenter imbui et conpetenter erudiri, is ergo qui iam prius obduruerat in
445 inperitia, si se, ut diximus, cum omni animi intentione tradat magistro atque obtemperaturum se in omnibus repromittat, propositi eius intentione perspecta conpetenter etiam magister pollicebitur ablaturum se ab eo omnem imperitiam et inserturum peritiam, non quo abnuenti discipulo uel renitenti haec se promittat esse facturum, sed offerenti se atque in omnem oboedientiam
450 mancipanti: ita et diuinus sermo promittit his, qui accedunt ad se, ablaturum se esse *cor lapideum*, non utique ab his qui se non audiunt, sed ab his qui doctrinae suae praecepta suscipiunt; sicut in euangeliis inuenimus aegrotantes accedere ad saluatorem, rogantes ut percipiant sanitatem, et ita demum curari. Et est quidem, uerbi gratia, ut curentur caeci et uideant, in eo quidem quod
455 precati sunt saluatorem et crediderunt ei posse se ab eo curari, opus ipsorum qui curati sunt; in eo uero quod eis redditur uisus, opus est saluatoris. Ita etiam in hoc diuinus sermo promittit daturum se esse eruditionem *auferendo cor lapideum*, id est abstergendo malitiam, ut possint per hoc *in* diuinis *ambulare praeceptis et* legis *mandata seruare*.

439 adstruere : adserere γ 441 is qui : isque B M[pc] C[pc] *Koe Goe* : qui σ 442 adhortatione : adoratione δ : adorationem C 443 a *om.* γ 444 obdurauerat β μ : se obdurauerat σ *Del* 454–5 quo deprecati sunt α

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐρεῖ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ῥητῶν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκρινούμεθα τούτων οὕτως ἀκούειν δεῖν λέγοντες ὅτι, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν
345 *ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ ἀπαιδευσίᾳ τυγχάνων, αἰσθανόμενος τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν ἤτοι ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἢ ἄλλως ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπιδίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ᾧ νομίζει δύνασθαι αὐτὸν χειραγωγήσειν ἐπὶ παίδευσιν καὶ ἀρετήν, ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ τούτου ὁ παιδεύων ἐπαγγέλλεται ἐξελεῖν τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ ἐνθήσειν παιδείαν, οὐχ ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος εἰς τὸ παιδευθῆναι καὶ*
350 *φυγεῖν τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτὸν προσαγηοχότι θεραπευθησόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπαγγελλόμενος βελτιώσειν τὸν βουλόμενον· οὕτως ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπαγγέλλεται τῶν προσιόντων τὴν κακίαν ἐξαιρεῖν, ἣν ὠνόμασε* ***λιθίνην καρδίαν****, οὐχὶ ἐκείνων οὐ βουλομένων, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς τῷ ἰατρῷ τῶν καμνόντων παρεσχηκότων· ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις εὑρίσκονται οἱ*
355 *κάμνοντες προσερχόμενοι τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἰάσεως τυχεῖν καὶ*

343 *ὁ om* B *ῥητῶν ψιλῶν* A 344 *ὁ om.* A 345 *αἰσθόμενος* ϵ 346 *καὶ ante ἄλλως add.* A D H 347 *χειραγωγία* C 350 *φεύγειν* A ϵ H *τῷ : τὸ* A *προσαγηωχότι* A : *προσαγιοχότι* B 351 *τὸν : τὸ* A 352 *ὠνόμασεν* B 353 *καρδίαν λιθίνην* A ϵ H

Such assertions are made by those who wish to prove from the authority of Scripture that nothing lies within our own power. To them we reply that these passages ought not to be understood in such a manner, but rather as if an ignorant and untaught person, becoming aware of the disgrace of his ignorance, should, driven either by the exhortation of another or by the desire to emulate those who are wise, hand himself over to one by whom he is confident that he will be carefully trained and ably instructed, so that if he, who formerly had grown hard in ignorance, entrusts himself, as we have said, with full purpose of mind to a master and promises to be obedient in all things, the master, seeing clearly the resolution of his determination, will appropriately promise to take away from him all ignorance and to implant knowledge; not that he promises to do this with the disciple refusing or resisting his efforts, but only on his offering and binding himself to obedience in all things. So also the divine Word promises to those who draw near to him, that the *stony heart* will be removed, not indeed from those who do not listen to him, but from those who receive the precepts of his teaching, just as in the Gospels we find the sick approaching the Saviour, asking that they might receive health, and thus at last be cured. When, for example, the blind are healed and see, it is, assuredly, inasmuch as they certainly made supplication to the Saviour and believed that they could be healed by him, a work of those who were healed; but inasmuch as sight was restored to them, it is a work of the Saviour. So also, in this way does the divine Word promise that instruction will be bestowed by *taking away the stony heart*, that is, by removing wickedness, so that, through this, they will be able to *walk in the* divine *precepts and keep the commandments* of the law.

These things one will assert, who, from the bare letters, would destroy our power over ourselves. But we shall answer that these words ought to be understood as saying that, just as someone who happens to be ignorant or uneducated, on perceiving his own flaws, whether by an exhortation from a teacher or otherwise from himself, should give himself over to the one who he thinks is able to guide him in learning and virtue, and, on giving himself over, the teacher promises to take away his ignorance and to implant learning, not as if his having brought himself to be healed contributed nothing to his being educated and escaping his ignorance, but as promising to improve the one who desires it, so, in the same way, the divine Word promises, to those who draw near, to take away the wickedness, which it calls a *stony heart*, not from those who are unwilling, but from those who offer themselves to the Physician of the sick; just as in the Gospels the sick are found coming to the Saviour and asking for a cure

460 **3.1.16.** Post haec propositum nobis est etiam illud de euangelio, quod saluator dixerat: *Propterea his, qui foris sunt, in parabolis loquor, ut uidentes uideant et non uideant, et audientes audiant et non intellegant, ne forte conuertantur, et remittatur eis.* In quo dicet qui e diuerso respondet: Si omnimodo hi, qui manifestius audiunt, corrigentur et conuertentur, et ita conuertentur, ut et 465 digni sint percipere remissionem peccatorum, non est autem in ipsorum potestate ut audiant manifestum sermonem, sed in eius est utique potestate qui docet, ut apertius et manifestius doceat, is uero qui docet propterea se dicit manifeste eis non praedicare uerbum, ne forte audiant et intellegant et conuertantur et saluentur: non erit utique in ipsis ut salui fiant. Quod si est, 470 liberi arbitrii non erimus uel ad salutem uel ad perditionem. Et si quidem non esset adiectum quod dixit: *Ne forte conuertantur, et remittatur eis*, posset pronior esse responsio, qua diceremus quoniam nolebat eos, quos saluator praesciebat non esse futuros bonos, intellegere mysteria regni caelorum, et propterea *loquebatur eis in parabolis*; nunc autem cum adiectum sit: *Ne forte* 475 *conuertantur, et remittatur eis*, difficilior efficitur expositio.

473 et *om.* β

θεραπευόμενοι. Καὶ ἔστι φέρ' εἰπεῖν τὸ **τοὺς τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέψαι** *ἔργον κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἠξιωκέναι πιστεύσαντας δύνασθαι θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν πεπονθότων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς ὁράσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. Οὕτως οὖν ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμποιήσειν ἐπιστήμην τοῖς προσιοῦσιν,* 360 **ἐξελὼν τὴν λιθίνην** *καὶ σκληρὰν* **καρδίαν**, *ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὴν κακίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τινα* **πορεύεσθαι <ἐν> ταῖς** *θείαις* **ἐντολαῖς καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ** *θεῖα* **προστάγματα**.

3.1.16. *Ἦν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ὁ σωτὴρ ἔφασκε* **διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν, ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσι, καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσι· μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς**. *Καὶ ἐρεῖ* 365 *ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας· εἰ πάντως τῶν σαφεστέρων ἀκούσαντες οἵδε τινὲς ἐπιστρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστρέφουσιν, ὥστε ἀξίους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν σαφεστέρων λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ διδάσκοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλει αὐτοῖς σαφέστερον, μήποτε ἴδωσι καὶ συνῶσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ σωθῆναι·*

357 *τῶν πεπονθότων om.* A ε H 361 *ἐν suppl. Del et edd.* 362 *ὅτε : ὅπερ* ε 363 *ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῖς ἔξω* C 364 *σινῶσι* D 365 *πάντες* B *οἱ δέ τινες* B 366 *ἐπιστρέφουσι καὶ οὕτως om.* A *ἐπιστρέφονται* C *αὐτοὺς ἀξίους* A D H *γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς* C 367 *ἁμαρτίας* C *τὸ om.* ε 369 *συνιῶσιν Rob*

That seeing they may see and not see

3.1.16. And after this, there is placed before us that passage from the Gospel, where the Saviour said, *For this reason I speak in parables to those that are outside, that seeing they may see and not see, and hearing they may hear and not understand, lest they should be turned and be forgiven.*[47] Regarding this, our opponent will say: 'If those who hear more clearly are in every respect corrected and turned, and turned in such a way as to be worthy to receive remission of sins, yet it is not in their own power to hear the word clearly, but is in the power of the teacher to teach more openly and clearly, yet the teacher says that he does not proclaim to them the word clearly for this reason, lest they should hear and understand and be turned and be saved, then to be saved is certainly not dependent upon themselves. And if this is so, we will have no free will either with respect to salvation or destruction.' Now, if it were not for what was said in addition, *lest they should be turned and be forgiven*, one might be more inclined to answer that we would say that the Saviour did not wish those, whom he foresaw would not become good, to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and for this reason *he spoke to them in parables*. But now, with the addition, *lest they should be turned and be forgiven*, the explanation is made more difficult.

[47] Mark 4:11–12; Matt. 13:13; Luke 8:10; cf. Isa. 6:9–10; Acts 28:26.

and are healed. And, so to speak, *to give sight to the blind*[4] is, with respect to the request of those believing themselves able to be healed, a work of the sufferers, but with respect to the restoration of sight, it is the work of our Saviour. Thus, then, does the Word of God promise to implant knowledge in those who approach, *taking away a stony* and a hard *heart*, which is wickedness, so that one *may walk <in> the* divine *commandments and keep the* divine *statutes*.

3.1.16. After this, there was the passage from the Gospel, where the Saviour said, *For this reason I speak in parables to those who are outside, that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand, lest they should be turned and it be forgiven them.* Now our opponent will say, 'If, on hearing clearer words some do assuredly turn, and having thus turned so as to become worthy of forgiveness of sins, and the hearing of clearer words doesn't depend on them but on the one teaching, and he does not declare it to them more clearly for this reason, lest they should see and understand, then to be saved does not depend upon them; and if so, we do not have self-determination as regards salvation

[4] Matt. 11:5.

Et primo quidem obseruandum nobis est, quid habeat munimenti locus iste etiam aduersum haereticos, qui aucupari uerba de ueteri testamento solent, si qua forte uidentur eis, ut ipsi intellegunt, de deo creatore graue et inhumanum aliquid designare, cum uel uindicantis designatur uel punientis affectus, uel
480 quoquomodo certe ipsi haec nominare solent, ex quibus uidelicet bonitatem esse denegent in creatore: quomodo non eadem mente nec eodem sensu etiam de euangeliis iudicant nec obseruant si qua talia etiam in euangeliis posita sunt, qualia iudicant uel arguunt in ueteri testamento. Euidenter enim in hoc capitulo saluator ostenditur, sicut ipsi dicunt, propterea manifeste non loqui,
485 uti ne conuertantur homines et conuersi remissionem accipiant peccatorum. Quod utique si secundum solam litteram intellegatur, nihil omnino minus habebit ab his, quae in testamento ueteri criminantur. Si uero etiam ipsis uidetur haec expositione indigere, si qua in nouo testamento ita posita inuenitur consequens et necessarium erit ut etiam ea, quae in ueteri testamento
490 criminantur, simili expositione purgentur, ut per haec unius eiusdemque dei probentur esse quae in utroque scripta sunt testamento. Sed ad propositam quaestionem, prout possumus, conuertamur.

476 munimentum *γ* 479 in eo *post* uindicantis *add.* *β* 480 quomodo A[ac] G
488 uidentur *Koe in appar.* 489 inueniuntur *β* Koe : inueniunt *γ*

370 *εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐσμεν αὐτεξούσιοι περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀπωλείας. Πιθανὴ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία ἦν, εἰ μὴ προσέκειτο τὸ* ***μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς****, τὸ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο τοὺς μὴ ἐσομένους καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συνιέναι τῶν μυστικωτέρων ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο* ***ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς****. Νῦν δέ, κειμένου τοῦ* ***μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἀφεθῇ***
375 ***αὐτοῖς****, ἡ ἀπολογία ἐστὶ χαλεπωτέρα.*

Πρῶτον τοίνυν σημειωτέον ἐστὶ τὸν τόπον πρὸς τοὺς ἑτεροδόξους, λεξιθηροῦντας μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης τοιαῦτα, ἔνθα ἐμφαίνεται, ὡς αὐτοὶ τολμῶντες λέγουσιν, ὠμότης τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἢ ἀμυντικὴ καὶ ἀνταποδοτικὴ τῶν χειρόνων προαίρεσις, ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ
380 *θέλουσιν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζειν, μόνον ἵνα λέγωσιν οὐκ ἀγαθότητα εἶναι ἐν τῷ κτίσαντι· οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ εὐγνωμόνως ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλὰ παραπεμπομένους τὰ παραπλήσια οἷς νομίζουσιν εἶναι ἐπιλήπτοις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς. Φανερῶς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ σωτὴρ δείκνυται, ὡς αὐτοὶ φάσκουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων, διὰ τοῦτο*
385 *σαφῶς μὴ φθεγγόμενος, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιστρέψωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντες ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων ἄξιοι γένωνται· ὅπερ καθ' αὐτὸ οὐδενὸς ἔλαττόν ἐστι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς κατηγορουμένων τοιούτων.*

371 *μὲν οὖν om.* C *τὸ* : *τῷ ϵ* 376 *τὸν τόπον ἐστὶ* C 377 *τῆς om.* B
378 *ἢ corr. Koe (a Klostermann) Sim Goe Fern* : *ἡ codd. Rob* 379 *ἀποδοτικὴ ϵ*
380 *θέλουσι* C *Koe Sim Goe* 383 *καὶ om. ϵ* 384 *ἐπὶ* : *διὰ ϵ* 387 *τῶν om.* A

And in the first place we must note what defence this passage holds against those heretics who are accustomed to hunt out in the Old Testament expressions which may seem to them, as they understand them, to describe some severe and inhuman quality of God the Creator, as when he is described as being moved by desire, or however they are wont to call it, for vengeance or punishment, from which they deny the existence of goodness in the Creator; for they do not pass judgement on the Gospels with the same mind and feeling, nor do they observe whether any such statements, as those they condemn and censure in the Old Testament, are found in the Gospels. For clearly in this chapter the Saviour is shown, as they themselves say, to not speak clearly for this reason, that human beings may not be turned and, when turned, receive remission of sins. Now assuredly if these words be understood according to the mere letter, it will contain nothing less than those passages in the Old Testament which are censured. But if this statement, as it is found thus placed in the New Testament, seems, even to them, to need an explanation, it will necessarily follow that those also which they censure in the Old Testament may be cleared by a similar explanation, so that by such means what is written in both Testaments may be proved to be of one and the same God. But let us turn, as best we can, to the question posed.

and destruction.' There is a plausible defence against this, if there were not added, *lest they should be turned and it be forgiven them*, that is, that the Saviour did not wish those who would not become good and virtuous to understand the deeper mysteries and therefore *spoke to them in parables*. But now, there being found, *lest they should turn and it be forgiven them*, the defence is more difficult.

In the first place, then, the passage must be noted for its bearing upon the heterodox, who hunt out such passages from the Old Testament where is revealed, as they make so bold to assert, the cruelty of the Creator or his revengeful and punitive disposition, or whatever they wish to call such a quality, towards the wicked, only in order that they might claim that goodness does not exist in the Creator; and who do not deal similarly, nor even candidly, with the New [Testament], but pass over statements closely resembling those they consider to be censurable from the Old. For clearly, and according to the Gospel, the Saviour is shown, as they themselves claim, by his former words, not speaking clearly, for this reason, that human beings might not turn and, when turned, become worthy of remission of sins, which, of itself, is in no way

3.1.17. Dicebamus prius de Pharaone disputantes quia interdum curari citius non cedit in bonum, maxime si in internis uisceribus ualidius morbus grassetur
495 inclusus. Vnde deus, qui occultorum cognitor est et *nouit uniuersa antequam fiant*, pro multa benignitate sua differt horum talium curas et medicinam protelat in longius atque, ut ita dixerim, curat eos dum non curat, ne eos praepropera sanitas insanabiles reddat. Possibile ergo est ut apud eos quibus *foris* positis domini et saluatoris nostri sermo fiebat, pro eo quod *scrutans*
500 *corda et renes* peruidebat eos nondum esse aptos manifestioris eloquii recipere doctrinam, profundioris sacramenti fidem uelato sermone contegeret; ne forte uelociter conuersi ac sanati, id est peccatorum suorum remissione celeriter accepta, facile iterum in eundem peccatorum reciderent morbum, quem senserant sine aliqua difficultate curatum. Quod utique si fiat, nulli dubium est
505 duplicari poenam et mali augmenta cumulari, dum non solum peccata, quae remitti uisa fuerant, repetuntur, uerum etiam uirtutis aula polluitur, si eam

498 propera C M σ : prospera G 501 contegere B: contigerit γ

Ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀπολογίαν ζητῶσι, λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐπιλήπτως ποιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων προβλημάτων ἀνομοίως
390 *ἱστάμενοι, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν καινὴν οὐ προσκόπτοντες ἀλλ' ἀπολογίαν ζητοῦντες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῶν παραπλησίων, δέον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς, κατηγοροῦντες. Ἐξ ὧν συμβιβάσομεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἐπὶ τὸ πάντα ἡγεῖσθαι ἑνὸς εἶναι γράμματα θεοῦ. Φέρε δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον ἀπολογίαν κατὰ*
395 *τὸ δυνατὸν πορισώμεθα.*

3.1.17. *Ἐφάσκομεν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φαραὼ ἐξετάζοντες ὅτι ἐνίοτε τὸ τάχιον θεραπευθῆναι οὐ πρὸς καλοῦ γίνεται τοῖς θεραπευομένοις, εἰ παρ' ἑαυτοὺς χαλεποῖς περιπεσόντες εὐχερῶς ἀπαλλαγεῖεν τούτων οἷς περιπεπτώκασι· καταφρονοῦντες γὰρ ὡς εὐιάτου τοῦ κακοῦ, δεύτερον οὐ φυλαττόμενοι τὸ*
400 *περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐν αὐτῷ ἔσονται. Διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης,* **ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν**, *κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ ὑπερτίθεται τὴν ταχυτέραν πρὸς αὐτοὺς βοήθειαν καί, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, βοηθῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ βοηθεῖ, τούτου αὐτοῖς λυσιτελοῦντος. Εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ* **τοὺς ἔξω**, *περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, τῷ σωτῆρι κατὰ*
405 *τὸ προκείμενον ἑωραμένους οὐ βεβαίους ἔσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, εἰ*

388 *τοιαύτην* *post* *ἀπολογίαν* *add.* C *τοιαύτην* *post* *ζητῶσι* *add.* D
389 *ποιῶσιν* A 390 *καὶ om.* C *προσκώπτοντες* A : *προκόπτοντες* H *ἀλλὰ* A
393 *συμβιβάσωμεν* B A *Rob* 395 *πορησώμεθα* A 396 *τὸ om.* B
397 *θεραπευθησόμενος* C 402 *παχυτέραν* B 403 *τούτου* : *τοῦτο* B
405 *ἑωραμένους om.* C

3.1.17. We said before, when discussing the case of Pharaoh, that sometimes to be cured quickly does not yield good results, especially if the disease, being shut up in the internal organs, rages more fiercely. Whence God, who knows secret things and *knows all things before they come to be*,[48] in his great goodness delays the healing of such persons and defers the remedy to a more distant time, so that, so to speak, he heals them by not healing them, lest a premature healing should render them incurable. It is therefore possible that, in the case of those to whom the word of our Lord and Saviour was addressed as being *outside*,[49] he saw, by *searching out the hearts and kidneys*,[50] that they were not yet able to receive the teaching in clearer language, and covered faith in a deeper mystery by veiled speech, lest perhaps being rapidly turned and healed, that is, having quickly received the remission of their sins, they should again easily fall back into the same disease of sin, which they had found could be healed without any difficulty. And if this should happen, no one can doubt that the punishment is doubled and the amount of wickedness increased, since not only are the sins, which seemed

[48] Sus. Θ 42. [49] Mark 4:11. [50] Ps. 7:10. Cf. Origen, *Or.* 8.2.

less than those passages from the Old Testament which are criticized. And if they seek a defence for the Gospel, they must be asked whether they are not acting censurably, dealing differently with similar problems, and not taking offence regarding the New Testament but seeking a defence, while attacking the Old for similar statements, which ought to be defended similarly to those from the New. From these considerations, we shall force them, on account of their resemblances, to regard all as the writings of the one God. Come, then, and let us provide, to the best of our ability, a defence in the matter before us.

3.1.17. We also said, when examining the case of Pharaoh, that sometimes being healed rapidly is not for the advantage of those who are healed, if, after falling of themselves into difficulties, they should be easily relieved of the conditions into which they had fallen; for thinking little of the evil, as something easily cured, by not being on their guard against falling into it they will come to be in it a second time. Therefore, concerning such as these, the eternal God, the one who knows the hidden things, who *knows all things before they come to be*, in accordance with his goodness delays the more speedy assistance, and, so to speak, helps them by not helping, this being to their advantage. It is probable, then, that *those who are outside*, of whom we are speaking, having been seen by the Saviour, according to the passage before us, not to be steady in their turning, if they

dolosae et contaminatae mentes, plenae intrinsecus malitiae latentis, inculcent. Et quod umquam talibus remedium erit, qui post malitiae inpuros et sordidos cibos, degustata uirtutis suauitate et dulcedine eius faucibus suis recepta, 510 rursum se ad uirulentos et mortiferos cibos nequitiae conuerterunt? Et quis dubitat melius esse differri tales et interim relinqui, ut si forte satietatem aliquando malitiae ceperint et horrescere potuerint sordes, in quibus nunc interim delectantur, tunc demum conpetenter eis sermo dei manifestetur, ut *non sanctum canibus mittatur, nec margaritae iactentur ante porcos, quo* 515 *conculcent eas pedibus*, et insuper conuersi rumpant et inpugnent eos, qui sibi praedicauerint uerbum dei? Isti ergo sunt qui *foris* esse dicuntur, sine dubio ad eorum conparationem, qui *intus* esse et manifestius uerbum dei audire referuntur. Audiunt tamen et isti qui *foris* sunt uerbum, licet parabolis obtectum et prouerbiis obumbratum. Sunt autem alii praeter eos, qui *foris* sunt, qui Tyrii 520 appellantur, qui omnino non audiunt, et quidem praenoscente de eis saluatore quia *Olim in sacco et cinere iacentes paenitentiam egissent, si factae fuissent apud eos uirtutes, quae apud alios factae sunt*, et tamen non audiunt, ne ea quidem, quae hi qui *foris* sunt audiunt: credo pro eo quod longe horum inferior

507 conculcent *Del* 512 coeperint α 516 praedicauerunt γ

τρανότερον ἀκούσαιεν τῶν λεγομένων, ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ᾠκονομῆσθαι μὴ σαφέστερον ἀκοῦσαι τῶν βαθυτέρων· μήποτε τάχιον ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ ἰαθέντες ἐν τῷ ἀφέσεως τυχεῖν, ὡς εὐχερῶν τῶν τῆς κακίας τραυμάτων καὶ εὐιάτων καταφρονήσαντες, πάλιν καὶ τάχιον αὐτοῖς περιπέσωσι. Τάχα δὲ 410 *καὶ τίνοντες δίκας τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων, ὧν εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπλημμέλησαν καταλιπόντες αὐτήν, οὐδέπω τὸν πρέποντα χρόνον ἐκπεπληρώκεσαν τῷ καταλειπομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐμφορηθέντας τῶν ἰδίων ἃ ἔσπειραν κακῶν, ὕστερον εἰς βεβαιοτέραν μετάνοιαν καλεῖσθαι, οὐ ταχέως περιπεσουμένους οἷς πρότερον* 415 *περιπεπτώκεσαν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐνυβρίσαντες τῶν καλῶν καὶ τοῖς χείροσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότες.* ***Οἱ*** *μὲν οὖν* ***ἔξω*** *λεγόμενοι, δηλονότι συγκρίσει* ***τῶν ἔσω****, οὐ πάντη πόρρω* ***τῶν ἔσω*** *τυγχάνοντες,* ***τῶν ἔσω*** *σαφῶς ἀκουόντων, ἀκούουσιν ἀσαφῶς διὰ τὸ* ***ἐν παραβολαῖς*** *αὐτοῖς λέγεσθαι· πλὴν ἀκούουσιν.*

406 *τρανώτερον* B *ᾠκονομεῖσθαι* B 409 *τοῖς ante αὐτοῖς suppl. Koe (a Kl.) in appar.* 411 *καταλιπομένους* ϵ : *καταλείποντες* A *πρέποντα* : *πρότερον* C 412 *τῷ* : *τὸ* A 415 *περιπεπτώκεισαν* A 416 *ἑαυτοῖς* B A 417 *ἔσω*[1] : *ἔξω* B A ϵ

to be forgiven, repeated, but even the court of virtue is desecrated when trodden by those of a deceitful and corrupted mind, full of hidden wickedness within. And what remedy can there ever be for those who, after the impure and filthy food of wickedness, have tasted the pleasantness of virtue and received its sweetness into their mouths, and have then yet again turned themselves to the poisonous and deadly food of iniquity?[51] And who doubts that it is better for such to be delayed and to be abandoned for a period, in order that if some day they should happen to have had their fill of wickedness and be able to shudder at the filth with which they are now delighted, then the Word of God may at last be fittingly revealed to them, so that *what is holy is not given to dogs nor are pearls cast before swine, which will trample them under foot*,[52] and, moreover, turning around, interrupt and assault those who have preached the Word of God to them? These, then, are those who are said to be *outside*, undoubtedly by comparison with those who are *inside* and hear the Word of God with greater clarity.[53] Those, however, who are *outside* do hear the Word, although covered by parables and overshadowed by proverbs.[54] But there are others, besides those who are *outside*, who are called 'Tyrians', who do not hear at all; even, indeed, with the Saviour knowing that *They would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes, if the mighty works had been done among them which were done among others*,[55] they nevertheless do not hear, not even those things which those who are *outside* hear. I believe this is because the rank in wickedness of

[51] Cf. Heb. 6:4–8; 10:26–31. [52] Matt. 7:6. [53] Cf. Mark 4:11; 1 Cor. 5:12–13.
[54] Cf. Origen, *Dial.* 15; *Cels.* 2.64; 3.21; 3.46; 6.6; *Comm. Matt.* 10.1, 4; 11.4; *Frag. Prov.* (PG 13, 21).
[55] Matt. 11:21; Luke 10:13.

should hear more clearly what was said, were disposed by the Lord so as not to hear more clearly the deeper points, lest, perhaps, after turning quickly and being healed by obtaining forgiveness, they should think little of the wounds of their wickedness as being slight and easily healed, and should fall quickly again into them. Perhaps, also, suffering punishment for the former sins, which they committed against virtue when they had forsaken her, they had not yet fulfilled the proper time, being themselves abandoned by the divine oversight, and being filled ever more with their own evils, whose seeds they had sown, to be called, afterwards, to a more steadfast repentance, so that they do not fall quickly again into the sins into which they had formerly fallen when mocking the value of noble things and abandoning themselves to worse things. These then, who are said to be *outside* (clearly in comparison with those *inside*), not being very far from those *inside*, while those who are *inside* hear clearly, they hear unclearly,

et nequior ordo esset in malitia quam eorum, qui *foris* esse dicuntur, id est non
525 longe ab his, qui *intus* sunt, et audire uerbum, licet in parabolis, merebantur, et
quod fortassis dispensabatur eorum curatio in illud tempus, quo *tolerabilius
erit eis in die iudicii* quam illis, apud quos factae sunt illae uirtutes, quae scriptae
sunt; ut ita demum releuati tunc pondere malorum suorum facilius et
tolerabilius uiam salutis incedant.

530 Verum illud est, quod admonitos esse eos qui haec legunt uolo, nos in huius-
cemodi difficillimis et obscurissimis locis summo studio niti, non tam ut quaes-
tionum absolutiones ad liquidum dispicemus (hoc enim faciet unusquisque
prout spiritus dabit eloqui ei), sed ut pietatis regulam cautissima adsertione ten-
eamus in eo, quod prouidentiam dei iuste omnia moderantem et aequissimis
535 dispensationibus pro singulorum meritis et causis regere inmortales animas
studemus ostendere; dum non intra huius saeculi uitam dispensatio humana
concluditur, sed futuri status causam praestat semper anterior meritorum
status, et sic inmortali et aeterno aequitatis moderamine diuinae prouidentiae
inmortalis anima ad summam perfectionis adducitur. Si quis tamen occurrat
540 nobis pro eo quod diximus a deterioribus quibusque et nequioribus consulto
differri uerbum praedicationis, cur his quibus conlati Tyrii qui certe despecti
sunt praeferuntur, praedicatus sit sermo, in quo utique auctum est eis malum et

527 illis : illi δ μ **528** releuati : reuelati δ G 532 dispicemus δ *Fern* : despicemus β μ : disputemus σ *Koe Goe* : dispiciamus *Del Sim* **533** cautissima : euidentissima γ **535** disputationibus δ et *post* regere *add.* δ **538** ab *post* sic *add.* β iure et *post* aequitatis *add. Del* : *suppl. Koe*

Ἕτεροι δὲ **τῶν ἔξω**, οἱ λεγόμενοι Τύριοι, καίτοιγε προεγνωσμένοι ὅτι **πάλαι**
420 **ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ καθήμενοι μετενόησαν**, ἐγγὺς γενομένου τοῦ
σωτῆρος τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὰ **τῶν ἔξω** ἀκούουσιν, ὡς εἰκός, μᾶλλον
πόρρω ὄντες τῆς ἀξίας **τῶν ἔξω**, ἵν' ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ μετὰ τὸ **ἀνεκτότερον
αὐτοῖς** γενέσθαι παρὰ τοὺς μὴ παραδεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, ἐφ' ὧν ἐμνημόνευσε
καὶ τῶν Τυρίων, εὐκαιρότερον ἀκούσαντες βεβαιότερον μετανοήσωσιν.

425 Ὅρα δὲ εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς πρὸς τῷ ἐξεταστικῷ καὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς πάντη
ἀγωνιζόμεθα τηρεῖν περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ παντὸς
ἀπολογεῖσθαι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἐν τηλικούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις περὶ τῆς
ποικίλης προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς προνοουμένου. Εἰ γοῦν τις
περὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζομένων ζητοίη ὅτι ὁρῶντες τεράστια καὶ ἀκούοντες
430 θείων λόγων οὐκ ὠφελοῦνται, Τυρίων ἂν μετανοησάντων, εἰ τοιαῦτα
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγεγόνει καὶ εἴρητο, ζητοίη δὲ φάσκων, τί δήποτε τοῖς
τοιούτοις ἐκήρυξεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπὶ κακῷ αὐτῶν, ἵνα βαρύτερον αὐτοῖς τὸ

420 *καθήμενοι om.* ε *γενομένοι* A **425** *τῷ* : *τὸ* B **427** *πειρόμενοι* A
428 *ἀθανάτου* : *ἀποθανάτου* B

such was far inferior and worse than that of those who are said to be *outside*, that is, not far from those who are *inside* and who deserved to hear the Word, although in parables, and perhaps their cure was arranged for that time, when *it will be more tolerable for them on the day of judgement*,[56] than for those before whom had been done the mighty works, which are written, so that in this way, being relieved at last from the weight of their sins, they may more easily and more enduringly enter upon the way of salvation.

But this is a point about which I wish to remind those who read these pages, that with topics of such difficulty and obscurity we use our utmost endeavour, not so much that we might argue out clearly the solutions of the questions (for everyone will do this as the Spirit gives him to speak), but that we might maintain, by the most cautious assertions, the rule of piety in this, that we strive to show that the providence of God justly governs all things and rules immortal souls with the most equitable economy according to the merits and motives of each; the present economy is not confined within the life of this age, but a previous state of merit always furnishes the cause of the state that is to come, and thus by the immortal and eternal management of divine providence the immortal souls are brought to the summit of perfection. If, however, someone were to counter what we said—that the word of preaching was purposely put aside by certain very depraved and wicked persons; that the word was preached to those who are, in comparison, preferred over the Tyrians, who were certainly despised; whereby their wickedness was increased and

[56] Matt. 11:22

because they are spoken to *in parables*; but yet they do hear. Others, again, of *those who are outside*, who are called 'Tyrians', although it was foreknown that *they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes*, had the Saviour drawn near their borders, they do not even hear what those *outside* heard, likely being much further from being worthy than those *outside*, in order that in another season, after it has been *more tolerable for them* than for those who did not receive the word, among whom he mentioned the Tyrians, they may, on hearing the word at an opportune time, repent more steadfastly.[5]

But observe whether, besides our investigation, we do not also strive to maintain piety in every way towards God and his Christ, endeavouring in every way to defend, in matters of such importance and difficulty, the manifold providence of God providing for the immortal soul. If, indeed, someone should ask concerning those who were reproached, why seeing wonders and hearing divine words they were not benefitted, while the Tyrians would have repented if such had things had been done and spoken amongst them, and should ask, saying, 'Why, then, did the Saviour proclaim such to these people, to their own

[5] Matt. 11:21–2.

grauior eorum effecta est condemnatio, ut audirent uerbum qui non erant credituri: hoc modo respondendum uidetur. Deus, qui uniuersarum mentium cog-
545 nitor est, aduersum prouidentiam suam querelas praenoscens eorum praecipue qui dicunt: Quomodo credere poteramus, cum neque uiderimus ea quae ceteri uiderunt, neque audierimus ea quae aliis praedicata sunt? in tantum extra nos est culpa, ut hi quibus annuntiatus est sermo et signa monstrata sunt, nihil omnino distulerint, sed obstupefacti ipsa prodigiorum uirtute crediderint,
550 uolens arguere occasiones huiuscemodi querelarum et ostendere quia non dissimulatio diuinae prouidentiae, sed humanae mentis arbitrium causa sibi perditionis existit, contulit etiam indignis et incredulis gratiam beneficiorum suorum, ut *uere omne os obstruatur* totumque a se et nihil a deo deesse sibi mens humana cognoscat, simul et, cum grauius condemnatur is, qui diuina
555 beneficia sibi delata contempsit, quam ille, qui consequi ea uel audire omnino non meruit, intellegat et agnoscat misericordiae esse diuinae et aequissimae eius dispensationis etiam hoc ipsum, quod interdum dissimulat aliquibus praestare, ut uel uideant aliqua uel audiant uirtutis diuinae mysteria, ne signorum uirtutibus uisis et sapientiae eius mysteriis agnitis et auditis, si contempserint
560 atque neglexerint, grauiore impietatis animaduersione multentur.

550 huiusmodi *γ* 553 uero *γ* 554 cum : quum A : *om.* *μ* : ut *σ* : quia *Del*

ἁμάρτημα λογισθῇ· λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ὁ πάντων τὰς διαθέσεις κατανοῶν τῶν αἰτιωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὡς παρ' ἐκείνην οὐ
435 *πεπιστευκότων μὴ δωρησαμένην ἰδεῖν ἃ ἑτέροις θεάσασθαι ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ μὴ οἰκονομήσασαν ἀκοῦσαι τούτων, ἃ ἄλλοι ἀκούσαντες ὠφέληνται, τὴν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ εὔλογον οὖσαν ἐλέγξαι βουλόμενος δίδωσι ταῦτα, ἃ οἱ μεμφόμενοι τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ ᾔτησαν· ἵνα μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλεγχθέντες ὡς ἀσεβέστατοι τῷ μηδ' οὕτως τῷ ὠφελεῖσθαι*
440 *ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκέναι, παύσωνται τοῦ τοιούτου θράσους, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐλευθερωθέντες μάθωσιν ὅτι ποτὲ εὐεργετῶν τινας ὁ θεὸς μέλλει καὶ βραδύνει, μὴ χαριζόμενος ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ὁραθεῖσι καὶ ἀκουσθεῖσι βαρυτέρα καὶ χαλεπωτέρα ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐλέγχεται τῶν μετὰ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα μὴ πεπιστευκότων.*

433 *ἐκείνην οὐ* : *ἐκείνου* *ϵ* 434 *μὴ δωρησαμένην* *om.* *ϵ* 436 *ἃ ἄλλοι* : *ἀλλ' οἱ* B
437 *ταῦτα* : *τοιαῦτα* C 439 *τῷ*[1] : *τὸ* A *μηδ'* : *μηδέ* B *τῷ*[2] : *τὸ* B A *ὠφελῆσθαι* *ϵ* 440 *κατ' αὐτὸ* : *κατὰ* *ϵ* 441 *μέλει* B 442 *βραδύνειν* *ϵ*

their condemnation made more severe by the fact that those who heard the word did not believe it—it would seem we must answer in this way: God, who knows the minds of all, foreknowing the complaints against his providence—especially from those who say, 'How could we believe when we neither saw those things which others saw, nor heard those things which were preached to others? So far are we from blame, since those to whom the word was announced and the signs manifested made no delay at all, but, amazed at the very power of the miracles, came to believe'—wishing to denounce excuses for complaints of this sort and to show that it was not a delay of divine providence, but the will of each human mind, that was the cause of its ruin, [he] bestowed the grace of his blessings even upon the unworthy and unbelieving, *that every mouth may be stopped*,[57] and that the human mind might know that the failure was wholly on its part and none on the part of God, and that, at the same time, it may understand that he, who has despised the divine blessings bestowed upon him, is condemned more severely than him who has not deserved to obtain them or hear of them at all, and recognize that this is a mark of divine compassion and his most equitable economy, that it sometimes delays giving certain people the opportunity either to see something or to hear the mysteries of divine power, lest once the power of the miracles has been seen and the mysteries of his wisdom have been known and heard, if they should despise and neglect them, they would be punished with a severer chastisement for their impiety.

[57] Rom. 3:19.

hurt, that their sin might be accounted heavier?', one must say to him that he who understands the dispositions of all those who find fault with his providence—on the ground that they did not believe because it was not given to them by [his providence] to see what it granted others to behold and it did not arrange for them to hear the things that others heard to their profit—wishing to prove that their defence is not reasonable, [his providence] gives them the things which they who blame his administration asked for; in order that, after receiving them, being convicted nonetheless of the greatest impiety for not having even then surrendered themselves to be benefitted, they may cease from such audacity, and having been made free on this very point they may learn that God sometimes, in doing good to some, lingers and delays, not granting to see and to hear such things that, when seen and heard, would prove the sin of those who do not believe, after such great and wonderful things, to be heavier and grievous.

3.1.18. Videamus nunc et de eo quod dictum est: *Non uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei.* Aiunt enim hi qui e diuerso sunt: Si *non est uolentis neque currentis*, sed cuius deus miseretur ipse saluatur, non est in nobis ut saluemur. Aut enim natura nostra talis est, ut uel saluari possimus uel non saluari, aut
565 certe in uoluntate sola est eius, qui si uult miseretur et saluat. A quibus primo hoc inquirimus: Velle bona, bonum est aut malum? Et currentem festinare, ut perueniat ad finem boni, laudabile est an culpabile? Et si quidem dixerint quod culpabile sit, aperte insanient: omnes enim sancti et uolunt bona et currunt ad bona, et utique culpabiles non sunt. Quomodo ergo si is qui non saluatur, malae
570 naturae est, uult bona et currit ad bona, sed non inuenit bona? Aiunt enim quia *Arbor mala fructus bonos non adfert*, bonus etenim fructus est uelle bona; et quomodo malae arboris fructus est bonus? Quodsi dixerint quia medium est uelle bona et currere ad bona, id est neque bonum neque malum, dicemus ad eos: Si medium est uelle bona et currere ad bona, ergo et id, quod his contrarium
575 est, medium erit, id est uelle mala et currere ad mala; sed certum est quia non sit medium uelle mala et currere ad mala, sed aperte malum est: constat ergo quia non est medium uelle bona et currere ad bona, sed bonum.

563 ipse : is *Del* saluator δ B[pc] G[ac] M 567 an *ante* laudabile *add. Del* an culpabile : aut culpabile B : *om. γ Del* 569 et *om. γ Del* 572 est[1] *om. γ Del*

445 **3.1.18.** Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ **ἄρ' οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ.** Οἱ γὰρ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοί φασιν· εἰ **μὴ τοῦ θέλοντος μηδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ**, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ σώζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούσδε κατασκευάσαντος γεγενημένης ἢ ἐκ προαιρέσεως τοῦ ὅτε βούλεται ἐλεοῦντος. Παρ' ὧν τοῦτο
450 πευστέον· τὸ θέλειν τὰ καλὰ καλόν ἐστιν ἢ φαῦλον; Καὶ τὸ τρέχειν βουλόμενον τυχεῖν τοῦ τέλους ἐν τῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐπαινετόν ἐστιν ἢ ψεκτόν; Εἴτε γὰρ ἐροῦσι ψεκτόν, παρὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν ἀποκρινοῦνται, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων θελόντων καὶ τρεχόντων καὶ δηλονότι ἐν τούτῳ ψεκτὸν <οὐ> ποιούντων· εἴτε ἐροῦσιν ὅτι καλὸν τὸ θέλειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὸ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ
455 καλά, πευσόμεθα πῶς ἡ ἀπολλυμένη φύσις θέλει τὰ κρείττονα· οἱονεὶ γὰρ

445 τοῦ[2] ... τρέχοντος : τοῦ τρέχοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ θέλοντος Cat 445–6 οὐδὲ ... ἐλεοῦντος *om.* ϵ 446 οἱ : εἰ ϵ οἱ γὰρ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι : τινὲς γὰρ αἰτιώμενοι Cat 446–7 εἰ μὴ τοῦ θέλοντος *om.* ϵ 446–7 τοῦ τρέχοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ θέλοντος Cat 448–9 ἐκ ... ἢ *om.* Cat 448 τῆς : τοῦ ϵ τοιοῦδε A ϵ 449–64 παρ' ὧν ... θεοῦ : πρὸς οὓς ῥητέον Cat 452 ἐνέργειαν A 453 οὐκ *post* δηλονότι *add.* H οὐ *suppl. Rob (ex Ruf.) Koe Sim Goe Fern* 454 εἴτ' B τὸ *om.* B 455 πευσώμεθα A ῥύσις A τὰ κρείττονα θέλει ϵ

It is not of him that wills...
3.1.18. Let us now look at the saying, *It is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy.*[58] For our opponents say: 'If *it is not of him that wills nor of him that runs*, but that one is saved upon whom God has mercy, it is not in our power that we should be saved. For our nature is such as to be able to be saved or not to be saved, or else it surely depends solely upon the will of him who, if he will, shows mercy and saves.' Let us first ask of them this: is it good or evil to will good things? And is it laudable or culpable for one who runs to hasten so that he arrives at the goal of the good? And if they should say that it is culpable, they would clearly be mad; for all the saints both will good things and run towards good things, and they are certainly not culpable. What is the case, then, if he who is not saved is of an evil nature yet wills good things and runs towards good things, but does not find good things? For they say that *A bad tree does not bring forth good fruit*,[59] whereas it is a good fruit to will good things; and how is the fruit of a bad tree good? But if they should say that to will good things and to run towards good things is something indifferent, that is, neither good nor bad, we shall reply to them: if it is something indifferent to will good things and to run after good things, then that which is opposite to this will also be indifferent, that is, to desire evil things and to run towards evil things; but it is certain that it is not indifferent to will evil things and to run towards evil things, but something that is clearly evil: it is established, therefore, that it is not something indifferent to desire good things and to run towards good things, but good.

[58] Rom. 9:16. [59] Matt. 7:18. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.2; 2.5.4

3.1.18. Let us next look at the words, *It is not then of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy.* Those who attack it say, 'If *it is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy*, to be saved is not from what is in our power, but is from the constitution received from the one who has constituted us such or from the purpose of him who is merciful when he pleases.' One must ask this of them: Is it good or bad to will good things? And is it praiseworthy or blameworthy to run desiring to reach the goal in the drive for good things? And if they should say blameworthy, they would be answering contrary to the evidence, since the saints will and run, and clearly in this do <nothing> blameworthy; but if they should say that it is good to will good things and to run towards good things, we shall ask them how a lost nature wills better things; for it would be like a bad tree producing good fruit,

3.1.19. His igitur tali responsione depulsis, ad expositionem iam quaestionis ipsius properemus, in qua ait: *Non uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei.*
580 In libro psalmorum, in canticis graduum, qui Salomonis esse referuntur, hoc modo scriptum est: *Nisi dominus aedificauerit domum, in uanum laborauerunt qui aedificant eam; nisi dominus custodierit ciuitatem, in uanum uigilauit qui custodit eam.* Per quae uerba non utique hoc indicat, ut cessare debeamus ab aedificando uel uigilando ad custodiam ciuitatis eius, quae intra nos est; sed hoc
585 est quod ostendit quia quaecumque sine deo aedificantur et quaecumque sine deo custodiuntur, uane aedificantur et sine causa seruantur. In omnibus enim, quae bene aedificantur et quae bene saluantur, dominus uel aedificationis uel tutelae auctor adscribitur. Vt, uerbi causa, si uideamus aliquod magnificum opus et praeclari aedificii moles decora constructione sublatas, nonne iure meritoque
590 dicemus non haec humanis uiribus, sed diuina ope ac uirtute constructa? Nec tamen ex hoc cessasse et nihil omnino egisse etiam humani studii labor atque industria designabitur. Vel iterum si uideamus urbem aliquam graui hostium obsidione circumdatam, minaces inferri machinas muris, uallo, telis, ignibus cunctisque bellorum instrumentis, quibus excidia parantur, urgeri; si repelli

582 uigilabit δ B : uigilant C : uigilat σ 586 uano B : uanae μ

δένδρον πονηρὸν καρποὺς ἀγαθοὺς φέρει, εἴ γε καλὸν τὸ θέλειν τὰ κρείττονα. Τρίτον δὲ ἐροῦσιν ὅτι τῶν μέσων ἐστὶ τὸ θέλειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὸ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ καλά, καὶ οὔτε ἀστεῖον οὔτε φαῦλον. Λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ὅτι εἰ τὸ θέλειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὸ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ μέσον ἐστί, καὶ τὸ
460 *ἐναντίον αὐτῷ μέσον ἐστί, τουτέστι τὸ θέλειν τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὸ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ κακά. Οὐχὶ δέ γε μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ θέλειν τὰ κακὰ καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ κακά· οὐκ ἄρα μέσον τὸ θέλειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ καλά.*

3.1.19. *Τοιαύτην τοίνυν ἀπολογίαν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς πορίζειν πρὸς τὸ* ***ἄρ᾽ οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ****. Φησὶν*
465 *ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ψαλμῶν ὁ Σολομῶν (αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, ἐξ ἧς παραθησόμεθα τὰ ῥητά)·* ***ἐὰν μὴ κύριος οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες αὐτόν· ἐὰν μὴ κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἠγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων****, οὐκ ἀποτρέπων ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν οὐδὲ διδάσκων μὴ ἀγρυπνεῖν εἰς τὸ φρουρεῖν ἡμῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ*
470 *ψυχῇ πόλιν, ἀλλὰ παριστὰς ὅτι τὰ χωρὶς θεοῦ οἰκοδομούμενα καὶ τὰ μὴ τυγχάνοντα τῆς ἀπὸ τούτου φυλακῆς, μάτην οἰκοδομεῖται καὶ ἀνηνύτως*

456 *φέρει* : *ποιεῖ* B 457 *τὸ*[2] *om.* ϵ 460 *αὐτῷ* : *αὐτῶν* B *τὸ*[1] *om.* A 460–1 *τὸ*[1] … *κακὰ*[2] : *τὸ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὸ* (*τὸ om.* A) *θέλειν τὰ κακὰ trans.* A ϵ 462 *οὐκ ἄρα μέσον* : *οὐ γὰρ ἄμεσον* B 466 *ῥητά* : *ῥήματα* B 467 *αὐτόν om.* ϵ Cat 468 *ἀπὸ τοῦ om.* B : *ἀπὸ* B[mg] 469 *ἡμᾶς post ἀγρυπνεῖν add.* Cat *εἰς τὸ* : *ἐν τῷ* A *ἡμῶν om.* Cat 470 *τὰ*[1] *om.* B 471 *ἀπὸ* : *αὐτοῦ* A

3.1.19. Having then rebutted these objections with this answer, let us hasten now to the explanation of the subject of inquiry itself, in which it says, *It is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy.* In the Book of Psalms, in the Songs of Ascents, which are attributed to Solomon, it is written thus, *Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it laboured in vain; unless the Lord guards the city, the guard stayed awake in vain.*[60] By these words he does not indeed indicate that we ought to stop building or staying awake for the care of that city which is within us; but what he points out is this, that whatever is built without God and whatever is guarded without God, is built in vain and guarded to no purpose. For in all things that are well built and well preserved, the Lord is held to be the author of the building or of its safekeeping. Just as, for example, if we were to see some magnificent work and massive structure of a splendid building, erected with architectural beauty, would we not justly and deservedly say that this was not constructed by human power but by divine help and might? By this, however, it will not be meant that the labour and industry of human effort had ceased and effected nothing at all. Or again, suppose we were to see some city surrounded by a harsh blockade of the

[60] Ps. 126:1. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Ps.* 4 (= *Philoc.* 26.7).

if to will better things is good. They will say, thirdly, that to will the good and to run after the good is one of the things that are indifferent, neither honourable nor wicked. To this one must say that if to will the good and to run after the good is something indifferent, then the opposite of this, that is, to will the evil and to run towards the evil, is indifferent. But to will the evil and to run after the evil is not something indifferent; therefore it is not indifferent to will the good and to run after the good.

3.1.19. Such, then, is the defence which, I think, we can offer regarding the statement, *It is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy.* Solomon says in the Book of Psalms (for the Song of Ascents, from which we will quote the words, is his): *Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labour in vain; unless the Lord guards the city, the guard stayed awake in vain,* not dissuading us from building nor teaching us not to keep awake in order to guard the city in our soul, but showing us that what is built without God and does not receive a guard from him is built in

595 hostis potuit et fugari, digne meritoque urbi liberatae salutem a deo praestitam dicimus, nec tamen per hoc defuisse uigilum excubias, procinctum iuuenum et custodientium uigilias designamus. Ita ergo et apostolus dixisse intellegendus est: quoniam non sufficit ad perficiendam salutem sola uoluntas humana, nec idoneus est mortalis cursus ad consequenda caelestia et ad capiendam *palmam*
600 *supernae uocationis dei in Christo Iesu* nisi haec ipsa bona uoluntas nostra promtumque propositum et quaecumque illa in nobis potest esse industria, diuino uel iuuetur uel muniatur auxilio. Et ideo ualde consequenter dixit apostolus quia *Non uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei*, quemadmodum si dicamus et de agricultura illud, quod scriptum est: *Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit,*
605 *sed deus incrementum dedit. Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat deus.* Sicut ergo cum bonos et uberes fructus ad perfectam maturitatem pertulit seges, nemo pie et consequenter dicet quia fructus istos agricola fecit, sed a deo fatebitur praestitos: ita etiam nostra perfectio non quidem nobis cessantibus et otiosis efficitur, nec tamen consummatio eius

598 sufficiat A[pc]   602 iubetur B *μ*

τηρεῖται, εὐλόγως ἂν ἐπιγραφησομένου κυρίου τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς φρουρᾶς τῆς πόλεως τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δεσπόζοντος. Ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ λέγοιμεν· οὐ τοῦ οἰκοδομοῦντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶν τόδε τὸ
475 *οἰκοδόμημα, καὶ οὐ τοῦ φυλάξαντος κατόρθωμα ἀλλὰ* ***τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ*** *τὸ μηδὲν πεπονθέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἂν πταίοιμεν, ὑπακουομένου μὲν τοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπόν τι γεγονέναι, τοῦ δὲ ἀνδραγαθήματος εὐχαρίστως ἐπὶ τὸν τελειωτὴν θεὸν ἀναφερομένου· οὕτως ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον θέλειν πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τοῦ τέλους, οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν*
480 *οἱονεὶ ἀθλητῶν τρέχειν πρὸς τὸ καταλαβεῖν* ***τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*** *(θεοῦ γὰρ συμπαρισταμένου ταῦτα ἀνύεται), καλῶς λέγεται τὸ* ***οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ.*** *Ὡς εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ γεωργίας, ὅπερ καὶ γέγραπται, ἐλέγετο·* ***ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλὼς ἐπότισεν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ηὔξησεν· ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστί τι οὔτε***
485 ***ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ αὐξάνων θεός,*** *καὶ τὸ τοὺς καρποὺς πλήρεις γεγονέναι*

472 *ἐπιγραφομένου* Cat   473 *δεσπόζοντος* : *δεσπότου* B A *Rob Koe Goe* : *θεοῦ* Cat   474 *λέγομεν* Cat   *ἐστὶν ἔργον* Cat   476 *ἀπὸ* : *ὑπὸ* Cat   *τήνδε om.* ϵ   477 *καὶ om.* ϵ   *τι om.* Cat   480 *λαβεῖν* A ϵ H   480–1 *τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως* A ϵ   482 *δὲ post καλῶς add.* B   *τὸ om.* Cat   483 *ὡσεὶ* B   484 *ὁ δὲ* : *ἀλλ᾽ ὁ* Cat   *ηὔξανεν* A ϵ

enemy, with threatening machines brought against the walls, and a pressing attack made by ramparts, weapons, fire, and all the instruments of war by means of which destruction is prepared; if the enemy were repelled and put to flight, we would properly and deservedly say that deliverance was granted to the liberated city by God, yet we would not mean by this, however, that the sentinel's vigils, the young men's readiness, and the guards' vigilance had been lacking. The Apostle, therefore, must also be understood to have spoken in a similar way, since the human will alone is not sufficient for the accomplishment of salvation, nor is the running of a mortal fit for attaining things heavenly and for obtaining *the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus*,[61] unless this good will of ours itself and our ready purpose, and whatever diligence there may be within us, is aided or fortified by divine assistance. And therefore the Apostle said, most consequentially, that *it is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy*, just as if we were to say of agriculture that which is actually written, *I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth. So then neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but God who gave the growth.*[62] Just as, therefore, when a field has brought good and rich crops to perfect maturity, no one could piously and coherently say that the farmer made those fruits, but will acknowledge that they had been produced by God, so also is our own perfection brought about not by us being inactive and idle, nor, on the other hand, is its consummation attributed to us, but to God, who

[61] Phil. 3:14. [62] 1 Cor. 3:6–7.

vain and watched to no purpose, since God may reasonably be entitled 'Lord of the building', and the Master of the universe 'Ruler of the guard of the city'. Just as, then, if we were to say that the building is not the work of the builder but of God, and that it is not from the successful effort of the guard but of *the God who is over all*[6] that such a city did not suffer from its enemies, we should not err, it being understood that something had been done on the part of human beings, but the great deed being thankfully offered to the accomplisher,[7] God, so also, since human willing is not sufficient to attain the end, nor is the running of those who are, as it were, athletes, sufficient to gain *the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus* (for with God's assistance these things are accomplished), it is well said that *it is not of him that wills nor of him that runs, but of God who has mercy*. As if it were also said, with regard to farming, what is actually written: *I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth. So then neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but God who gave the growth*, and we could not piously say that the production of full crops was the work of the

[6] Rom. 9:5. [7] Heb. 12:2.

610 nobis, sed deo, cuius in ea plurimum est operis, adscribetur. Sic cum et nauis superauerit marina discrimina, quamuis multo labore nautarum et omni nauticae artis opere inpenso et gubernatoris studio atque industria abhibita res agatur, uentorum quoque adspirantibus flatibus et astrorum signis diligenter notatis, si quando tamen uexata undis et fluctibus fatigata ad portum salua
615 peruenit, nemo sani sensus nisi dei misericordiae salutem nauis adscribet. Sed ne ipsi quidem nautae uel gubernator audet dicere quia ego saluam feci nauem, sed totum ad dei misericordiam referunt; non quo sciant se nihil ad saluandam nauem uel artis adhibuisse uel laboris, sed quo sciant a se quidem laborem, salutem uero a deo praestitam naui. Ita etiam in nostrae uitae cursu a nobis
620 quidem dependendus est labor et studium atque industria adhibenda, laboris uero nostri fructus a deo speranda est salus. Alioquin si nihil nostri operis exposcit, superflua utique uidebuntur esse mandata; frustra etiam ipse Paulus

610 plurimum : primum *γ* cum et : cum W : et cum *γ* 615 nemo ... dei : nemo qui sani sensus est alii nisi dei *β* adscribit *γ* 616 audent *Del* 618 quo : quod *Del Koe Fern* 620 dispendendus *μ* : dispensandus *σ* 621 nostri uero *γ*

οὐκ ἂν εὐσεβῶς λέγοιμεν ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ γεωργοῦ ἢ ἔργον τοῦ ποτίσαντος, ἀλλ' ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ· οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα τελείωσις οὐχὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν πραξάντων γίνεται, οὐ μὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπαρτίζεται, ἀλλὰ θεὸς τὸ πολὺ ταύτης ἐνεργεῖ. Καὶ ἵνα ἐναργέστερον πιστευθῇ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον,
490 *ἀπὸ τῆς κυβερνητικῆς τὸ παράδειγμα ληψόμεθα. Πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων λαμπρότητα, συνεργούντων τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων σωτηρίᾳ, πόστον ἂν ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν λέγοιτο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα ἀποκαταστάσεως ἡ κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη; Οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν κυβερνητῶν δι' εὐλάβειαν πολλάκις τολμώντων*
495 *ὁμολογεῖν τὸ σεσωκέναι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἀναφερόντων, οὐ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνηργηκέναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πολλαπλάσιον εἶναι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γοῦν σωτηρίας πολλαπλάσιόν ἐστιν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Διόπερ ἡγοῦμαι λέγεσθαι τὸ* **οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ**
500 **τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ.** *Εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαμβάνουσι δεῖ ἐκλαμβάνειν τὸ* **οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ,** *περισσαὶ αἱ ἐντολαί, καὶ μάτην αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος αἰτιᾶταί τινας ὡς*

487 *ἡμῶν om.* Cat 488 *ἀλλὰ* : *ἀλλ' ὁ* Cat 490 *λυψώμεθα* A 492 *καὶ post συνεργούντων add.* C[ras] *πιστὸν* B : *πόσον* H *ἂν om.* B 493 *λέγοιτο ἔχειν ε καταστάσεως* Cat 494 *τῶν κυβερνητῶν αὐτων* Cat 495 *τῷ om.* Cat 496 *τῷ*[1] : *τὸ* B A *τῷ*[2] *corr. Rob Koe Sim Goe Fern* : *τὸ* B A C 498 *τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ε* 499 *τὸ* : *τοῦ* B 500 *ἐλεοῦντος* : *εὐδοκοῦντος ε* 500–2 *δεῖ ... θεοῦ* : *δεῖ τοῦτο ἐκλαμβάνειν* Cat 502 *αὐτὸς om.* Cat

effects the greater part of it. So also, when a ship has overcome the dangers of the sea, although the result has been achieved by the exercise of the great labour of the sailors and by all the skill of navigation, and by diligence and industry of the captain, the favourable breezes of the winds and the signs of the stars being carefully noted, when, after being tossed by the waves and wearied by the billows it has at last reached the harbour in safety, no one in a right mind would ascribe the safety of the ship to anything apart from the mercy of God. Not even the sailors or the captain would dare to say, 'I have saved the ship', but they refer it all to the mercy of God; not that they feel that they have contributed no skill or labour to the ship being safe, but because they know that, while the labour was from them, the safety of the ship was furnished by God. So also in the race of our life, the expended labour and diligence and industry depends upon us, but salvation, the fruit of our labour, is to be hoped for from God. Otherwise, if God demands nothing of our work, the commandments will certainly seem to be superfluous; in vain, also, does Paul

farmer or the work of him that watered, but the work of God, so also, our own perfection does not come to pass with our doing nothing, yet is not completed from ourselves, but God works the greater part of it. And that this assertion may be more clearly believed, we shall take an illustration from the art of navigation. For when compared with the blowing of the winds and the mildness of the air and the light of the stars, all cooperating for the preservation of those who sail, what proportion should one say that the art of navigation has contributed to returning the ship back to harbour? Even the sailors themselves, through piety, do not often venture to assert that they have saved the ship, but offer all to God; not that they have done nothing, but that what comes about from providence is very much in excess of what comes about from their art. And in the case of our salvation, what is done by God is very much in excess of what results from what is in our power. Therefore, I think, it is said that, *It is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy*. For if one must take the saying, *It is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy*, as they suppose, the commandments are superfluous, and it is in vain that Paul himself blames some for having fallen away and approves of

culpat quosdam decidisse a ueritate et conlaudat alios stantes in fide, praecepta quoque et instituta quaedam ex superfluo tradit ecclesiis; frustra etiam nos ipsi
625 uel uolumus uel currimus ad bona. Sed certum est quod haec frustra non fiunt, et certum est quod nec apostoli frustra praecipiunt nec dominus sine causa dat leges. Superest ergo ut pronuntiemus quod magis bonis dictis haeretici frustra calumniam faciant.

3.1.20. Post haec insequebatur illa quaestio, quoniam *Et uelle et perficere ex*
630 *deo est.* Et aiunt: Si *ex deo est uelle et ex deo est perficere*, siue bene siue male uolumus uel agimus, *ex deo est*; quod si est, liberi arbitrii non sumus. Ad quae respondendum est quoniam sermo apostoli non dixit quia uelle mala ex deo est aut uelle bona ex deo est neque perficere bona aut mala ex deo est, sed generaliter

624 tradet δ : tradita B 632 dicit A *Koe Sim* mala ... bona : male ... bone G M[ac] : male ... bene M[pc] σ

παραπεπτωκότας καὶ ἀποδέχεταί τινας ὡς κατωρθωκότας καὶ νομοθετεῖ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· εἰκῇ δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπιδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θέλειν τὰ
505 *κρείττονα, οὐχὶ δέ γε καὶ τρέχειν. Ἀλλ' οὐ μάτην ὁ Παῦλος τάδε συμβουλεύει καὶ τούσδε μέμφεται καὶ τούσδε ἀποδέχεται, οὐδὲ μάτην ἡμεῖς ἐπιδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θέλειν τὰ κρείττονα καὶ τῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὰ διαφέροντα. Οὐκ ἄρα ἐκεῖνοι καλῶς ἐξειλήφασι τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον.*

3.1.20. *Πρὸς τούτοις ἦν* ***τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι.*** *Καί*
510 *φασί τινες· εἰ* ***ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θέλειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν****, κἂν κακῶς θέλωμεν κἂν κακῶς ἐνεργῶμεν,* ***ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*** *ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ὑπῆρξεν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐσμεν αὐτεξούσιοι. Πάλιν τε αὖ κρείττονα θέλοντες καὶ τὰ διαφέροντα ἐνεργοῦντες, ἐπεὶ* ***ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν*** *ἐστιν, οὐχ*

503 *νομοθετεῖ* : *νουθετεῖ* B 504 *καὶ μάτην καὶ post δὲ add.* ε : *καὶ add.* H 505 *οὐχὶ δέ γε* (*γε om.* A H) *καὶ τρέχειν codd. Goe (cruc.)* : *εἰκῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τρέχειν Del Rob Koe Sim Goe (in appar.) Fern (cf. Ruf.)* *τάδε* : *ταῦτα* ε 507 *τῷ*[1] : *τὸ* B *Fern* *τῷ*[2] : *om.* B : *τὸ Fern* *τὰ*[2] : *τὸ* C 512–13 *καὶ ... ἐνεργεῖν* : *καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ* ε

himself blame some for having fallen from the truth and praise others for abiding in the faith; to no purpose does he hand down certain precepts and directions to the churches; in vain also do we ourselves either will or run towards the good. But it is certain that these things are not done in vain, and it is certain that neither do the apostles give instructions in vain, nor does the Lord give laws with no purpose. It remains, then, that we claim rather that the heretics make a calumny of these good declarations in vain.

To will and to do are of God

3.1.20. After this there followed that subject of inquiry, that, *To will and to do are of God.*[63] They say: 'If *to will is of God and to do is of God*, then whether we will or act well or evil, it is *of God*; if this is so, then we do not have free will.' To this we must answer that the statement of the Apostle does not say that to will evil things is of God or that to will good things is of God, nor that to do good

[63] Phil. 2:13.

others for remaining steadfast, and enacts laws for the churches; it is useless for us to devote ourselves to willing better things, yet indeed not also to running.[8] But it is not in vain that Paul gives such advice and censures some and approves of others, nor in vain that we give ourselves to willing better things and to press on to things that are excellent. They have therefore not understood well the meaning of the passage.

3.1.20. Besides these, there is the passage, *To will and to do are of God.* Now some say, 'If *to will is of God and to do is of God*, then even if we will evilly and act evilly, these come to us *from God*; and if so, we do not have self-determination. But again, when we will better things and do deeds that are excellent, since *to will and to do are from God*, it is not we who have done the more excellent deeds, but we

[8] Although the MSS uniformly read 'yet indeed not also to run' (οὐχὶ δέ γε καὶ τρέχειν, the γε being omitted by two MSS), every editor since Delarue has emended this to, 'it is also in vain [to try] to run' (εἰκῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τρέχειν, with the exception of Görgemanns and Karpp, who while placing the the text between obeli yet translate it as others) to produce a series of four rhetorical absurdities (the commandments are superfluous; so too are Paul's words and actions; it is useless for us to try to will better things; it is also useless to try to run towards better things). Yet it is possible to take the latter two as correlated: it is useless to will better things (which we all do), and yet not also make an effort towards them. In this way, there would be three implicit affirmations: the commandments have been given, to be kept; Paul does indeed apportion blame and approval, and lays down laws expecting them to be kept; and not only do we all desire salvation, but those who are sincere also run towards it; yet nevertheless what makes all of this effective is the mercy of God.

ait quia *uelle et perficere a deo est.* Sicut enim ex deo habemus hoc ipsum quod
635 homines sumus, quod spiramus, quod mouemur, ita et quod uolumus ex deo habemus; ut si dicamus: quod mouemur ex deo est, uel quod singula quaeque membra officio suo deseruiunt et mouentur ex deo est. Ex quo non utique illud intellegitur, quia quod mouetur manus, uerbi causa, ad uerberandum iniuste uel ad furandum ex deo est, sed hoc ipsum, quod mouetur, ex deo est; nostrum uero
640 est motus istos, quibus moueri ex deo habemus, uel ad bona uel ad mala conuertere. Ita ergo est et quod dicit apostolus quia uirtutem quidem uoluntatis a deo accipimus, nos autem abutimur uoluntate uel in bonis uel in malis desideriis. Similiter quoque et de effectibus sentiendum est.

3.1.21. Sed et de eo quod dixit apostolus: *Ergo cui uult miseretur, et quem uult*
645 *indurat. Dices ergo mihi: Quid adhuc queritur? uoluntati enim eius quis resistet?*

637 est *om. γ* non illud utique *γ* : utique non illud *Del* 638 intellegetur *β* 642 a deo *om. γ* accepimus B M[pc] 644 et[1] *om.* C *γ* 645 indurat : obdurat M G[pc] *σ* *Goe* dicis M[pc] conqueritur B[pc] C *Goe* : conquaeritur B[ac]

ἡμεῖς τὰ διαφέροντα πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐδόξαμεν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς
515 ταῦτα ἐδωρήσατο· ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὔκ ἐσμεν αὐτεξούσιοι. Καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ λεκτέον ὅτι ἡ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέξις οὔ φησι τὸ θέλειν τὰ κακὰ ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι ἢ τὸ θέλειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι, ὁμοίως τε τὸ ἐνεργεῖν τὰ κρείττονα καὶ τὰ χείρονα, ἀλλὰ τὸ καθόλου θέλειν καὶ τὸ καθόλου ἐνεργεῖν. Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἔχομεν τὸ εἶναι ζῷα καὶ τὸ εἶναι
520 ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ καθόλου θέλειν, ὡσεὶ ἔλεγον καὶ τὸ καθόλου κινεῖσθαι. Ὥσπερ δὲ ἔχοντες τῷ ζῷα εἶναι τὸ κινεῖσθαι καὶ φέρ' εἰπεῖν τάδε τὰ μέλη κινεῖν, χεῖρας ἢ πόδας, οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως λέγοιμεν ἔχειν ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸ εἰδικὸν τόδε, τὸ κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ τύπτειν ἢ ἀναιρεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν γενικόν, τὸ κινεῖσθαι, ἐλάβομεν
525 ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμεῖς δὲ χρώμεθα τῷ κινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίονα· οὕτως τὸ μὲν ἐνεργεῖν, ᾗ ζῷά ἐσμεν, εἰλήφαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θέλειν ἐλάβομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ θέλειν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις χρώμεθα, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ ἐνεργεῖν.

3.1.21. Ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἡμᾶς εἶναι αὐτεξουσίους δόξει τὸ ἀποστολικὸν
530 ῥητὸν περισπᾶν, ἔνθα ἑαυτῷ ἀνθυποφέρων φησίν· **ἄρ' οὖν ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν**

516 *φησιν τὰ* B 517 *τοῦ ante θεοῦ*[1] *add. ϵ* H 519 *ἐνεργεῖν corr. Schnitzer Koe Sim Goe Fern : τρέχειν codd. Rob* 521 *τῷ* D : *τὸ* B A C H 523 *τόδε om.* C *τὸ*[2] *Rob Koe Sim Fern : om.* B A *ϵ* : *ἤτοι τὸ* H *Goe* 525 *τοῦ om.* A H *τῷ κινεῖσθαι χρώμεθα ϵ* *τῷ : τὸ* B 527 *τῷ : τὸ* B A 528 *τῷ : τὸ* B A 529 *τὸ*[1] : *τῷ* C *εἶναι ἡμᾶς* Cat 530 *περισπᾶν om. ϵ* 530–2 *ἔνθα … μενοῦνγε : ἔνθα φησί· μενοῦνγε* Cat 530 *ἔνθα : ἐν οἷς* A *ϵ* H *ἑαυτῷ : αὐτὸ* B

things or evil things is of God, but he speaks generally, that *to will and to do are of God*. For just as we have from God this very fact, that we are human beings, that we breathe, that we move, so also we have from God that we have the power of willing; just as if we were to say that the fact that we move is from God, or that each of our members performs its function and moves is from God. It must certainly not be understood from this that because the hand moves, for example, to hit unjustly or to steal, the act is from God, but only that it moves is from God; it is our part to direct those movements, the movement being from God, either to good or to evil. And therefore what the Apostle says is that we receive from God the power of volition, but that it is we who use the will either for good or evil desires. We must think similarly of the outcomes.

Therefore he has mercy on whom he wills

3.1.21. But with respect to what the Apostle said—*Therefore he has mercy upon whom he wills and hardens whom he will. You will say to me then: 'Why does he*

seemed to do so, while it was God who bestowed them; so that even in this case we do not have self-determination.' In reply, one must say that the language of the Apostle does not say that to will evil things is of God, or that to will good things is of God, nor likewise to do better things or worse things, but that to will in general and to do in general. For as we have it from God to be living beings and to be human beings, so also we have the facility of willing in general, as I said, and the facility of movement in general. And just as, being living beings we have the facility of movement, and, for instance, can move these members, the hands or the feet, yet we could not rightly say that we have from God the specific facility of movement to strike or to destroy or to take away another's goods, but that we have received from him the generic faculty of movement, while we use the facility of movement for better or worse purposes, so also we have received from God the facility of doing, as being living creatures, and received the ability to will from the Creator, while we employ the facility of willing either for the noblest purposes or the opposite, and likewise the facility of doing.

3.1.21. Moreover, the apostolic saying will seem to tend to the position that we are not self-determining, where, objecting to himself, he says: *Therefore he has*

Enim uero, o homo, tu quis es, qui contra respondeas deo? numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit: Quid me fecisti sic? aut non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem in honorem uas, aliud autem in contumeliam? dicet fortassis aliquis: Si, ut *figulus ex eadem massa facit alia*
650 *quidem ad honorem, alia autem ad contumeliam uasa*, ita et deus alios ad salutem, alios ad perditionem facit, non est in nobis uel saluos fieri uel perire; per quod non uidemur nostri esse arbitrii. Respondendum ergo est his qui haec ita intellegunt, si potest fieri ut possit apostolus sibi ipsi contraria proloqui? Quodsi hoc sentiri non potest de apostolo, quomodo uidebitur
655 secundum istos iuste culpare eos qui in Corintho fornicati sunt, uel eos qui deliquerunt et *paenitentiam non egerunt in inpudicitia et in fornicatione et in inmunditia quam gesserunt*? Quomodo etiam conlaudat eos qui recte egerunt, sicut Onesifori domum, dicens: *Det autem dominus misericordiam Onesifori domui, quoniam frequenter me refrigerauit et catenam meam non erubuit, sed*
660 *cum uenisset Romam, sollicite requisiuit me et inuenit. Det illi dominus inuenire misericordiam apud dominum in illa die*? Non ergo est apostolicae grauitatis

646 dicet *β Goe* 649 si ut : sicut C G 656 in[1] *om.* B *γ* in[3] *om.* B *σ*
660 uenissem *γ* 661 illa : illo G^{pc} M *σ*

δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει. Ἐρεῖς μοι οὖν· τί ἔτι μέμφεται; Τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν; Μενοῦνγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ; Μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι· τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως; Ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς
535 **τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν;** Ἐρεῖ γάρ τις· εἰ **ὡς ὁ κεραμεὺς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιεῖ ἃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν σκεύη**, οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἃ μὲν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀπώλειαν, οὐ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς τὸ σῴζεσθαι ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι γίνεται, οὐδέ ἐσμεν αὐτεξούσιοι. Λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς τὸν τούτοις οὕτως χρώμενον, εἰ δύναται περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου νοεῖν ὡς μαχόμενα ἑαυτῷ
540 λέγοντος; Οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ὅτι τολμήσει τις τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ ἐναντία ἑαυτῷ φθέγγεται ὁ ἀπόστολος, πῶς κατὰ τὸν οὕτως ἐκδεξάμενον εὐλόγως αἰτιᾶται μεμφόμενος τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ πεπορνευκότα ἢ τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας **καὶ μὴ μετανοήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἀκρασίᾳ, ᾗ ἔπραξαν;** Πῶς δὲ εὐλογεῖ ὡς εὖ πεποιηκότας οὓς ἐπαινεῖ, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον, λέγων·

531 τῷ : τὸ B 534–5 ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν ποιῆσαι ε 535 σκεῦος om. C ὡς *om.* B C H 536 ἃ[1] … ἃ[2] : ὃ … ὃ A ἃ μεν … σκεύη : ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν Cat 538 οὐδέ : οὐ γὰρ Cat 540 μὴ τοίνην ε 540–1 ἑαυτῷ ἐναντία Cat 542 μεμφόμενος : φθεγγόμενος A : *om.* Cat τὸν : τὸ B 543 ἐπὶ … ἔπραξαν *om.* Cat πῶς : ὡς C 544–8 ὥσπερ … τῇ ἡμερᾳ *om.* Cat

still find fault? For who can resist his will?' O human being, who are you to answer back to God? Will what is moulded say to its moulder: 'Why have you made me thus?' Has not the potter power over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?[64]—someone will perhaps say: 'If, just as *the potter makes from the same lump some vessels unto honour and others unto dishonour*, so also God creates some for salvation and others for destruction, then it is not in our power either to be saved or to be destroyed; by which it seems that we do not possess free will.' We must reply to those who thus understand these words: is it possible that the Apostle could contradict himself? And if this cannot be imagined of the Apostle, how, according to them, will it seem just for him to blame those who committed fornication in Corinth, or those who had fallen away and *did not show repentance for the acts of immodesty and fornication and impurity which they had committed*? [65] How also does he praise those who acted rightly, like the house of Onesiphorus, saying: *May the Lord grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain, but when he had arrived in Rome he searched for me eagerly and found me. May the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord on that day.*[66] It is not consistent

[64] Rom. 9:18–21. [65] 2 Cor. 12:21; cf. 1 Cor. 5:1–5. [66] 2 Tim. 1:16–18.

mercy upon whom he wills and hardens whom he wills. You will say to me then, 'Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?' O human being, who are you to answer back to God? Will what is moulded say to its moulder, 'Why have you made me thus?' Has not the potter power over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour? Someone will say: 'If, just as *the potter makes from the same lump some vessels unto honour and some unto dishonour*, so also God makes some unto salvation and others unto destruction, then to be saved or destroyed does not depend upon ourselves, nor are we self-determining.' We must ask the one using these passages thus, whether it is possible to conceive of the Apostle as contradicting himself? I do not think that anyone would dare to say so. If, then, the Apostle does not utter contradictions, how can he, according to the one who takes the passage thus, reasonably lay blame, censuring the one in Corinth who had committed fornication or those who had fallen away *and have not repented of the licentiousness and impurity which they have committed*? And how can he bless those whom he praises as having done well, as he does the house of

culpare quidem eum qui culpa dignus est, id est qui peccauit, et conlaudare eum qui laude dignus est pro opere bono, et rursum, tamquam in nullius potestate sit agere aliquid boni uel mali, dicere creatoris esse opus, ut
665 unusquisque uel bene agat uel male, cum *aliud ad honorem uas faciat, aliud autem ad contumeliam*. Quomodo autem illud quoque addit, quia *Omnes nos stare oportet ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque nostrum per corpus prout gessit, siue bonum siue malum?* Quae enim boni retributio ei, qui malum facere non potuit, ad hoc ipsum a creatore formatus? Vel quae poena digne
670 inrogabitur ei, qui bonum facere ex ipsa conditoris sui creatione non potuit? Tum deinde quomodo non contrarium est huic adsertioni illud, quod alibi dicit: *In domo autem magna non sunt tantummodo uasa aurea et argentea sed et lignea et fictilia, et alia quidem ad honorem, alia autem ad contumeliam. Si ergo quis emundauerit semet ipsum ab his, erit uas ad honorem, sanctificatum et*
675 *utile domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum*? Si ergo qui emundauerit se, efficitur *uas ad honorem*; qui autem inmunditias suas purgare contempserit, efficitur *uas ad contumeliam*. Ex quibus sententiis nullatenus, ut opinor, causa gestorum ad creatorem referri potest. Nam facit quidem creator deus *uasa ad*

669–70 ei inrogabitur digne *γ* **675** quis *δ Koe Goe* se mundauerit *γ* **677** quibus : his *β*

545 ***δῴη ὁ κύριος ἔλεος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, ὅτι πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξεν καὶ τὴν ἅλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπαισχύνθη, ἀλλὰ γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαίως ἐζήτησέν με καὶ εὗρεν· δῴη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εὑρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ;*** *Οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ ἀπόστολόν ἐστι ψέγειν ὡς ἄξιον μέμψεως τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι ὡς ἐπαινετὸν τὸν εὖ πεποιηκότα, πάλιν δ᾽ αὖ*
550 *ὡς μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν φάσκειν παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ εἶναι* ***τὸ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν.*** *Πῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ* ***τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον*** *ὑγιές ἐστι, τῶν τὰ φαῦλα πεποιηκότων διὰ τὸ ἐκτίσθαι αὐτοὺς* ***σκεύη***
555 ***ἀτιμίας*** *ἐπὶ τοῦτο πράξεως ἐληλυθότων, καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν βιωσάντων τῷ ἀρχῆθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ* ***σκεύη τιμῆς*** *γεγονέναι τὸ*

546 *ἐπησχύνθη* C H **547** *με om.* A *ὁ om.* B **548** *γὰρ post οὐ add.* Cat *δὴ ἀπόστολόν om.* Cat *μέμψεως om. ε* **550–1** *τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀτιμίαν σκεῦος τὸ δὲ εἰς τιμήν* Cat : *τὸ μὲν σκεῦος εἰς τιμὴν τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν* A *ε* H **553** *τὸ*[2] *om. ε* *τοὺς om.* Cat *εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον om.* Cat **554** *ἐκτίθεσθαι* A **555** *ἀτιμίας* : *τίμια* B *τοῦτο* : *τούτῳ* B **556** *τούτῳ* : *τοῦτο* B

with apostolic solemnity to blame him who is worthy of blame, that is, who has sinned, and to praise him who is worthy of praise for his good works, and then, on the other hand, as if it was in no one's power to do any good or evil, to say that it was the Creator's doing that everyone should act well or evilly, seeing that he makes *one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour*. And how can he add that statement, *We must all stand before the judgement seat of Christ, so that each one of us may receive good or evil according to what he has done in the body?*[67] For what good reward will be conferred on him who could not do evil, being formed by the Creator for this very end? Or what punishment will rightly be inflicted upon him who by the creative act of his maker was not able to do good? Then, finally, how is there not a contradiction between this assertion and what he said elsewhere, *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some unto honour and some unto dishonour. If anyone therefore purges himself from these, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work.*[68] He, accordingly, who purges himself is made a *vessel unto honour*, while he who has disdained to purge himself from his impurities becomes a *vessel unto dishonour*. From such declarations, in my opinion, it is in no way possible for the cause of our actions to be referred to the Creator. For God the Creator makes certain *vessels unto honour*, and makes other *vessels unto dishonour*;

[67] 2 Cor. 5:10.

[68] 1 Tim. 2:20–1. The connection between this text and Rom. 9:18–21 is also made in Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 7.17. See also *Princ.* 2.9.8.

Onesiphorus, saying: *May the Lord grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain, but when he had arrived in Rome, he searched for me eagerly and found me. May the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord in that day*? It is not consistent for the same apostle to blame the sinner as worthy of censure and to approve him as having done well, and again, on the other hand, to assert, as if nothing was within our power, that it is from a cause within the Creator that *one vessel was formed unto honour and another unto dishonour*. And how is it correct that, *We must all stand before the judgement seat of Christ, so that each one may receive either good or bad according to what he has done in the body*, if those who have done evil have come to this kind of conduct through having been created *vessels of dishonour*, and if those who have lived virtuously have done good by being created from

honorem, et facit alia *uasa ad contumeliam*; sed illud *uas*, quod se purgauerit ab
680 omni inmunditia, ipsum facit *uas ad honorem*; quod uero se uitiorum sordibus maculauerit, illud *uas ad contumeliam* facit. Itaque concluditur ex hoc quia prius gestorum uniuscuiusque causa praecedit, et pro meritis suis unusquisque a deo uel *honoris uas* efficitur uel *contumeliae*. Vnumquodque igitur *uas* ut uel *ad honorem* a creatore formetur uel *ad contumeliam*, ex se ipso causas et
685 occasiones praestitit conditori.

3.1.22. Quodsi iusta haec uidetur adsertio, sicut est certe iusta et cum omni pietate concordans, ut ex praecedentibus causis unumquodque *uas* uel

679 illud uas quod : illum qui *β* 680 quod : qui *β* 681 illud : ipsum *β* 687 uti *γ*

3.1.22, lines 686–92

Jerome, Ep. *124.8.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.11–19):*

Sin autem semel recipimus, quod ex praecedentibus causis aliud uas *in honorem*, aliud *in contumeliam* sit creatum, cur non recurramus ad animae arcanum et intellegamus eam egisse antiquitus, propter quod in altero dilecta, in altero odio habita sit, antequam in Iacob corpore subplantaret et in Esau planta teneretur a fratre?

καλὸν πεποιηκότων; Ἔτι δὲ πῶς οὐ μάχεται τῷ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐξ ὧν παρεθέμεθα ῥητῶν, παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ **ἔντιμον** ἢ **ἄτιμον** εἶναι **σκεῦος** τὸ ἀλλαχοῦ λεγόμενον· **ἐν μεγάλῃ οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔστι μόνον σκεύη**
560 **χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύλινα καὶ ὀστράκινα, καὶ ἃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν. Ἐὰν οὖν τις ἐκκαθάρῃ ἑαυτόν, ἔσται σκεῦος εἰς τιμὴν ἡγιασμένον καὶ εὔχρηστον τῷ δεσπότῃ, εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον**; Εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἐκκαθάρας ἑαυτὸν γίνεται **σκεῦος εἰς τιμήν**, ὁ δὲ ἀπερικάθαρτον ἑαυτὸν περιϊδὼν **σκεῦος εἰς ἀτιμίαν**, ὅσον ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς
565 λέξεσιν οὐδαμῶς αἴτιος ὁ δημιουργός. Ποιεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς **σκεύη τιμῆς** καὶ **σκεύη ἀτιμίας** οὐκ ἀρχῆθεν κατὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν προκατακρίνει ἢ προδικαιοῖ, ἀλλὰ **σκεύη τιμῆς** τοὺς ἐκκαθάραντας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ **σκεύη ἀτιμίας** τοὺς ἀπερικαθάρτους ἑαυτοὺς περιϊδόντας· ὥστε ἐκ πρεσβυτέρων αἰτιῶν τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν **εἰς τιμὴν καὶ εἰς ἀτιμίαν**
570 **σκευῶν** γίνεσθαι ὃν μὲν **εἰς τιμὴν** ὃν δὲ **εἰς ἀτιμίαν**.

557 τῷ : τὸ A 558–9 παρὰ ... ἀλλαχοῦ : ἔντιμον ἢ ἄτιμον σκεῦος γεγονέναι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ αἰτίαν τὸ ἀλλαχοῦ Cat 559 ἐν *om.* C 561–3 ἔσται ... ἑαυτὸν *om.* A 562–3 εἰς ... ἡτοιμασμένον *om.* Cat 563 ἐκκατάρας C 564 περιδὼν Cat 566–7 οὐκ ... προδικαιοῖ *om.* Cat 567 μὲν *post* σκεύη *add.* Cat 568 καὶ σκεύη : σκεύη δὲ Cat : σκεύη ϵ τοὺς *om.* A H περιϊδόντας: παριδόντας C 569–82 ὥστε ... ἄνθρωπε *om.* Cat 569 εἰς[2] *om.* ϵ 570 ὧν μὲν ... ὧν δὲ B

but it is that *vessel*, which has purged itself from all impurities, which he makes a *vessel unto honour*, while that which has stained itself with the filth of vices, he makes a *vessel unto dishonour*. The conclusion from this, therefore, is that the cause of the former actions of each one precedes, and each one, according to his merits, is made by God either a *vessel unto honour* or *dishonour*. Thus each *vessel* has, from itself, provided the Maker with the causes and occasions for its being formed by the Creator *unto honour* or *unto dishonour*.

3.1.22. But[69] if this assertion seems to be just—as it certainly is just and in harmony with all piety—that from antecedent causes each *vessel* is prepared by

[69] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.11–19): 'In the third book these errors are contained: if we once admit that it is from antecedent causes that one vessel is made *unto honour* and another *unto dishonour*, why do we not return to the mystery of the soul and understand that, because of what it did of old, in one it is loved and in another it is hated, in Jacob's case before he became a supplanter and in Esau's case before his heel was grasped by his brother?' See also Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.4; 2.8.3; 2.9.7; *Comm. Rom.* 7.17.

the beginning for this purpose and became *vessels of honour*? And again, how does what is said elsewhere not conflict with the position which they have drawn from those words we have quoted, that it is from a cause within the Creator that a *vessel* is either in *honour* or *dishonour*; that is: *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some unto honour and some unto dishonour. If anyone therefore purges himself from these, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work*? For if the one who purges himself becomes a *vessel unto honour*, and the one who negligently remains unpurged becomes a *vessel unto dishonour*, then, as far as these words are concerned, the Creator is not at all the cause. For the Creator makes *vessels of honour* and *vessels of dishonour*, not from the beginning, according to his foreknowledge, since he does not, according to it, condemn or justify beforehand; but [he makes] *vessels of honour* those who purged themselves and *vessels of dishonour* those who negligently remained unpurged; so that it is from causes older than the fashioning of *vessels unto honour and unto dishonour* that one came to be *unto honour* and another *unto dishonour*.

ad honorem a deo uel *ad contumeliam* praeparetur, non uidetur absurdum eodem ordine atque eadem consequentia discutientes nos antiquiores causas,
690 eadem etiam de animarum sentire ratione, et hoc esse in causa quod Iacob dilectus est etiam antequam huic mundo nasceretur, et Esau odio habitus est, dum adhuc in uentre matris haberetur.

Sed et illud, quod dictum est quia *ex eadem massa* et *honoris uas et contumeliae* fiat, non nos poterit coartare; unam etenim naturam omnium esse
695 dicimus rationabilium animarum, sicut *una luti massa* subiacere figulo designatur. Cum ergo una omnium sit natura rationabilium creaturarum, ex ipsa deus secundum praecedentes meritorum causas, sicut ex *una massa* figulus, plasmauit uel creauit *alios* quidem *ad honorem, alios autem ad contumeliam*. Quod uero uelut increpantis est apostoli sermo quem dicit: *O*
700 *homo, tu quis es, qui contra respondeas deo?* puto illud esse quod ostendit ex

691 etiam *om.* γ

3.1.22, lines 696–9

Jerome, Ep. 124.8.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.19–21):

Ut autem aliae animae fierent *in honorem*, aliae *in contumeliam*, anteriorum causarum merita praecesserunt.

3.1.22. Εἰ δ' ἅπαξ προσιέμεθα εἶναί τινας πρεσβυτέρας αἰτίας **τοῦ σκεύους τῆς τιμῆς** καὶ **τοῦ σκεύους τῆς ἀτιμίας**, τί ἄτοπον ἀνελθόντας εἰς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τόπον <νοεῖν> πρεσβύτερα αἴτια τοῦ τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἠγαπῆσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἠσαῦ μεμισῆσθαι γεγονέναι εἰς τὸν Ἰακὼβ πρὸ τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως
575 καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἠσαῦ πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς Ῥεβέκκας γενέσθαι;

Ἅμα δὲ σαφῶς δηλοῦται ὅτι ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ φύσει, ὥσπερ εἷς ὑπόκειται τῷ κεραμεῖ πηλός, ἀφ' οὗ **φυράματος** γίνεται **εἰς τιμὴν** καὶ **εἰς ἀτιμίαν σκεύη**, οὕτω μιᾶς φύσεως πάσης ψυχῆς ὑποκειμένης τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω ἑνὸς **φυράματος** ὄντος τῶν λογικῶν ὑποστάσεων,
580 πρεσβύτερά τινα αἴτια πεποίηκεν τούσδε μὲν εἶναι **εἰς τιμὴν** τούσδε δὲ **εἰς ἀτιμίαν.** Εἰ δὲ ἐπιπλήσσει ἡ λέξις τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἡ λέγουσα· **μενοῦνγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ;** τάχα διδάσκει ὅτι ὁ μὲν παρρησίαν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πιστὸς καὶ εὖ βιοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀκοῦσαι· **σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ;** Ὁποῖος ἦν Μωσῆς·

571 δ' : δὲ A 573 <νοεῖν> *suppl. Rob Koe Sim Goe Fern (cf. Ruf.)* : νοεῖν *vel* λέγειν *malit Del* λέγειν *post* αἴτια *add.* C[pc] τοῦ *om.* C 577 ὁ *ante* πηλός *add.* B εἰς[2] *om.* ϵ 582 σὺ : τὸ δὲ σὺ Cat 583 καὶ[1] : ὡς Cat *Rob Koe* βιοὺς εὖ ϵ H 584 δὲ *post* σὺ *add.* Cat

God either *unto honour* or *dishonour*, it does not seem absurd, when we are discussing antecedent causes in the same order and by the same method, to think in the same manner regarding souls, that this is the reason why Jacob was loved even before he was born into this world and Esau hated while he was still held within the womb of his mother.

But also, that saying, that *from the same lump a vessel* is formed both *unto honour and dishonour*, will not be able to constrain us, for we assert that there is one nature of all rational souls, just as *one lump of clay* is described as being subject to the potter. Seeing, then, that the nature of rational creatures is one, out of it God, as the potter out of the *one lump*, created and formed, according[70] to the antecedent causes of merit, *some unto honour and others unto dishonour*. But, regarding the language of the Apostle, when he said, as if chiding, *O human being, who are you to answer back to God?*, I think that this is what he

[70] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.19–21): 'And again: the merits of antecedent causes precede the fact that some souls are made *unto honour* and some to *dishonour*.'

3.1.22. But if we once admit that there are certain older causes in the fashioning of the *vessel unto honour* and the *vessel unto dishonour*, what absurdity is there, returning to the subject of the soul, <in recognizing> that the older causes of Jacob being loved and Esau being hated occurred with Jacob before his embodiment and with Esau before he came to be in the womb of Rebecca?

But at the same time, it is clearly shown that, as regards the underlying nature, just as there is one clay which is subject to the potter, from which *lump* come *vessels unto honour* and *unto dishonour*, so also, there being one nature of every soul subject to God and, so to speak, *one lump* of rational beings, certain older causes have made some to be *unto honour* and others *unto dishonour*. But if the language of the Apostle rebukes, saying, *O human being, who are you to answer back to God?*, perhaps it teaches that the one who has boldness towards God, and is faithful, and has lived virtuously, would not hear: *Who are you to answer back to God?* Such a one was Moses; for *Moses spoke and God answered*

hoc, quoniam ad fidelem quemque et recte iusteque uiuentem et habentem fiduciam apud deum talis increpatio non refertur, id est, ad talem aliquem, qualis erat Moyses ille, de quo dicit scriptura quia *Moyses loquebatur, deus autem respondebat ei cum uoce*; et sicut respondebat deus Moysi, ita respondet
705 et sanctus quisque deo. Qui uero infidelis est et perdit apud deum fiduciam respondendi uitae suae et conuersationis indignitate, quique de his non ideo quaerit, ut discat et proficiat, sed ut contendat et resistat, et, ut manifestius dicam, qui talis est, qui haec possit dicere, quae designat apostolus dicens: *Quid ergo adhuc conqueritur? Voluntati enim eius quis resistet?* ad hunc recte
710 increpatio ista dirigitur, quam dicit apostolus: *O homo, tu quis es, qui contra respondeas deo?* Est ergo increpatio haec non ad fideles et sanctos, sed ad infideles et impios.

3.1.23. His uero qui diuersas animarum introducunt naturas et sermonem hunc apostolicum ad adsertionem dogmatis sui trahunt, hoc modo
715 respondendum est: Si constat etiam apud ipsos hoc quod ex *una massa* fieri dicit apostolus et eos qui *ad honorem* et eos qui *ad contumeliam* fiunt, quos ipsi

701 iusteque : et iuste *γ* 704 cum *om.* *β* 708 signat *γ* : significat *Del*
709 conquaeritur *δ* M resistit *α*

585 ***Μωσῆς*** γὰρ ***ἐλάλει, ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ***· καὶ ὡς ἀποκρίνεται ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Μωσέα, οὕτως ἀποκρίνεται καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ κτησάμενος τὴν παρρησίαν, δηλονότι ἢ ἀπολωλεκὼς ἢ περὶ τούτων οὐ κατὰ φιλομάθειαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ φιλονεικίαν ζητῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγων· ***τί ἔτι μέμφεται; Τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν;***
590 οὗτος ἂν ἄξιος εἴη τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως τῆς λεγούσης· ***μενοῦνγε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ;***

3.1.23. Τοῖς δὲ τὰς φύσεις εἰσάγουσι καὶ χρωμένοις τῷ ῥητῷ ταῦτα λεκτέον. Εἰ σῴζουσι τὸ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς **φυράματος** γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους καὶ τοὺς σῳζομένους, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν σῳζομένων εἶναι
595 δημιουργὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων, καὶ εἰ ἀγαθὸς ὁ ποιῶν οὐ μόνον πνευματικοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ χοϊκοὺς (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἕπεται), δυνατὸν μέντοι γε ἐκ προτέρων τινῶν κατορθωμάτων γενόμενον νῦν **σκεῦος τιμῆς**,

585 αὐτῷ *om.* Cat ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ A ε H 587 δηλονότι *om.* C ἢ[2] *om.* C
589 βουλήματι : θελήματι Cat 590 μενοῦνγε ὦ ἄνθρωπε *om.* Cat
592–611 τοῖς … γίνεσθαι *om.* Cat 595 δημιουργὸν *om.* C D οὐ : μή C
596 δυνατῶν A

means by this, that such a censure does not refer to any believer who lives rightly and justly and who has confidence in God, that is, to such a one as was Moses, of whom Scripture says that *Moses spoke and God answered him with a voice,*[71] and as God answered Moses, so also does the saint answer God. But the one who is an unbeliever and loses confidence in answering God, because of the unworthiness of his life and conduct, and who inquires into these matters not so as to learn and make progress, but to dispute and resist, and to speak more plainly, one of such a kind who can say those things, which the Apostle indicates, saying, '*Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?*'—to such a one may that censure rightly be directed: *O human being, who are you to answer back to God?* This censure, therefore, is not addressed to the faithful and saints, but to the unbelievers and impious.

3.1.23. But to those who bring in diverse natures of souls, and drag this saying of the Apostle to the support of their teaching, we must reply in this way:[72] if they agree with what the Apostle says, that out of *one lump* are those made *unto honour* and those made *unto dishonour*, whom they call those of a saved and of

[71] Exod. 19:19. On Moses as representing the highest degree of ascent in this life, see Origen, *Hom. Num.* 22.3; *Cels.* 1.19; *Hom. Ps. 36*, 4.1.

[72] Simonetti and Crouzel suggest that the more fully developed argument in what follows, compared to the *Philocalia*, should be taken as Rufinus' fidelity to the original text of Origen, which the *Philocalia* here abridges.

him with a voice; and as God answers Moses, so also does a saint answer God. But one not possessing this boldness, clearly being lost or investigating these matters not with a love of learning but with a love of contention and on this account saying, *Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?*, such a one would be worthy of the rebuke which says, *O human being, who are you to answer back to God?*

3.1.23. But to those who introduce [diverse] natures and who make use of this saying, one must say the following. If they preserve the point that those who are lost and those who are saved are from *one lump*, and that the Creator of those who are saved is the Creator also of those who are lost, and if he who creates not only spiritual but also earthly natures (for this follows their argument) is good, it is nevertheless possible for one who, from certain former

saluandae et perditae naturae uocant, iam non erunt diuersae animarum naturae, sed una omnium. Et si adquiescunt quod unus atque idem figulus unum sine dubio creatorem designet, diuersi non erunt creatores uel eorum qui
720 saluantur, uel eorum qui pereunt. Iam sane eligant utrum de bono deo uelint intellegi, qui creat malos et perditos, an de non bono, qui creat bonos et ad honorem paratos. Vnum enim e duobus necessitas ab eis responsionis extorquet. Secundum nostram uero adsertionem, qua ex praecedentibus causis deum dicimus uel *ad honorem uasa* uel *ad contumeliam* facere, in nullo adprobatio
725 dei iustitiae coartatur. Possibile namque est ut *uas* hoc, quod ex prioribus causis in hoc mundo *ad honorem* fictum est, si neglegentius egerit, pro conuersationis suae meritis in alio saeculo efficiatur *uas ad contumeliam*; sicut rursum si qui ex praecedentibus causis in hac uita *uas ad contumeliam* a creatore formatus est, et emendauerit se atque ab omnibus uitiis sordibusque purgauerit,
730 in illo nouo saeculo potest effici *uas ad honorem, sanctificatum et utile domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum.* Denique hi qui in hoc saeculo, ut Israhelitae

717 uel saluandae uel perditae *β* 720 deo *om.* *γ* 724 uasa : uas *γ* 730 domino *om.* *γ*

3.1.23, lines 725–31

Jerome, Ep. *124.8.3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.22–106.5):*

Iuxta nos autem ex praecedentibus meritis uas, quod in honorem fuerit fabricatum, si non dignum uocabulo suo opus fecerit, in alio saeculo fiet uas *contumeliae* et rursum vas aliud, quod ex anteriori culpa contumeliae nomen acceperat, si in praesenti uita corrigi uoluerit in noua creatione fiet uas *sanctificatum et utile domino, in omne opus bonum paratum.*

καὶ μὴ ὅμοια δράσαντα μηδὲ ἀκόλουθα **τῷ σκεύει τῆς τιμῆς**, *γενέσθαι εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα* **σκεῦος ἀτιμίας**· *ὡς πάλιν οἷόν τέ ἐστι διὰ πρεσβύτερα τούτου*
600 *τοῦ βίου γενόμενον* **σκεῦος ἀτιμίας** *ἐνθάδε, διορθωθέντα ἐν* **τῇ καινῇ κτίσει** *γενέσθαι* **σκεῦος τιμῆς ἡγιασμένον καὶ εὔχρηστον τῷ δεσπότῃ, εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον**. *Καὶ τάχα οἱ νῦν Ἰσραηλῖται μὴ ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας βιώσαντες ἐκπεσοῦνται τοῦ γένους, οἱονεὶ ἀπὸ* **σκευῶν τιμῆς** *εἰς* **σκεῦος ἀτιμίας** *μεταβαλοῦντες· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν νῦν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ*
605 *Ἰδουμαίων τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσελθόντες, ἐπὰν καρποφορήσωσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον,*

598 *δράσαντα μηδὲ* : *δράσαι τὰ δὲ μὴ* B 599–600 *τοῦ βίου τούτου* ϵ 600 *αἴτια post βίου malit Koe in appar.* : *suppl. Goe* 603 *γένους* : *σκεύους* ϵ *εἰ post οἱονεὶ add.* ϵ *σκευῶν* : *σκεύους* ϵ 604 *μεταβαλοῦνται* ϵ : *μεταβαλόντες* H

a lost nature, then there will no longer be different natures of souls, but one nature for all. And if they admit that the one and the same potter undoubtedly designates the one Creator, there will not be different creators either, of those who are saved or of those who are destroyed. Now, sensibly, let them choose whether they will have the passage be understood as speaking of a good God, who creates those who are evil and lost, or of one who is not good, who creates those who are good and prepared for honour. For the necessity of giving an answer will wrench out of them one of these two alternatives. But following our assertion, that it is from antecedent causes that God, we say, makes *vessels* either *unto honour* or *dishonour*, the proof of the justice of God is in no way curtailed. For[73] it is possible that one *vessel*, which, from previous causes was made *unto honour* in this world, if it acts negligently, may become, according to the merits of its conduct, a *vessel unto dishonour* in another age; just as, on the other hand, if one, from antecedent causes, was formed by the Creator as a *vessel unto dishonour* in this life, and has amended his ways and purged himself from all vices and filth, he may, in the new age, be made *a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work.*[74] Finally, those who were formed by God to be Israelites in this age, and who have lived a life unworthy of the nobility of their birth and have fallen away from all the grandeur of their race, will, because of their unbelief, be changed in the age to come as it were

[73] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8.3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 105.22–106.5): 'And in the same place: but according to us a vessel which was made, from antecedent merits, *unto honour*, if the work it has done is not worthy of its name, will be made a vessel *unto dishonour* in another age, and in reverse a vessel which, from a previous fault, has accepted the name of *dishonour* will, if it has willed to be corrected in this present life, become in the new creation a vessel *sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work*.'

[74] 1 Tim. 2:21.

righteous deeds, has become now a *vessel of honour*, but has not been doing similar things nor such as befits a *vessel of honour*, to become in another age a *vessel of dishonour*; as, on the other hand, it is possible for one who, on account of things older than this life, became here a *vessel of dishonour*, to become, when corrected in *the new creation*,[9] *a vessel of honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work*. And perhaps those who are now Israelites, not having lived worthily of their nobility, will be cast out from their race, being changed from *vessels of honour* into a *vessel of dishonour*; while many of the present Egyptians and Idumaeans who have come near to Israel, when they shall have borne more fruit, *shall enter into the Church of the Lord*,

[9] Gal. 6:15.

essent, a deo formati sunt et indignam uitam generis sui nobilitate gesserunt atque ab omni familiae suae generositate deciderunt, isti quodammodo ex *uasis honoris* pro incredulitate sua in saeculo uenturo in *uasa contumeliae* conuer-
735 tentur; et rursum multi, qui in hac uita inter Aegyptia uel Idumaea deputati sunt uasa, Israhelitarum fide ac conuersatione suscepta, cum opera Israhelitarum fecerint, *ecclesiam domini ingressi* in *reuelatione filiorum dei uasa honoris* existent. Ex quo magis conuenit regulae pietatis, ut credamus unumquemque rationabilium secundum propositum uel conuersationem suam aliquando ex
740 malis ad bona conuerti, aliquando a bonis ad mala decidere; nonnullos manere in bonis, alios uero etiam ad meliora proficere et semper ad superiora conscendere, usquequo ad summum omnium perueniant gradum; alios uero manere in malis uel, si diffundere se ultra in eis malitia coeperit, proficere in peius et usque ad ultimum profundum malitiae demergi.

745 Vnde et arbitrandum est possibile esse aliquos, qui primo quidem a paruis peccatis coeperint, in tantam malitiam diffundi et in tantum malorum uenire profectum, ut nequitiae modo etiam aduersariis potestatibus exaequentur; et rursum per multas poenarum graues et acerbissimas animaduersiones si resipiscere aliquando potuerint et paulatim medelam uulneribus suis requirere
750 temptauerint, cessante malitia reparari posse ad bonum. Ex quo opinamur, quoniam quidem, sicut frequentius diximus, immortalis est anima et aeterna, quod in multis et sine fine spatiis per inmensa et diuersa saecula possibile est, ut uel a summo bono ad infima mala descendat, uel ab ultimis malis ad summa bona reparetur.

3.1.23, lines 745–54

Jerome, Ep. *124.8.4–5 (ed. Hilberg 3, 106.5–21):*

Ego arbitror posse quosdam homines a paruis uitiis incipientes ad tantam nequitiam peruenire, si tamen noluerint ad meliora conuerti et per paenitentiam emendare peccata, ut et contrariae fortitudines fiant, et rursum ex inimicis contrariisque uirtutibus in tantum quosdam per multa tempora uulneribus suis adhibere medicinam et fluentia prius delicta constringere, ut ad locum transeant optimorum. Saepius diximus in infinitis perpetuisque saeculis, in quibus anima subsistit et uiuit, sic nonnullas earum ad peiora corruere, ut ultimum malitiae locum teneant, et sic quasdam proficere, ut de ultimo malitiae gradu ad perfectam ueniant consummatamque uirtutem.

735 inter : in terra δ 737 fecerunt B[ac] μ reuelationem γ 747 nequitiae : malitiae γ 749 medellam A[ac] C : medullam B μ

from *vessels of honour* into *vessels of dishonour*; and, on the other hand, many who in this life were counted among the Egyptian or Idumaean vessels, having accepted the faith and practice of the Israelites and having done the works of Israelites, having *entered the Church of the Lord* shall exist as *vessels of honour* in *the revelation of the sons of God*.[75] Therefore it is more agreeable to the rule of piety that we should believe that every rational being, according to his purpose and conduct, is sometimes turned from evil things to good ones and sometimes falls away from good things to evil ones; that some abide in good things, and others even advance to what is better and always ascend to higher things, until they reach the highest level of all; while others remain in evil things or, if the wickedness in them begins to spread itself further, they advance to a worse condition and sink to the lowest depth of wickedness.

Whence[76] also we must suppose that it is possible for some, who at first indeed began with small sins, to be so immersed in wickedness and to go to such lengths of evil that, in the measure of wickedness, they are equal even to the opposing powers; and, on the other hand, if, through many severe punishments and most bitter chastisements, they are able at some future point to recover their senses and attempt gradually to find healing for their wounds, they may, with wickedness ceasing, be restored to the good. From which we reckon that, since the soul, as we have frequently said, is immortal and eternal, it is possible that, in the many and endless periods in the immeasurable and different ages, it may descend from the highest good to the lowest evil or be restored from the lowest evil to the highest good.[77]

[75] Deut. 23:7–8; Rom. 8:19. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 11.7.

[76] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8.4–5 (ed. Hilberg 3, 106.5–21): 'And he immediately adds: I think that certain human beings, beginning with small faults, are able to arrive at such wickedness, if they have not willed to turn to better things and through repentance correct their sins, that they become opposing forces; and, in reverse, that hostile and contrary powers may, through the course of much time, apply such medicine to their wounds and check the flow of their former offences that they may cross over to the place of the good. As we have often said, in those countless and unceasing ages, in which the soul subsists and lives, some of them sink down towards the worse, until they hold the lowest place of wickedness, while some progress, such that they come, from the lowest level of wickedness, to the perfect and highest virtue.'

[77] In *Princ.* 2.3.3 the perpetual instability of rational creatures is discussed as a hypothesis; elsewhere, e.g. *Princ.* 3.6.3–6, Origen affirms a final unity when God will be 'all in all'. See also Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 5.10.

755 **3.1.24.** Verum quoniam sermo apostoli in his quidem quae de *uasis honoris* uel *contumeliae* dicit, quia *Si quis se ipsum mundauerit, erit uas ad honorem, sanctificatum et utile domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum*, nihil uidetur in deo posuisse, sed totum in nobis, in his uero in quibus ait: *Potestatem habet figulus luti de eadem massa facere aliud quidem uas ad honorem, aliud autem*

757 semper *post* bonum *add.* γ

εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου, οὐκ ἔτι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰδουμαῖοι εἶναι λελογισμένοι ἀλλ' ἐσόμενοι Ἰσραηλῖται· ὥστε κατὰ τοῦτο διὰ τὰς προαιρέσεις τινὰς μὲν ἐκ χειρόνων εἰς κρείττονα προκόπτειν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀπὸ κρειττόνων εἰς χείρονα καταπίπτειν, καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς
610 τηρεῖσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ καλῶν εἰς κρείττονα ἐπαναβαίνειν, ἄλλους τε αὖ τοῖς κακοῖς παραμένειν ἢ ἀπὸ κακῶν, χεομένης τῆς κακίας, χείρονας γίνεσθαι.

3.1.24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅπου μὲν ὁ ἀπόστολος οὐ προσποιεῖται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι **σκεῦος εἰς τιμὴν** ἢ **εἰς ἀτιμίαν**, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀναφέρει λέγων· **ἐὰν οὖν τις ἐκκαθάρῃ ἑαυτόν, ἔσται σκεῦος εἰς τιμήν,**
615 **ἡγιασμένον καὶ εὔχρηστον τῷ δεσπότῃ, εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον**, ὅπου δὲ οὐ προσποιεῖται τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρειν δοκεῖ φάσκων· **ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν**, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντιώματα τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνακτέον ἀμφότερα
620 καὶ ἕνα λόγον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τέλειον ἀποδοτέον· οὔτε τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν χωρὶς

608–9 ἑτέρους ... καταπίπτειν *om.* B 611 γενέσθαι B *post* γίνεσθαι *lacunam signavit Koe* 613 εἰς[2] *om.* ε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς *om.* ε 614 ἑαυτὸν ἐκκαθάρῃ Cat 615–6 ἡγιασμένον ... ἡτοιμασμένον *om.* Cat 620–2 οὔτε ... συνεισαγάγωμεν *om.* Cat 620 οὔτε : τοῦ τε B τὸ : τοῦ A

3.1.24. Now, since the words of the Apostle, in what he says regarding *vessels of honour* or *dishonour*, that, *if anyone purge himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work,*[78] seem to put nothing in the power of God, but all in ourselves, whereas in those [words] in which he says *The potter has power over the clay, to make out of the*

[78] 1 Tim. 2:21.

no longer being accounted Egyptians and Idumaeans, but becoming Israelites; so that, according to this view, through their [diverse] purposes some advance from worse things to better ones, while other fall from better things to worse ones; some again are preserved in good things or ascend from good things to better ones, while others remain in wicked things, or, as their wickedness flows on, from wicked become worse.

3.1.24. But since the Apostle in one place does not pretend that becoming *a vessel unto honour* or *a vessel unto dishonour* depends on God, but attributes the whole back to us, saying, *If anyone therefore purges himself from these, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and useful to the master, prepared for every good work,* and elsewhere does not pretend that it is within our power, but appears to attribute the whole to God, saying, *The potter has power over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour,* and as his statements are not contradictory, one must reconcile both and draw out from both a single complete account: neither is what is

760 *ad contumeliam*, totum uidetur ad deum rettulisse: non est accipiendum ista sibi esse contraria, sed uterque sensus ad unum uocandus, et e duobus unus effici debet intellectus, id est, ut neque ea, quae in nostro arbitrio sunt, putemus sine adiutorio dei effici posse, neque ea quae in dei manu sunt, putemus absque nostris actibus et studiis et proposito consummari; scilicet quo neque nos uel
765 uelle aliquid uel efficere ita in nostro habeamus arbitrio, ut non scire debeamus hoc ipsum quod possumus uel uelle uel efficere, a deo nobis datum esse secundum eam distinctionem, quam supra diximus; uel rursum cum deus fingit *uasa*, alia quidem *ad honorem*, alia uero *ad contumeliam*, putandum est quod honoris uel contumeliae causas tamquam materiam quandam nostras
770 uel uoluntates uel proposita uel merita habet, ex quibus singulos nostrum uel *ad honorem* uel *ad contumeliam* fingat, dum motus ipse animae et propositum mentis de se ipso suggerat illi, quem non latet cor et cogitatio animi, utrum *ad honorem* fingi uas eius, an *ad contumeliam* debeat. Sed sufficiant ista a nobis, prout potuimus, de liberi arbitrii quaestionibus agitata.

765 habemus B μ 767 uel : nec *corr. Koe* 769 non *post* quod *add.* B γ causa δ *Koe* 770 nostrorum B γ 773 a *om.* γ

τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ θεοῦ, οὔτε ἡ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ θεοῦ προκόπτειν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν τι συνεισαγάγωμεν, οὔτε τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν χωρὶς τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς καταχρήσεως τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ποιοῦντος **εἰς τιμὴν** *ἢ* **εἰς ἀτιμίαν** *γενέσθαι τινά, οὔτε*
625 *τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ μόνου κατασκευάζοντος* **εἰς τιμὴν** *ἢ* **εἰς ἀτιμίαν** *τινά, ἐὰν μὴ ὕλην τινὰ διαφορᾶς σχῇ τὴν ἡμετέραν προαίρεσιν, κλίνουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτάρκως ἡμῖν κατεσκευάσθω περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου.*

621 *οὔτε* : *οὐδὲ* B 621–3 *οὔτε … θεοῦ om.* A 622 *τῷ ἀγαθῷ* B *συνεισάγωμεν* A 624 *γενέσθαι om.* B 626–7 *ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα ἢ τὰ κρείττονα* Cat 627–8 *καὶ … αὐτεξουσίου om.* Cat 627 *ἡμῖν αὐτάρκως* C *κατεσκευάσθη* B

same lump one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour,[79] the whole seems to refer to God, these two statements cannot be taken as contradictory, but the meaning of each must be brought together into one, and a single sense must be drawn from both; that is, that neither should we suppose that those things which are in the power of our will can be done without the assistance of God, nor should we imagine that those things which are in the hand of God are brought to completion without our acts and endeavours and purpose. Indeed, we do not have it in the power of our will either to will or to do anything without being obliged to recognize that this very power by which we are able to will or to do was given to us by God, following the distinction which we spoke about above. Yet, on the other hand, when God forms *vessels*, some *unto honour* and others *unto dishonour*, it is to be supposed that he has, as grounds for honour or dishonour, our wills and purposes and merits, as a sort of matter from which he may form each one of us *unto honour* or *unto dishonour*, for the very movement of the soul and the purpose of the intellect of itself suggests to him, who is not unaware of the heart and the thoughts of the mind, whether his *vessel* ought to be formed *unto honour* or *unto dishonour*. But let these points suffice, which we have discussed as best we could, regarding questions concerning the freedom of the will.

[79] Rom. 9:21.

within our power apart from the skill of God; nor does the skill of God force us to make progress unless we ourselves contribute something to the good outcome; nor does what is within our power, apart from the skill of God and from the use of what is within our power with regard to virtue, make us become *unto honour* or *unto dishonour*; nor does what is within the power of God by itself fashion someone *unto honour* or *unto dishonour*, unless he has our purposes as a ground of difference, as it inclines either to better things or to worse things. And let these observations which we have elaborated on the subject of self-determination suffice.

De contrariis potestatibus

3.2.1. Videndum nunc est secundum scripturas, quomodo contrariae uirtutes uel ipse diabolus reluctantur humano generi, prouocantes et instigantes ad peccatum. Et primo quidem in Genesi serpens Euam seduxisse perscribitur: de
5 quo serpente in Ascensione Moysi, cuius libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Iudas, Michahel archangelus cum diabolo disputans de corpore Moysi ait a diabolo inspiratum serpentem causam extitisse praeuaricationis Adae et Euae. Sed et illud requiritur a quibusdam, quis est angelus qui de caelo loquitur ad Abraham dicens: *Nunc cognoui quoniam times tu deum et non*
10 *pepercisti filio tuo dilecto, quem dilexisti, pro me.* Manifeste enim angelus esse scribitur, qui dicit cognouisse se tunc quia timeret deum Abraham, et non pepercisset filio suo dilecto, sicut scriptura dicit, sed non declarauit quia pro deo, sed pro se, hoc est pro eo, qui haec dicebat. Requirendum etiam illud est, de quo in Exodo dicitur, quia uoluerit interficere Moysen pro eo quod abibat
15 in Aegyptum. Sed et postea quis est qui exterminator angelus dicitur, nec non et ille qui sit, qui in Leuitico scriptus est *apopompeus*, id est *transmissor*, de quo ita ait scriptura: *Sors una domino et sors una apopompeo* (id est *transmissori*)? Sed et in primo libro Regnorum spiritus pessimus Saulem dicitur offocare. In tertio uero libro Micheas propheta dicit: *Vidi deum Israhel sedentem super*
20 *thronum suum, et omnis militia caeli stabat circa ipsum a dextris eius et a sinistris eius. Et dixit dominus: Quis seducet Achab regem Israhel, ut ascendat et cadat in Remmat Galaat? Et dixit iste sic, et ille dixit sic. Et exiit spiritus, et stetit in conspectu domini, et dixit: Ego seducam eum. Et dixit ad eum dominus: In quo? Et dixit: Exeam, et ero spiritus mendax in ore omnium prophetarum ipsius.*
25 *Et dixit: Seduces, et quidem poteris. Exito ergo, et facito sic. Et nunc dedit dominus spiritum mendacem in ore omnium prophetarum tuorum; et dominus locutus est super te mala.* Manifeste enim per haec ostenditur uoluntate et

1 *titulus:* de contrariis potestatibus δ μ Ab *edd.* : de contrariis potestatibus quaeue sint istae et quomodo humano generi aduersentur β : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 18 offocare : suffocare C : effocare σ 18–19 in tertio uero libro : et in initio uero libro G M[ac] : in initio uero libri M[pc] : et in inicio uerorum libri Ab : et in initio uerorum librorum S 19 deum : dominum μ 22 remmot σ galaad β et stetit *post* galaat *add.* B et stetit *om.* B 25 facito : fac cito μ

The Opposing Powers

3.2.1.[1] We must now see how, according to Scripture, the opposing powers, or the devil himself, are engaged in struggle against the human race, inciting and instigating them to sin. First, a serpent is described in Genesis as having seduced Eve;[2] regarding this serpent, in the *Ascension of Moses*, a little work which the Apostle Jude mentions in his Epistle, the archangel Michael, when disputing with the devil regarding the body of Moses, says that the serpent was inspired by the devil to become the cause of the transgression of Adam and Eve.[3] This also is inquired about by some: who the angel is that speaks from heaven to Abraham, saying, *Now I know that you fear God, and for my sake you have not spared your beloved son.*[4] For clearly it is an angel that is described, who says that he then knew that Abraham feared God and had not spared his beloved son, as Scripture says, but he did not state that it was for the sake of God, but for his sake, that is, for the sake of him who said these things. We must also investigate who that one is, of whom it is said in Exodus, that he wished to kill Moses because he was departing from Egypt.[5] And also, later, who it is who is called the destroying angel,[6] and, as well, who it is who in Leviticus is described as *Apopompeus* (that is, *Averter*), of whom Scripture speaks thus, *One lot for the Lord and one lot for Apopompeus* (that is *Averter*).[7] Moreover, in the first book of Reigns, an evil spirit is said to throttle Saul.[8] And in the third book, Michaiah the prophet says, *I saw the God of Israel sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven stood near him, on his right and on his left. And the Lord said, 'Who will entice Ahab, king of Israel, that he will go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?' And one spoke this way, and another spoke that way. And a spirit came forward and stood before the Lord and said, 'I will entice him'. And the Lord said to him, 'By what means?' And he said, 'I will go forth and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.'*[9] *And he said, 'You will entice him and indeed you will prevail. Go, therefore, and do so'. And now the Lord has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these your prophets; and the Lord has spoken evil against you.*[10] It is clearly shown from this that a certain spirit, by his

[1] According to Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a12–13), *Princ.* 3, after dealing with free will, discusses 'how the devil and hostile powers, according to the Scriptures, wage war against the human race' (πῶς ὁ διάβολος καὶ αἱ ἀντικείμεναι δυνάμεις κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς στρατεύονται τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει).

[2] Gen. 3:1–6.

[3] Cf. Jude 9. The *Ascension of Moses* (or the *Assumption of Moses*) is now lost; for its relation to the *Testament of Moses*, see James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 925.

[4] Gen. 22:12.

[5] Cf. Exod. 4:24.

[6] Cf. Exod. 12:23. In *Hom. Num.* 3.4, the angel who struck down the firstborn of the Egyptians is identified with Christ himself; in *Cels.* 6.43 it is identified with Satan.

[7] Lev. 16:8. Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 6.43; *Hom. Lev.* 9.4.

[8] Cf. 1 Rgns 16:14. See also 1 Sam. 18:10, a verse not in the LXX, but one known to Origen as evidenced by the *Hexapla* (ed. Field, 1.519).

[9] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.256–67, esp. 258–61.

[10] 3 Rgns 22:19–23.

proposito suo elegisse spiritus quidam ut seduceret et mendacium operaretur, quo spiritu abutitur deus ad necem Achab, qui haec pati dignus erat. In primo quoque libro Paralipomenon: *Suscitauit* inquit *diabolus Satan in Israhel, et concitauit Dauid ut numeraret populum*. In Psalmis uero angelus malignus adterere dicitur quosdam. In Ecclesiaste quoque Salomon ait: *Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum non dimittas, quoniam sanitas conpescet peccata multa*. In Zacharia uero legimus diabolum stantem a dextris Iesu et resistentem ei. Esaias uero ait gladium dei insurgere super draconem, serpentem peruersum. Quid autem dicam de Hiezechiel in secunda uisione ad principem Tyri manifestissime de uirtute contraria prophetante, qui etiam in fluminibus Aegypti draconem dicit habitare? Totus autem liber, qui scriptus est de Iob, quid aliud quam de diabolo continet, petente potestatem sibi dari omnium, quae habet Iob, et filiorum eius, insuper et corporis eius? Qui tamen per eius patientiam uincitur. In quo libro multa responsis suis edocuit dominus de aduersante nobis uirtute draconis istius. Haec interim ex ueteri testamento, quantum ad praesens memoriae succurrere potuit, dicta sint de eo, quod contrariae uirtutes uel nominantur in scripturis uel humano generi dicuntur aduersari, postmodum puniendae.

Videamus autem et in nouo testamento, ubi Satanas ad saluatorem accedit, temptans eum; spiritus uero maligni et daemonia inmunda, quae aliquantos obsederant, fugata sunt a saluatore de corporibus patientum, qui et liberati ab eo dicuntur. Sed et Iudas, cum iam diabolus misisset in cor eius ut traderet Christum, postea etiam totum Satanan suscepit in sese; scriptum est enim quia *Post bucellam introiuit in eum Satanas*. Paulus uero apostolus docet nos *non debere dare locum diabolo*, sed *Induite* inquit *arma dei, ut possitis resistere aduersum astutias diaboli*, designans *luctamen* esse sanctis *non aduersum carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersum principatus, aduersum potestates, aduersum mundi huius rectores tenebrarum, aduersum spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus*. Sed et saluatorem crucifixum esse dicit a principibus huius mundi, qui destruentur, quorum etiam sapientiam dicit se non loqui. Per haec igitur omnia docet nos scriptura diuina esse quosdam inuisibiles hostes, dimicantes aduersum nos, et praecipit armari nos debere contra eos. Vnde et simpliciores quique domino Christo credentium existimant quod omnia peccata quaecumque commiserint homines, ex istis contrariis uirtutibus mentem delinquentium perurgentibus fiant, pro eo quod in certamine isto inuisibili superiores inueniantur potestates. Quodsi, uerbi causa, diabolus non esset, nemo hominum omnino delinqueret.

28 se *post* elegisse *add.* σ   29 spiritu *om.* γ   abutetur G M^{ac} : abuteretur σ   deus : dominus γ   30 diabolum δ S^{pc} 33 non : ne μ Ab S^{pc} *Koe*   34 stantem *om.* γ   36 peruersum : tortuosum β   dicat G M^{ac} σ   43 potuerunt γ   sunt γ   48 patientium A *Koe*   50 satanam C G M^{ac} σ   51 buccellam B G μ   53 aduersum^{1} : aduersus γ   54 aduersum^{1} : aduersus δ B   aduersum^{2} : aduersus δ   aduersum^{3} : adersus G M^{pc} σ   55 huius *om.* γ   59 praecepit δ : precepit μ   *ante* unde *add. titulum:* quod non omne quod delinquunt homines diabolo adscribendum est, sed quaedam, immo quam plurima ex humanis uitiis exordium sumant, etiamsi finem diabolo cooperante percipiant β   et *om.* δ C   62 potestates: putantes α

own will and purpose, chose to deceive and to work a lie, and that God makes use of this spirit for the death of Ahab, who deserved to suffer this. In the first book of Supplements, also, it is said, *The devil raised up Satan in Israel and incited David to number the people.*[11] In the Psalms an evil angel is said to oppress certain people.[12] In Ecclesiastes, also, Solomon says, *If the spirit of one holding authority rise up against you, do not leave your place, for healing will restrain many transgressions.*[13] In Zechariah we read that the devil stood at the right hand of Jesus and opposed him.[14] Isaiah says that the sword of the Lord arises against the dragon, the crooked serpent.[15] And what shall I say of Ezekiel, prophesying most clearly in the second vision to the prince of Tyre about an opposing power, who also says that the dragon dwells in the rivers of Egypt?[16] And as for the entire book written about Job, what else does it contain but an account of the devil, seeking for power to be given to him over all that Job possesses, and over his sons, and even over his own body? He is conquered, however, by Job's patience. In that book the Lord, by his answers, has taught a great deal about the power of that dragon which opposes us. These, for the present, are the statements from the Old Testament, as far as we are able to call them to memory at the moment, concerning the opposing powers, which are either named in Scripture or said to oppose the human race, and [are] afterwards punished.

Let us also look to the New Testament, where Satan approaches the Saviour, tempting him;[17] and where evil spirits and unclean demons, which had taken possession of many, were expelled by the Saviour from the bodies of the sufferers, who are said to have been set free by him.[18] Judas, also, when the devil had already put it into his heart to betray Christ, afterwards received Satan wholly into himself; for it is written that *after the morsel, Satan entered into him.*[19] And the Apostle Paul teaches us that we ought *not to give place to the devil, but put on*, he says, *the armour of God, that you may be able to resist the wiles of the devil*, pointing out that the saints *wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the authorities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.*[20] Further, he says that the Saviour was crucified by the principalities of this world, who are brought down, whose wisdom also, he says, he does not speak.[21] Through all these passages, therefore, the divine Scripture teaches us that there are certain invisible enemies, fighting against us, and warns us that we ought to arm ourselves against them. From this, also, the simpler ones of those who believe in the Lord Christ suppose that every sin which human beings have committed results from the persistent efforts of the opposing powers upon the minds of transgressors, because in this invisible struggle these powers are found to be superior; but that if, for example, there were no devil, no human being would transgress.

[11] 1 Suppl. 21:1, conflated with 3 Rgns 11:14.
[12] Cf. Ps. 34:5–6.
[13] Eccl. 10:4.
[14] Cf. Zech. 3:1. In the Greek of the LXX 'Joshua' is 'Jesus'.
[15] Cf. Isa. 27:1. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.8.3.
[16] Cf. Ezek. 29:3. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.4.
[17] Cf. Matt. 4:1–11; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:1–13.
[18] Cf. Mark 1:23–8; 32–4, etc.
[19] John 13:2, 27.
[20] Eph. 4:27; 6:11–12.
[21] Cf. 1 Cor. 2:6–8.

3.2.2. Nos uero rationem diligentius intuentes, haud ita esse arbitramur, considerantes ea, quae manifeste ex corporali necessitate descendunt. An uero putandum est quod diabolus esuriendi uel sitiendi causa nobis existat? Neminem puto esse qui hoc audeat confirmare. Si ergo esuriendi et sitiendi non nobis ipse fit causa, quid illud, cum uniuscuiusque aetas ad uirilitatis tempus aduenerit et naturalis caloris incentiua suggesserit? Consequens sine dubio est ut, sicut esuriendi et sitiendi causa diabolus non est, ita ne eius quidem motus, qui adultae aetati naturaliter suggeritur, id est adpetendi coitus desiderium. Quam causam non utique semper a diabolo moueri certum est, ita ut putandum sit quia, si diabolus non esset, huiuscemodi admixtionis desiderium corpora non haberent. Tum deinde consideremus si, ut superius ostendimus, cibus hominibus non ex diabolo sed naturali quodam appetitur instinctu, utrum posset fieri ut, si diabolus non esset, humana experientia tanta in percipiendo cibo disciplina uteretur, ut numquam penitus excederet modum, id est ut uel aliter quam res posceret uel amplius quam ratio indulgeret acciperet, et numquam eueniret hominibus in seruando cibi modo mensuraque delinquere. Ego quidem non arbitror haec ab hominibus ita potuisse seruari, etiamsi nulla diaboli prouocasset instinctio, ut in percipiendo cibo modum disciplinamque nullus excederet, priusquam id usu longo atque experientia didicissent. Quid igitur est? In escis quidem et potu possibile erat delinquere nos etiam sine diaboli incitamentis, si forte minus continentes uel minus industrii fuissemus inuenti: in adpetendo uero coitu uel naturalibus desideriis temperandis putandum est quod non simile aliquid pateremur? Arbitror autem quod eadem rationis consequentia etiam in ceteris naturalibus motibus possit intellegi cupiditatis uel irae uel tristitiae uel omnibus omnino, quae per intemperantiae uitium modum mensurae naturalis excedunt.

Euidens igitur ratio est quia, sicut in bonis rebus humanum propositum solum per se ipsum inperfectum est ad consummationem boni (adiutorio namque diuino ad perfecta quaeque perducitur): ita etiam in contrariis initia quidem et uelut quaedam semina peccatorum ab his rebus, quae in usu naturaliter habentur, accipimus; cum uero indulserimus ultra quam satis est, et non restiterimus aduersum primos intemperantiae motus, tunc primi huius delicti accipiens locum uirtus inimica instigat et perurget omni modo studens profusius dilatare peccata, nobis quidem hominibus occasiones et initia praebentibus peccatorum, inimicis autem potestatibus latius ea et longius et si

68 illud : aliud *Del* **74** si ut : sicut α G **88** <in> *ante* omnibus *add. Del Koe*
91 adiutorio : adiumento β **93** quidem : quideam M^{pc} 97 quidem nobis γ

3.2.2. We, however, examining the rationale of things more carefully, do not at all hold this to be so, by considering those acts which clearly arise from bodily necessity. Must one indeed suppose that the devil is the cause of our being hungry or thirsty? There is no one, I think, who would venture to maintain that! If, then, he is not the cause of our being hungry and thirsty, what of that condition when the age of an individual has reached the period of virility and this has aroused the stimulations of the natural heat? It undoubtedly follows that, as the devil is not the cause of our being hungry and thirsty, so neither is he the cause of that impulse which is naturally aroused at the age of maturity, that is the desire yearning for sexual intercourse. It is certain that this impulse is by no means always aroused by the devil, such that it should be supposed that, if the devil did not exist, bodies would not have the desire for intercourse of that kind. Then again, let us consider—if, as we have shown above, food is desired by human beings, not from [the prompting of] the devil, but by a kind of natural instinct—whether it could happen that, if there were no devil, human experience could employ such restraint in the partaking of food that it never exceeds due measure at all, that is, [that human beings would] never take otherwise than the occasion required or more than reason allowed, so that it would never happen that human beings go astray in observing due measure and moderation of their food. I do not, indeed, think that, even if there were no incitement aroused by the devil, this could be observed by human beings—that no one, in partaking of food, exceed due measure and restraint—before they had learned to do so from long practice and experience. What, then, is the result? In the case of eating and drinking it was possible for us to go astray even apart from the instigation of the devil, if we happened to be found being less continent or less diligent; in the case of moderating the yearning for sexual union or the natural desires, is it to be supposed that we should not be affected in a similar way? I reckon that the same train of reasoning can be understood in the case of other natural movements, as of covetousness, or of anger, or of sorrow, or of all those generally which through the vice of intemperance exceed the natural measure of moderation.

The principle, therefore, is clear that, just as in good things, the human intention alone is, of itself, incapable of the accomplishment of any good (for everything is brought to perfection by divine assistance[22]), so also in opposite things, we receive certain beginnings and, as it were, seeds of sin from those things that we naturally have for our use; but, when we have indulged them beyond what is sufficient and have not resisted the first movements towards intemperance, then the hostile power, seizing the opportunity of this first transgression, incites and presses hard in every way, striving to extend sins more profusely—we human beings providing the occasions and beginnings of sins, while hostile powers spread them far and wide, and, if possible, beyond

[22] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.1.19.

fieri potest absque ullo fine propagantibus. Ita denique in auaritiam lapsus
100 efficitur, cum primo homines parum quid pecuniae desiderant, deinde augescente uitio cupiditas increscit. Post haec iam etiam cum caecitas menti ex passione successerit, inimicis uirtutibus suggerentibus ac perurgentibus, pecunia iam non desideratur, sed rapitur et ui aut etiam sanguinis humani profusione conquiritur. Ad certiorem denique rei fidem, quod inmensitates
105 istae uitiorum a daemonibus ueniant, contemplari et ex eo facile potest, quod nihil minus his, qui corporaliter a daemonibus uexantur, etiam illi patiuntur, qui uel immoderatis amoribus uel irae intemperantia uel nimietate tristitiae perurgentur. Nam et in nonnullis historiis refertur quod in insaniam quidam ex amore deciderint, alii ex iracundia, nonnulli etiam ex tristitia uel nimio gaudio;
110 quod arbitror eo accidere, quia contrariae istae uirtutes, id est daemones, loco sibi in eorum mentibus dato, quem intemperantia prius patefecerit, sensum eorum penitus possederint, maxime cum nulla eos ad resistendum uirtutis gloria concitarit.

3.2.3. Quod autem sint quaedam peccata, quae non a contrariis uirtutibus
115 ueniant, sed ex naturalibus corporis motibus initium sumant, manifestissime declarat apostolus Paulus in eo cum dicit: *Caro concupiscit aduersum spiritum, spiritus autem aduersum carnem; haec inuicem sibi resistunt, ut non quae uultis illa faciatis.* Si ergo caro concupiscit aduersum spiritum et spiritus aduersum carnem est nobis aliquando *conluctatio aduersum carnem et sanguinem*, id est,
120 cum homines sumus et *secundum carnem ambulamus*, et cum non possumus temptari in maioribus temptationibus quam humanis, cum dicitur de nobis quia *Temptatio uos non conpraehendat nisi humana. Fidelis autem est deus, qui non permittet uos temptari supra id quod potestis.* Sicut enim hi, qui agonibus praesunt, eos, qui ad certamen ueniunt, non utcumque neque fortuito inter se
125 sinunt inire certamina, sed diligenti examinatione prout uel corpora uiderint uel aetates, aequissima conparatione iungentes illum cum illo et illum cum illo, uerbi gratia, pueros cum pueris, uiros cum uiris, qui inter se uel aeui uel roboris propinquitate conueniant: ita intellegendum est etiam de diuina prouidentia quod omnes, qui in hos humanae uitae descenderint agones, iustissima
130 moderatione dispenset secundum rationem uniuscuiusque uirtutis, quam ipse solus, qui solus corda hominum intuetur, agnoscit; ut alius quidem pugnet aduersum carnem talem, alius uero aduersum talem, et alius quidem in tantum tempus, alius uero in tantum, et ut alter instigetur a carne in hoc uel illud, alius uero in aliud; tum uero ut alius resistat aduersum inimicam potestatem illam

101 mentis γ **109** etiam *om.* γ **110** eo : ideo M^{pc} **117** aduersum : aduersus B γ **118** aduersum^{2} *corr. Koe Sim Fern* : aduersus ω *Goe* **119** conluctatio : lucta A^{ac} W^{ac} : luctamen A^{pc} W^{pc} **122** compraehendat B : praehendat A : comprehendit C : conpraehendit μ deus est δ **123** permittat α μ *ante* sicut *add. titulum*: de diuersitatibus temptationum uel agonum β **133** a *om.* γ

any limit.[23] Thus, when human beings first desire money a little, then their greed increases as the vice grows, the fall into avarice finally takes place. After this, when blindness of mind has succeeded passion, and with the hostile powers prompting and urging vehemently, money is no longer desired but stolen and acquired by force or even by the shedding of human blood. Finally, a sure proof of the fact that these enormities of vices come from the demons may easily be seen from this, that those who are driven either by immoderate love or uncontrollable anger or excessive sorrow do not suffer less than those who are vexed bodily by demons. For it is related in certain histories that some have fallen into insanity from love, others from anger, not a few from sorrow or excessive joy; I think that this happens because those opposing powers, that is, those demons, having been given a place in their minds, already laid open by intemperance, have taken complete possession of their intelligence, especially when no glory of virtue has roused them to resistance.

3.2.3. That there are certain sins, however, which do not come from the opposing powers but take their beginnings from the natural movements of the body is clearly stated by the Apostle Paul in the place where he says, *The flesh lusts against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh; these oppose one another, so that you cannot do that which you would.*[24] If, then, the flesh lusts against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, we occasionally have *to wrestle against flesh and blood*,[25] that is, when we are human beings and *walking according to the flesh*,[26] and when we cannot be tempted with temptations greater than human, when it is said of us, that *no temptation has seized you except what is human. But God is faithful; he will not let you be tempted beyond that of which you are capable.*[27] For just as those who preside over the games do not allow those who come to the games to enter the competitions against each other either indiscriminately or by chance, but, after they have inspected them by a careful examination of either size or age, pairing most equitably this one with that and that one with this, for example, boys with boys and men with men, who are suited to one another by closeness in age or strength; so also must it be understood of divine providence, which arranges all who descend into the struggles of this human life with the most just measure, according to the character of each individual's strength, which is known only to him who alone beholds the hearts of human beings, so that one fights against a flesh of one kind, another against another kind; one for so long a time, another for so long; one is incited by the flesh to this or that, another to something else; one struggles against this or that hostile power,

[23] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2.4; *Comm. Jo.* 20.176–84, 378–80; *Comm. Matt.* 12.40; 13.23; *Hom. Num.* 20.3.

[24] Gal. 5:17. In *Frag. Eph.* 33, a propos of Eph. 6:12, Origen seems to attribute to the adverse powers even the temptations which arise from flesh and blood.

[25] Eph. 6:12. [26] 1 Cor. 3:4; 2 Cor. 10:2. [27] 1 Cor. 10:13.

135 uel illam, alius uero aduersum duas uel tres simul, aut nunc quidem aduersum
aliam nunc iterum aduersum aliam, et certo quo tempore aduersum illam et
certo quo aduersum aliam, uel post quae gesta aduersum quas pugnet, post
quae uero aduersum alias. Intuere enim ne forte tale aliquid indicetur per hoc,
quod dixit apostolus: *Fidelis autem est deus, qui non permittet uos temptari*
140 *supra id quod potestis*, id est, pro eo quod singuli pro uirtutis suae quantitate
uel possibilitate temptantur.

Nec tamen quoniam diximus iusto dei iudicio unumquemque pro uirtutis
suae quantitate temptari, idcirco putandum est quia omni genere debeat
uincere qui temptatur; sicut ne ille quidem, qui in agone contendit, quamuis
145 aequa moderatione conparatus sit aduersario, non tamen omni genere uincere
poterit. Verum nisi aequalis fuerit concertantium uirtus, non erit iusta palma
uincentis, nec iuste culpabitur uictus; propter quod permittit nos quidem deus
temptari, non tamen supra id quod possumus: pro uiribus enim nostris
temptamur. Nec tamen scriptum est quia faciet in temptatione etiam exitum
150 sustinendi, sed exitum ut sustinere possimus, id est: ipse praestat, ut sustinere
possimus. Vt uero hoc, quod posse nobis ipse dedit, uel strenue uel segniter
impleamus, in nobis est. Dubium enim non est quod in omni temptatione
adest nobis tolerandi uirtus, si tamen nos conpetenter utamur uirtute concessa.
Non enim idem est habere uincendi uirtutem et uincere, sicut ipse apostolus
155 cautissimo sermone <de>signauit dicens quia *dabit deus exitum, ut sustinere*
possitis, non: ut sustineatis. Multi enim non sustinent, sed in temptatione
uincuntur. A deo autem datur non ut sustineamus (alioquin nullum iam
uideretur esse certamen), sed ut *sustinere* possimus.

Ea autem uirtute, quae nobis data est ut uincere possimus, secundum liberi
160 arbitrii facultatem aut industrie utimur et uincimus, aut segniter et superamur. Si
enim totum nobis hoc detur, ut omni genere superemus, id est, ut nullo modo
uincamur, quae iam superest causa certandi ei, qui uinci non potest? aut quod
palmae meritum, ubi repugnanti adimitur uincendi facultas? Si uero aeque
quidem omnibus nobis uincendi possibilitas praebeatur, in nostra autem sit
165 positum potestate, quomodo hac possibilitate uti debeamus, id est uel industrie
uel segniter, iusta erit uel uicti culpa uel palma uictoris. Igitur ex his, quae pro
uiribus nostris disputata sunt, arbitror quod euidenter apparuit esse quaedam
delicta, quae nequaquam malignis uirtutibus perurgentibus committamus, alia
uero esse quae instinctu earum ad nimietatem quandam immoderationemque
170 prouocentur. Vnde consequens est nunc inquirere, quomodo ipsae contrariae
uirtutes haec ipsa incitamenta operentur in nobis.

138 aduersum : aduersus δ M **139** est autem δ M permittit C : permittat *Sim* **147** deus *om.* γ **152** impleamus : ministremus β **155** <de>signauit *corr. Koe Sim Fern* **163** repugnandi δ **164–5** positum sit γ

another against two or three at once, or now against one and now again against another, and at one particular time against one and at another against another; or after certain acts one fights against certain powers, after other acts against other powers. For consider whether some such arrangement is not indicated by that which the Apostle says, *God is faithful; he will not let you be tempted beyond that of which you are capable*, that is, because each one is tempted in proportion to the amount or possibility of his strength.[28]

However, although we have said that by the just judgement of God everyone is tempted in proportion to the amount of his strength, it is not to be supposed that therefore he who is tempted ought to be victorious in every case; just as neither will he who contends in the games, even though he is paired with an opponent of equal measure, nevertheless be able to be victorious in every case. Yet, unless the strength of the combatants are equal, the victor's palm will not justly be won, nor will the vanquished be justly blamed; for this reason, God indeed allows us to be tempted, but not beyond that of which we are capable, for we are tempted in proportion to our strength. Nor is it written, however, that in temptation he will also make a way out from bearing it, but a way out so that we might be able to bear it; that is, he gives us the ability to bear it. But whether we apply this power that he has given us strenuously or slothfully depends upon ourselves. There is no doubt that in every temptation we have the strength to bear it, if only we use to the full the strength granted to us. For to possess the strength of conquering is not the same thing as to conquer, as the Apostle himself has shown in very careful language, saying, *God will give a way out, that you may be able to bear it*,[29] not that you will bear it. For many do not bear it, but are conquered in temptation. It is not given by God that we will bear it (otherwise there would appear to be no struggle), but that we may be able *to bear it*.

But this strength, which is given to us that we may be able to conquer, we employ, according to the faculty of free will, either strenuously and we conquer, or slothfully and we are defeated. For if it were given to us so completely that we would be superior in every case, and in no way be defeated, what reason would remain for struggling to one who is not able to be overcome? Or what merit is there in the palm of victory, when the ability to conquer is removed from the opponent? But if the possibility of conquering is bestowed equally upon us all, while how to use this possibility is within our own power, that is, either strenuously or slothfully, then justly will the conquered be censured and the palm given to the victorious. From these considerations, then, which have been discussed to the best of our power, I think that it is clearly evident that there are certain transgressions that we commit quite apart from the urging of wicked powers, and others which are aroused to excess and immoderation at their instigation. From this it follows for us now to inquire how those opposing powers produce these incitements within us.

[28] For other examples of such confidence, see Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 16.6; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 4.1; *Cels.* 8.27; *Or.* 29.

[29] 1 Cor. 10:13.

3.2.4. Cogitationes, quae de corde nostro procedunt (uel memoria quorumcumque gestorum uel quarumlibet rerum causarumque contemplatio), inuenimus quod aliquotiens ex nobis ipsis procedant, aliquotiens a contrariis
175 uirtutibus concitentur, interdum etiam a deo uel a sanctis angelis inmittantur. Verum haec ita esse fabulosum fortasse uidebitur, nisi scripturae diuinae testimoniis fuerit conprobatum. Quod ergo cogitatio oriatur ex nobis, Dauid testatur in psalmis dicens: *Quia cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi, et reliquiae cogitationum diem festum agent tibi.* Quod autem et a contrariis uirtutibus fieri
180 soleat, Salomon in Ecclesiaste testatur hoc modo: *Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne relinquas, quoniam sanitas conpescit peccata multa.* Et Paulus apostolus de his eisdem testimonium dabit dicens: *Cogitationes destruentes et omnem elationem, quae se extollit aduersum scientiam Christi.* Ex deo autem quod fiat, Dauid nihilominus testatur in Psalmis hoc modo: *Beatus*
185 *uir, cuius est susceptio eius apud te, domine, ascensus in corde eius.* Et apostolus dicit quoniam *Deus dedit in corde Titi.* Quod uero etiam per angelos uel bonos uel malos aliqua humanis cordibus suggerantur, designat uel Tobiam angelus comitatus uel prophetae sermo dicentis: *Et respondit angelus, qui loquebatur in me*; sed et Pastoris liber haec eadem declarat docens quod bini angeli singulos
190 quosque hominum comitentur, et si quando bonae cogitationes cor nostrum ascenderint, a bono angelo suggeri dicit, si quando uero contrariae, mali angeli esse dicit instinctum. Eadem quoque etiam Barnabas in epistola sua declarat, cum duas uias esse dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum, quibus etiam praeesse certos quosque angelos dicit: uiae quidem lucis angelos dei, tenebrarum autem
195 uiae angelos Satanae. Nihil tamen aliud putandum est accidere nobis ex his, quae cordi nostro suggeruntur bonis uel malis, nisi commotionem solam et incitamentum prouocans nos uel ad bona uel ad mala. Possibile autem nobis est, cum maligna uirtus prouocare nos coeperit ad malum, abicere a nobis prauas suggestiones et resistere persuasionibus pessimis et nihil prorsus
200 culpabiliter gerere; et rursum possibile est ut, cum nos diuina uirtus ad meliora prouocauerit, non sequamur, liberi arbitrii potestate nobis in utroque seruata.

172 *ante* cogitationes *add. titulum:* quantis uel qualibus modis siue ad bonum siue ad malum cogitatio humana moueatur β   182 eisdem : disem G M^{ac} : hisdem σ   187 designant δ
196 commonitionem A^{pc} W C M σ   201 utraque μ

3.2.4. We find that thoughts which proceed out of the heart[30] (whether a memory of things we have done or a contemplation of any thing and cause whatsoever), sometimes proceed from ourselves, and sometimes are aroused by the opposing powers, and occasionally are also implanted by God or by the holy angels.[31] This might perhaps appear to be incredible unless it be proved by testimonies from the divine Scripture. That, therefore, a thought may arise within ourselves, is testified by David in the Psalms, saying, *The thought of a human being will acknowledge you, and a remnant of thought shall hold a day of festival to you.*[32] That it may also happen from the opposing powers, is testified by Solomon in the book of Ecclesiastes, in this way, *If the spirit of one holding authority rise up against you, leave not your place, for healing will restrain great offences.*[33] And the Apostle Paul will bear testimony to the same point, saying, *Casting down thoughts and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of Christ.*[34] That it might be due to God is no less testified by David in the Psalms, in this way, *Blessed is the man whose help is from you, O Lord; ascents are in his heart.*[35] And the Apostle says that *God put it in the heart of Titus.*[36] That some thoughts are suggested to human hearts either by good or evil angels is shown both by the angel that accompanied Tobias[37] and by the word of the prophet, saying, *And the angel who was speaking in me answered;*[38] and the book of *The Shepherd* asserts the same thing, teaching that two angels accompany each human being, and that whenever good thoughts arise in our hearts it says they are suggested by the good angel, but when of a contrary kind it says it is the instigation of the evil angel.[39] The same is asserted by Barnabas in his Epistle, where he says there are two ways, one of light and one of darkness, over which he says certain angels preside: the angels of God over the way of light, and the angels of Satan over the way of darkness.[40] It must be understood, however, that nothing else happens to us as a result of the things suggested to our heart, whether good or bad, but a mere agitation and incitement arousing us either to good or to evil. For it is possible for us, when an evil power has begun to incite us to evil, to cast away from us the wicked suggestions and to resist the base enticements and to do nothing at all worthy of blame; and, on the other hand it is possible that, when a divine power arouses us to better things, we do not follow it, our faculty of free will being preserved in both cases.

[30] Cf. Matt. 15:18–19. Origen equates the biblical term 'heart' with the Platonic term 'mind' (νοῦς) and with the Stoic 'guiding principle' (ἡγεμονικόν); for the former, see *Princ.* 1.1.9; *Frag. Jo.* 13 (GCS 4, p. 495); *Cels.* 6.69; for the latter, see *Or.* 29.2; *Hom. Jer.* 5.15; *Comm. Cant.* 1 (GCS 8, p. 93).

[31] On 'guardian angels' see also Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.1 (and the material cited in n.5 there); 2.10.7.

[32] Ps. 75:11. [33] Eccl. 10:4. [34] 2 Cor. 10:4–5, which has 'God' rather than 'Christ'.

[35] Ps. 83:6. [36] 2 Cor. 8:16. [37] Cf. Tobit 5:5ff. [38] Zech. 1:14.

[39] Hermas, *Mand.* 6.2. [40] *Barn.* 18.

Dicebamus sane in superioribus quod etiam memoriae nobis quaedam uel bonorum uel malorum suggerantur, siue per diuinam prouidentiam siue per uirtutes contrarias; sicut ostenditur in libro Hester, cum beneficia iustissimi uiri Mardochaei Artaxerses non meminisset et nocturnis uigiliis fatigatus a deo in memoriam recepisset rerum gestarum monumenta chartis mandata requirere; in quibus de beneficiis Mardochaei ammonitus inimicum quidem eius Aman suspendi iuberet, ipsi honores magnificos, uniuersae uero sanctorum genti salutem periculo iam imminente conferret. Per contrariam uero diaboli uirtutem memoriae pontificum et scribarum putandum est esse suggestum illud, quod uenientes ad Pilatum dixerunt: *Domine, recordati sumus quoniam seductor ille dixit, dum adhuc uiueret, quia post tertiam diem resurgam.* Sed et Iudas quod de proditione saluatoris cogitauit, non fuit a sola mentis eius malitia ueniens. Testata est enim scriptura quia *Diabolus inmisisset in cor eius ut traderet eum.* Propter quod et Salomon recte praecipit dicens: *Omni custodia serua tuum cor*, et Paulus apostolus <cum> ait: *Amplius debemus intendere his, quae audiuimus, ne forte effluamus*, et cum dicit: *Nolite dare locum diabolo*, ostendens per hoc quia certo quo opere uel certa qua desidia animi locus diabolo datur ut cum semel ingressus fuerit cor nostrum, aut obtineat nos aut certe uel polluat animam, si non penitus obtinere potuerit, cum ignita sua iacula iactat in nos; quibus aliquando quidem in altum descendente uulnere sauciamur, aliquando uero tantummodo inflammamur. Raro certe et a paucis quibusdam haec eius ignita iacula restinguuntur, ita ut locum uulneris non inueniant, id est, cum quis munitissimo et ualidissimo scuto fidei fuerit obtectus. Quod uero dictum est in epistola ad Ephesios: *Quia non est nobis conluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersum principatus, aduersum potestates, aduersus mundi huius rectores tenebrarum harum, aduersum spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus*: ita oportebit intellegi quod dixit nobis, id est mihi Paulo et uobis Ephesiis et quibuscumque *non est conluctatio cum carne et sanguine*; his etenim certamen est *aduersum principatus et potestates, aduersus mundi huius rectores tenebrarum*, non sicut erat Corinthiis, quibus certamen adhuc *aduersus carnem et sanguinem* erat, quos temptatio non adprehenderat nisi humana.

203 uel malorum *om.* γ   208 ipsi : ipso μ : ipsi autem σ   216 <cum> *suppl. Koe Sim Goe Fern*   217 locum dare γ   222 a *om.* A^{ras} B   225 *ante* quod uero *add. titulum:* quod temptationes hominibus non sine deo ueniant et mensuras et tempus et modum certaminis et quis homo aduersum quem ex principibus uel potestatibus uel rectoribus mundi certare debeat ipse statuat β   228 oportebat μ Ab : opportebat   230 principatum G M^{ac} σ   231 huius *om.* A^{ac} σ   erat *om.* β   in *ante* corinthiis *add.* δ *Koe Goe*

We were saying, in the above, that certain memories of either good or evil actions were suggested to us, either by divine providence or by the opposing powers; just as it is shown in the book of Esther, when Artaxerxes had not remembered the benefits rendered by that righteous man Mordecai, and, when worn out by sleepless nights, the idea had arisen in his mind by God to request that the memorial of the great deeds in the records be brought; being reminded by them of the benefits rendered by Mordecai, he ordered his enemy Haman to be hanged, and he granted splendid honours to Mordecai and safety to the whole race of saints from the impending danger.[41] On the other hand, it must be supposed that it was the power of the devil that suggested to the minds of the high priests and scribes what they said when coming before Pilate, '*Sir, we remember that the deceiver said, while he was yet alive, that after three days I will rise again.*'[42] And, when Judas had the idea about betraying the Saviour, it did not come solely from the wickedness of his mind, for Scripture testifies that *The devil put it into his heart to betray him.*[43] And therefore Solomon rightly gave a precept, saying, *Keep your heart with all vigilance*;[44] and the Apostle Paul, <when> he says, *We must pay closer attention to what we hear, lest perhaps we drift away*,[45] and when he says, *Give no place to the devil*,[46] shows by that injunction that through certain acts or a kind of sloth of the mind a place is given to the devil, so that once he has entered into our heart he either takes possession of us or at least pollutes the soul, if he was not able to take complete possession of it, by throwing his flaming darts at us,[47] with which we are sometimes wounded with a wound that penetrates deeply, and at other times we are merely inflamed. Seldom indeed and only by a few persons are these flaming darts quenched, so as not to find a place for a wound, that is, when one has been covered by the most secure and most robust shield of faith.[48] What is said in the Epistle to the Ephesians—*We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the authorities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places*[49]—must be understood such that 'we' means 'I, Paul, and you Ephesians and whoever does *not wrestle against flesh and blood*'; for such the struggle is *against principalities and authorities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world*, not as it was for the Corinthians, whose struggle was still *against flesh and blood* and whom no temptation had seized, except what is human.[50]

[41] Cf. Esther 6–8. [42] Matt. 27:63. [43] John 13:2. [44] Prov. 4:23.
[45] Heb. 2:1. [46] Eph. 4:27. [47] Cf. Eph. 6:16. [48] Cf. Eph. 6:16.
[49] Eph. 6:12.
[50] Cf. 1 Cor. 10.13. Cf. Origen, *Fr.Eph.* 33 (on 6:12): 'I think *against flesh and blood* refers to those temptations he calls *human*.'

3.2.5. Nec tamen putandum est quod singuli quique aduersum omnia haec decertent. Inpossibile enim id esse arbitror ulli hominum, quamuis ille sit sanctus, ut aduersum omnia haec simul possit habere certamen. Quodsi ullo modo id accidat, quod certe fieri non potest, inpossibile est ut id prorsus ferre possit humana natura sine maxima subuersione sui. Sed sicut, uerbi gratia, quinquaginta aliqui milites si dicant sibi imminere certamen aduersum alios quinquaginta, non ita intellegendum est quod unus ex ipsis aduersum quinquaginta dimicaturus sit, sed recte quidem dicit unusquisque ipsorum quia certamen nobis est aduersum quinquaginta, omnibus tamen aduersum omnes: ita etiam hoc audiendum est, quod apostolus dicit, quod uniuersis athletis uel militibus Christi conluctatio et certamen est aduersum omnia ista, quae enumerata sunt; omnibus, singulis tamen uel cum singulis, futuro certamine, uel certe prout probatum fuerit ab agonis ipsius iusto praeside deo. Arbitror namque quia certa mensura sit humanae naturae, etiamsi Paulus ille sit de quo dicitur: <*Vas electionis est mihi iste*,> aut Petrus, aduersum quem portae inferi non praeualent, aut si Moyses sit, *amicus* dei, quorum nullus prorsus omnem simul aduersarum uirtutum cateruam posset sine sui aliqua pernicie tolerare, nisi forte illius solius uirtus operetur in eo qui dixit: *Confidite, ego uici mundum*. Propter quem confidenter etiam Paulus dicebat: *Omnia possum in eo, qui me confortat Christus*, et iterum: *Amplius autem quam omnes illi laboraui, non autem ego, sed gratia dei mecum*.

Propter hanc ergo uirtutem, quae utique humana non est, operantem et loquentem in se, Paulus dicebat: *Certus sum autem quia neque mors neque uita neque angeli neque principatus neque potestates neque praesentia neque futura neque uirtus neque altitudo neque profundum neque alia ulla creatura poterit nos separare a caritate dei, quae est in Christo Iesu domino nostro*. Sola enim per se humana natura non arbitror quia possit aduersum angelos et excelsa et profunda et aliam creaturam habere certamen; sed cum senserit praesentem in se dominum et inhabitantem, confidentia diuini adiutorii dicet: *Dominus inluminatio mea et saluator meus, quem timebo? Dominus protector uitae meae, a quo trepidabo? Dum adpropiant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas, qui tribulant me inimici mei, ipsi infirmati sunt et ceciderunt. Si consistant aduersum me castra, non timebit cor meum; si insurgat in me proelium, in hoc ego sperabo.*

234 aduersus δ **240** aduersus δ **241** quidem *om.* γ **242** aduersum^{2} : aduersus μ **248** <uas electionis est mihi iste> *suppl. Merl Del Koe Sim Goe Fern* **249** <ille> *post* Moyses *suppl. Merl Del Koe Goe* **251** pernicie : laesione δ si *post* nisi *add.* C^{ac} G^{pc} M σ *Goe* **252** quia *ante* ego *add.* B **262** habitantem γ dicit β **264** adpropiant A *Koe Sim Geo* : appropiant W C *Fern* : adpropinquant μ Ab : appropinquant B S **266** hoc: hac B G M^{ac}

3.2.5. It must not be supposed, however, that each person struggles against all these powers. For it would be impossible, I think, for any human being, even if he were a saint, to carry on a contest against them all at the same time. If indeed in some way that were to happen, which is certainly not possible, it would be impossible for human nature to bear it without being completely overwhelmed. Just as, for example, if fifty soldiers were to say that a battle was about to take place between them and fifty other soldiers, it would not thus be understood that one of them was going to fight against fifty, yet each of them would rightly say that 'our battle is against fifty', all against all; so also what the Apostle said is to be heard in this way, that all the athletes and soldiers of Christ are engaged in a wrestling-match and struggle against all the powers which have been enumerated; that all will engage in the struggle, but individuals against individuals, or at least according to the determination of God, who is the just president of the contest. For I think that human nature has definite limits, although there is a Paul of whom it is said, <*He is a chosen vessel of mine*,>[51] or a Peter, against whom the gates of hell do not prevail,[52] or a Moses, the *friend* of God,[53] for none of these could sustain the whole crowd of these opposing powers at once without destruction to himself, unless indeed there was working in him the power of him alone who said, *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.*[54] Because of this Paul could say with confidence, *I can do all things in him who strengthens me*,[55] and again, *I worked harder than them all, yet not I, but the grace of God in me.*[56]

On account, then, of this power, which is certainly not human, working and speaking in him, Paul could say, *I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor authorities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor strength, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, will be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.*[57] For human nature by itself alone is not able, I think, to maintain the struggle against angels and the heights and the depth and any other creature; but when it has sensed the Lord to be present and dwelling within, with confidence in divine assistance it will say, *The Lord is my illumination and my Saviour; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? When evildoers would approach me, to devour my flesh, those who afflict me, my enemies, they became weak and fell. Though an army be arrayed against me, my heart shall not fear; though war rise up against me, in this I hope.*[58]

[51] Acts 9:15. [52] Matt. 16:18. [53] Exod. 33:11. [54] John 16:33.
[55] Phil. 4:13. [56] 1 Cor. 15:10. [57] Rom. 8:38–9.
[58] Ps. 26:1–3. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 7.12.

Vnde ego arbitror quod numquam fortassis homo per se ipsum uirtutem contrariam uincere potest, nisi usus fuerit adiutorio diuino. Vnde et angelus dicitur luctatus esse cum Iacob. Quod nos quidem ita intellegimus quia non 270 idem sit luctatum esse cum Iacob angelum, quod est aduersum Iacob; sed is quidem, qui ei salutis ipsius causa aderat, qui et cognitis profectibus eius etiam nomen ei Israhel dedit, iste cum ipso luctatur, id est, cum ipso est in agone et iuuat eum in certamine, cum sine dubio alius esset, aduersum quem dimicaret et aduersum quem ei certamen ageretur. Denique Paulus non dixit nobis esse 275 luctamen cum principibus uel cum potestatibus, sed *aduersum principatus et aduersum potestates*. Vnde si et Iacob luctatus est, sine dubio aduersum aliquam harum uirtutum luctatus est, quas humano generi et sanctis praecipue aduersari et mouere certamina Paulus enumerat. Ideo denique dicit de eo scriptura quia luctatus est cum angelo, et inualuit ad deum, ut sit agonis quidem 280 certamen angeli adiutorio sustentatum, perfectionis uero palma uincentem perducat ad deum.

3.2.6. Nec sane arbitrandum est quia huiuscemodi certamina corporum robore et palaestricae artis exercitiis peragantur, sed spiritui aduersum spiritum pugna est, similiter ut Paulus designat *aduersum principatus et potestates et mundi* 285 *huius rectores tenebrarum* nobis imminere certamen. Ipsa uero certaminum species ita intellegenda est, cum damna, cum pericula, cum obprobria, cum criminationes excitantur aduersum nos, non id agentibus aduersariis potestatibus, ut haec tantummodo patiamur, sed ut per haec uel ad iram multam uel ad nimiam tristitiam uel ad desperationem ultimam prouocemur, uel certe, quod 290 est grauius, conqueri aduersum deum fatigati et uicti taediis compellamur, tamquam humanam uitam non aeque iusteque moderantem; ut per haec uel infirmemur in fide uel decidamus ab spe uel transferri cogamur a ueritate dogmatum et impium aliquid de deo sentire suadeamur. Talia namque quaedam scripta sunt de Iob, cum diabolus dari sibi facultatem bonorum eius poposcisset 295 a deo. Per quod etiam illud edocemur, quoniam non fortuitis aliquibus

270 aduersus W **287** sed *ante* aduersariis *add.* δ **288** ut[2] : et A **293** persuadeamur *Del*

From this I think that perhaps a human being would never be able by himself to conquer an opposing power, unless he had the benefit of divine assistance. Hence also the angel is said to have wrestled with Jacob. We understand the passage in this way, that it is not the same thing for the angel to have wrestled with Jacob and to have wrestled against Jacob; but the angel, who was present with him for the sake of his salvation, and who, after learning of his progress, gave him the additional name of Israel, wrestled together with him, that is, he was with him in the contest and assists him in the struggle, for there was undoubtedly another angel against whom he was fighting and against whom his struggle was being waged.[59] And, indeed, Paul did not tell us that we wrestle with principalities or with authorities, but *against principalities and against authorities*.[60] Thus, if Jacob wrestled, it was undoubtedly against some one of those powers which Paul enumerates as opposing and launching attacks on the human race and especially the saints. Therefore, finally, Scripture says of him that he was wrestling with an angel and was strengthened with God,[61] so that the struggle is sustained by the assistance of the angel, but the palm of accomplishment leads the conqueror to God.

3.2.6. Nor, indeed, should it be supposed that struggles of this kind are carried on by means of bodily strength or the arts of the wrestling school, but the fight is of spirit against spirit, in the same way that Paul asserts that our present struggle is *against principalities and authorities and the rulers of the darkness of this world*.[62] This kind of struggle is to be understood thus: when losses and dangers, reproaches and accusations are raised up against us, the opposing powers do not do this that we should only suffer these things, but that by means of them we should be aroused either to great anger or excessive sorrow or to the depths of despair, or indeed, what is more serious, that, we should be induced, when wearied and overcome by these nuisances, to make complaints against God, as if he were not administering human life justly and equitably; [they do this] so that by these efforts we may become weakened in faith or give up hope or be driven to abandon the truth of the teachings and be persuaded to think something impious about God. For some such things are written regarding Job, when the devil had requested of God to be given power over his goods. By this we are also taught that it is not by any accidental attacks that we

[59] Cf. Gen. 32:22–30. See also *Sel. Gen.* 32:24 (PG 12, 128): 'Who else is he who is called both human and God, who wrestles and struggles with Jacob, but he who in many places and many ways spoke to the fathers, the sacred Word of God, called both Lord and God, who also, blessing Jacob, called him Israel?' (*Τίς δ' ἂν ἄλλος εἴη ὁ λεγόμενος ἄνθρωπος ὁμοῦ καὶ θεὸς, συμπαλαίων καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος τῷ Ἰακώβ, ἢ ὁ πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπος λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἱερὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, κύριος καὶ θεὸς χρηματίζων, ὃς καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν.*)

[60] Eph. 6:12. [61] Cf. Gen. 32:24, 28. [62] Eph. 6:12.

incursionibus inpugnemur, si quando nos talia aliqua facultatum damna percusserint, neque quod fortuito nostrorum aliquis captiuus abducitur uel domorum ruinae, in quibus cari quique opprimantur, eueniunt; in quibus omnibus unusquisque fidelium debet dicere quia *Non haberes aduersum me potestatem,* 300 *nisi esset tibi data desuper.* Vide enim quia non cecidisset domus Iob supra filios eius, nisi prius aduersum eos accepisset diabolus potestatem; neque equites ternis ordinibus inruissent, ut raperent camelos eius uel boues ceteraque animalia, nisi instincti ab eo spiritu, cui se ministros ex propositi sui oboedientia mancipauerant. Sed ne ille quidem qui uidebatur ignis uel quod putatum est fulmen 305 cecidisset super oues Iob, antequam diabolus diceret ad deum: *Nonne tu communisti omnia, quae foris sunt et quae intus sunt eius, et reliqua? Sed nunc immitte manum tuam et continge omnia quae habet, nisi in faciem te benedixerit.*

3.2.7. Ex quibus omnibus illud ostenditur, quod omnia haec, quae fiunt in hoc mundo, quae media aestimantur, siue illa tristia sint siue quoquomodo sunt, 310 non quidem a deo fiunt nec tamen sine deo, dum malignas et contrarias uirtutes talia uolentes operari non solum non prohibet deus, sed et permittit facere haec, sed certis quibusque et temporibus et personis; sicut et in ipso Iob dicitur quia ad certum tempus paratus est cadere sub alios, et domus ipsius depraedari ab iniquis. Propterea docet nos scriptura diuina omnia quae 315 accidunt nobis tamquam a deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine deo nihil fit. Quod autem haec ita sint, id est, quod nihil sine deo fiat, quomodo possumus dubitare, domino et saluatore euidenter pronuntiante et dicente: *Nonne duo passeres asse ueneunt, et unus ex ipsis non cadet super terram sine patre uestro, qui in caelis est?*

320 Sed necessitas nos traxit paulo amplius euagari de conluctatione aduersarum uirtutum, quam aduersum homines gerunt, disputantes et de his, quae humano generi accidunt tristioribus, id est temptationibus uitae huius, sicut ait Iob: *Nonne temptatio est omnis uita hominis super terram?* ut manifestius quomodo haec accidant et quam pie de his sentiri debeat, panderetur. Nunc uero 325 uideamus quomodo homines etiam in peccatum falsae scientiae dilabuntur, uel quo prospectu uirtutes contrariae etiam de his pugnas aduersum nos soleant commouere.

299 debet dicere : diceret γ 309 tristitia μ S sunt : sint quomodo sunt δ *Goe* : sint M[pc] σ 312 et[1] *om.* γ 318 cadit γ 324 *ante* nunc *add. titulum:* quae sit diuersitas inter sapientia dei et sapientiam mundi huius et sapientiam principum mundi huius uel quomodo quis decipiatur per hanc sapientiam quae est principum huius mundi β 325 delabuntur δ *Goe* : dilatabuntur G M[ac] 327 commouere : mouere δ

are assailed, if ever such losses of property should strike us, nor is it by chance if any one of us is taken captive or that our houses fall into ruins, in which those who are dear to us are crushed to death;[63] in all these circumstances, every one of the believers ought to say that *you would have no power over me, unless it were given to you from above.*[64] For observe that the house of Job would not have fallen upon his sons unless the devil had first received power against them; nor would the horsemen have made a raid in three columns, that they might seize his camels or oxen and other cattle, unless they had been instigated to that by that spirit to whom they had delivered themselves up as servants by their obedience to his will. Nor would that which appeared to be fire, or has been supposed to be a lightning flash, have fallen upon Job's sheep, until the devil had said to God, *Have you not put a fence around all that is without and within his house and around all the rest of his property? But now put forth your hand and touch all that he has, [and see] if indeed he blesses you to your face!*[65]

3.2.7. From all these considerations it is shown that all those events that happen in this world, which are considered indifferent, whether they be sorrowful or are of any other kind, are brought about neither by God nor yet without him; not only does he not prevent those wicked and opposing powers who wish to wreak such events, but he even permits them to do so,[66] although only on certain occasions and to certain persons, just as it is said about Job himself that for a certain time he was ordained to fall under the power of others and his house to be plundered by iniquitous people. Therefore the divine Scripture teaches us to accept all that happens to us as sent by God, knowing that nothing happens without God. That such is the case, that is, that nothing happens without God, how can we doubt, when our Lord and Saviour clearly proclaims and says, *Are not two sparrows sold for a penny, and not one of them shall fall to the ground without your Father who is in heaven?*[67]

But necessity has led us into a lengthy digression on the subject of the struggle waged by the hostile powers against human beings, while also discussing those more sorrowful events which happen to the human race, that is, the trials of this life—just as Job says, *Is not the whole of human life upon earth a trial?*[68]—so that the way in which they occur, and how one should piously think about them, might be clearly shown. Now let us consider how human beings fall away into the sin of false knowledge, and with what purpose the opposing powers are also wont to stir up conflict against us regarding such things.

[63] Cf. Job 1:6–19. [64] John 19:11. [65] Job 1:10–11.
[66] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 15.5. [67] Matt. 10:29. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.5.
[68] Job 7:1.

3.3.1. Docere nos uolens sanctus apostolus magnum aliquid et reconditum de scientia et sapientia in prima ad Corinthios epistola ait: *Sapientiam autem*
330 *loquimur inter perfectos; sapientiam uero non huius mundi neque principum huius mundi, qui destruuntur, sed loquimur dei sapientiam in mysterio absconditam, quam praedestinauit deus ante saecula in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum huius mundi cognouit. Si enim cognouissent, numquam dominum maiestatis crucifixissent.* In quo ostendere uolens sapientiarum
335 differentias, describit esse quandam *sapientiam huius mundi*, et esse quandam sapientiam *principum huius mundi*, aliam uero esse *dei sapientiam*. Sed et hoc cum dicit: Sapientiam *principum huius mundi*, non arbitror eum unam aliquam omnium principum huius mundi sapientiam dicere, sed singulorum principum propriam quandam mihi uidetur indicare sapientiam. Et rursum cum dicit:
340 *Sed loquimur dei sapientiam in mysterio absconditam, quam praedestinauit deus ante saecula in gloriam nostram*, requirendum est si eandem dicit dei sapientiam hanc, quae abscondita est ac temporibus aliis et generationibus non innotuit filiis hominum, sicut nunc reuelata est sanctis apostolis eius et prophetis, quae erat et illa ante aduentum saluatoris sapientia dei, ex qua
345 sapiens erat Salomon, a quo Salomone plus esse quod docet saluator, ipsius saluatoris sermo pronuntiat, cum dicit: *Et ecce plus <a> Salomone hic*; in quo ostenditur quia hi qui docebantur a saluatore plus aliquid docebantur quam scierat Salomon. Si enim quis dicat quia sciebat quidem saluator amplius, non tamen etiam aliis tradebat plura quam Salomon, quomodo conuenit et
350 consequenter dictum putabitur etiam illud quod in subsequentibus ait: *Regina austri surget in iudicio et condemnabit homines generationis huius, propter quod uenit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis, et ecce plus a Salomone hic*? Est igitur *sapientia mundi huius*, est et sapientia per singulos fortasse *principes mundi huius*. De ipsa uero unius dei sapientia illud sentimus indicari, quod
355 minus quidem in antiquioribus et ueteribus operata sit, amplius uero et manifestius reuelata per Christum est. Verum de sapientia dei in locis propriis requiremus.

328 *ante* docere *add. titulum:* de triplici sapientia *Merl, quem edd. secuti sunt; titulum autem iste deest in omnibus codd.; β tantum habet titulum, sed alterum et non hic, uide supra l.324* uolens : monet *Merl* **337** eum unam *α* : cummunam M^{ac} G : communem M^{pc} σ : eum communem *Del* **342** ac : et C γ **346** <a> *suppl. Koe Sim Goe Fern* **349** quam *post* et *add.* W^{pc} **352** a salomone W β : quam salamon A (=*Vulg.*) : solomone G M^{ac} : solomon M^{pc} : salomone σ

3.3.1.[69] Wishing to teach us some great and hidden truth concerning knowledge and wisdom, the holy Apostle says in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, *We speak wisdom among the perfect, yet not the wisdom of this world nor of the rulers of this world, who are coming to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom which God foreordained before the world unto our glory, which none of the rulers of this world knew. For had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*[70] In this passage, wishing to show the different kinds of wisdom, he describes one as *the wisdom of this world*, one as the wisdom *of the rulers of this world*, and another as the *wisdom of God*.[71] But when he uses the expression, wisdom *of the rulers of this world*, I do not think that he means some one wisdom common to all rulers of this world, but he seems to me to indicate a particular wisdom for each individual ruler. And again, when he says, *we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom, which God foreordained before the world unto our glory*, it must be asked whether he means that this wisdom of God, which has been hidden and has not been made known to the sons of men in other times and generations as it has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets, is the same as that wisdom of God which existed before the coming of the Saviour, by means of which Solomon became wise, yet compared to which the saying of the Saviour himself proclaims that what the Saviour teaches is greater than Solomon, when he says, *And behold [someone] greater <than> Solomon is here*,[72] by which it is shown that those who were taught by the Saviour were taught something more than what Solomon knew. If one were to say that the Saviour did indeed know more, but did not however impart more to others than did Solomon, how will this agree and be reckoned as consistently said with what he says in the following passage, *The queen of the south will arise at the judgement and condemn the men of this generation, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, [someone] greater than Solomon is here*?[73] There is, therefore, a *wisdom of this world*, and probably also a wisdom belonging to each individual *ruler of this world*. But as for the wisdom of the one God, we believe that to be indicated which was at work in a lesser degree in those of ancient and former times, but was more fully and more clearly revealed through Christ. We shall, however, investigate the wisdom of God in the proper place.[74]

[69] Only two manuscripts (B and C) have, before the 'Now' of the previous sentence, the title 'That there is a difference between the wisdom of God and the wisdom of this world and the wisdom of the rulers of this world, or, how one might be entrapped through that wisdom which is of the rulers of the world'. Merlin inserted the title 'On the Threefold Wisdom' at this point, and he has been followed by all editors (and the translation of Butterworth) with the exception of Fernandez. As Origen has just noted, however, although turning to the question of knowledge, the subject remains the work of the opposing powers, as the first sentence of *Princ.* 3.3.2 indicates, and remains so until the conclusion of *Princ.* 3.3.6, as the final sentence there makes clear.

[70] 1 Cor. 2:6–8.

[71] The same distinction is made, on the basis of the same texts, in Origen, *Comm. Cant.* 1 (GCS 8, p. 100).

[72] Matt. 12:42. [73] Ibid. [74] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.14.

3.3.2. Nunc uero quoniam quidem in manibus est tractatus de contrariis uirtutibus, qualiter moueant etiam ea certamina, quibus falsa scientia humanis
360 mentibus inseritur et seducuntur animae, dum se putant inuenisse sapientiam, necessarium puto discernere atque distinguere, quae sit *sapientia mundi huius* et quae *principum mundi huius*, ut per hoc qui sint etiam patres huius sapientiae, immo uero sapientiarum harum, possimus aduertere. Arbitror igitur, sicut supra diximus, *sapientiam* esse *huius mundi* aliam quandam praeter illas sapientias,
365 quae sunt *principum huius mundi*, per quam sapientiam intellegi uidentur et conprehendi ea, quae huius mundi sunt. Quae tamen nihil in se habet, ut possit aliquid uel de diuinitate uel de mundi ratione uel de quibuscumque excelsioribus rebus uel de bonae ac beatae uitae institutione sentire, sed est talis, uerbi causa, ut est omnis ars poetica uel grammatica uel rhetorica uel geometrica uel musica,
370 cum quibus adnumeranda est fortassis etiam medicina. In his omnibus *sapientiam mundi huius* inesse censendum est. Sapientiam uero *principum huius mundi* intellegimus, ut est Aegyptiorum secreta quam dicunt et occulta filosofia et Chaldeorum astrologia et Indorum de scientia excelsi pollicentium, sed et Graecorum multiplex uariaque de diuinitate sententia. Igitur in scripturis sanctis
375 inuenimus principes esse per singulas gentes, sicut in Danihelo legimus *principem* quendam esse *regni Persarum* et alium *principem regni Graecorum*, quos non homines esse sed uirtutes quasdam, euidenter ex consequentia ipsius lectionis ostenditur. Sed et in Hiezechihelo propheta *princeps Tyri* uirtus esse quaedam spiritalis manifestissime designatur. Hi ergo et alii huiusmodi principes
380 huius mundi, habentes singuli sapientias suas et adstruentes dogmata sua uariasque sententias, ut uiderunt dominum et saluatorem nostrum pollicentem et praedicantem se ob hoc uenisse in hunc mundum, ut destrueret omnia quaecumque illa essent *falsi nominis scientiae* dogmata, continuo quis obtegeretur intrinsecus ignorantes, insidiati sunt ei; *Adstiterunt* enim *reges terrae, et*
385 *principes conuenerunt in unum aduersus dominum et aduersus Christum eius.* Quibus eorum insidiis cognitis et his, quae aduersum filium dei moliti sunt, intellectis, cum *dominum gloriae crucifixerunt*, ait apostolus quia *Sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos, sapientiam autem non huius saeculi neque principum huius saeculi, qui destruuntur, quam nemo principum huius mundi cognouit. Si*
390 *enim cognouissent, numquam dominum maiestatis crucifixissent.*

361 discernere : dicere γ 361–2 et quae ... huius *om.* A^{ac} C 372 intellegamus γ
383 quis : quid δ C^{pc} 385 aduersus[1] : aduersum B G^{pc} M^{ac} aduersus[2] : aduersum β G^{pc} M^{ac} σ 389 *post* destruuntur *lacunam signauit Koe, et* <sed loquimur dei sapientiam> *suppl. in appar.*

3.3.2. But now, since our task is to treat of the opposing powers, how they stir up those struggles by means of which false knowledge is implanted in the minds of human beings and souls are led astray, while they suppose that they have discovered wisdom, I think it necessary to discern and distinguish between that which is *the wisdom of this world* and that of *the rulers of this world*, that by doing so we may be able to discover who are the fathers of this wisdom, or indeed of these kinds of wisdom. I think, therefore, as we said above, that *the wisdom of this world* is a different one than those varieties of wisdom which belong to *the rulers of this world*, and that by this wisdom there appears to be understood and comprehended those things which belong to this world. This wisdom, however, possesses in itself nothing by which it is able to perceive anything of divinity, or of the cause of the world, or of any higher matters whatsoever, or of the principles of a good and blessed life, but is such, for example, that it is wholly concerned with the arts of poetry or grammar or rhetoric or geometry or music, with which medicine perhaps should also be counted. In all these subjects *the wisdom of this world* must be supposed to be present.[75] We understand the wisdom of *the rulers of this world*, on the other hand, to be what they call the secret and hidden philosophy of the Egyptians, and the astrology of the Chaldeans and Indians, who profess knowledge of high things,[76] and also the manifold and diverse opinions of the Greeks about divinity. Accordingly, we find in the holy Scriptures that there are rulers over individual nations, as we read in Daniel that there was *a ruler of the kingdom of Persia* and another *ruler of the kingdom of the Greeks*,[77] who, as is clearly shown by the sense of the passage itself, are not human beings but certain powers. In the prophet Ezekiel also *the ruler of Tyre* is most clearly shown to be a kind of spiritual power.[78] When these, then, and other similar rulers of this world, each possessing his own wisdom and building up his own teachings and diverse opinions, beheld our Lord and Saviour professing and proclaiming that he had come into the world for this purpose, that all the teachings, whatever they may be, of *knowledge falsely so called*[79] might be destroyed, not knowing who was concealed within, they immediately lay in ambush for him; for, *the kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers assembled together, against the Lord and against his Christ*.[80] But their snares became known and the plots they had contrived against the Son of God were understood when they *crucified the Lord of glory*; therefore the Apostle says, *We speak wisdom among the perfect, yet not the wisdom of this world nor of the rulers of this world, who are coming to nought, which none of the rulers of this world knew. For had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory*.[81]

[75] In *Hom. Num.* 18.3, a propos of Sir. 1:1 ('All wisdom is from God') and other texts, Origen ascribes the origin of human wisdom, knowledge, crafts, and arts, to God. See also Gregory Thaumaturgus, *pan. Or.* 8 on the range of topics taught by Origen.

[76] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Gen.* 3 (= *Philoc.* 23).

[77] Dan. 10: 13, 20. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.2, and n.16 there.

[78] Cf. Ezek. 28. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.4. [79] 1 Tim. 6:20. [80] Ps. 2:2.

[81] 1 Cor. 2:6–8, omitting a couple of phrases.

3.3.3. Quaerendum sane est, utrum istae sapientiae principum huius mundi, quibus homines inbuere nituntur, insidiandi et laedendi studio ingerantur hominibus ab aduersariis uirtutibus, an tantummodo erroris causa adhibentur, id est, non laedendi homines prospectu, sed quia haec uera esse ipsi illi mundi huius principes arbitrentur, ideo etiam ceteros docere cupiant ea, quae ipsi uera esse opinantur: quod et magis arbitror. Sicut enim, uerbi causa, Graecorum auctores uel uniuscuiusque haereseos principes cum prius ipsi errorem falsae doctrinae pro ueritate susceperint et hanc esse ueritatem apud semet ipsos iudicauerint, tunc demum etiam ceteris haec eadem persuadere conantur, quae apud semet ipsos uera esse censuerint: ita putandum est facere etiam principes huius mundi, in quo mundo certae quaeque spiritales uirtutes certarum gentium sortitae sunt principatum et propter hoc *mundi huius principes* appellatae sunt.

Sunt praeterea etiam aliae praeter hos principes speciales quaedam mundi huius energiae, id est uirtutes aliquae spiritales, certa quaeque inoperantes, quae ipsae sibi pro arbitrii sui libertate ut agerent elegerunt, ex quibus sunt isti spiritus, qui inoperantur sapientiam huius mundi: uerbi causa, ut sit propria quaedam energia ac uirtus, quae inspirat poeticam, alia, quae geometriam, et ita quaeque singulas quasque huiuscemodi artes disciplinasque commoueant. Denique quam plurimi Graecorum opinati sunt artem poeticam sine insania non posse constare; unde et in historiis eorum refertur aliquotiens eos, quos uates appellant, subito insaniae cuiusdam spiritu esse subpletos. Quid autem dicendum est etiam de his, quos diuinos appellant, a quibus per inoperationem daemonum eorum, qui eis praesunt, uersibus arte modulatis responsa proferuntur? Sed et hi, quos magos uel maleficos dicunt, aliquotiens daemonibus inuocatis supra pueros adhuc paruae aetatis, uersu eos dicere poemata admiranda omnibus et stupenda fecerunt. Quae hoc modo geri arbitranda sunt, quod sicut sanctae et inmaculatae animae, cum se omni affectu omnique puritate uouerint deo et alienas se ab omni daemonum contagione seruauerint et per multam abstinentiam purificauerint se et piis ac religiosis inbutae fuerint disciplinis, participium per hoc diuinitatis adsumunt et prophetiae ceterorumque diuinorum donorum gratiam promerentur: ita putandum est etiam eos, qui se opportunos contrariis uirtutibus exhibent, id est industria uita uel studio amico illis et accepto, recipere eorum inspirationem et sapientiae eorum ac doctrinae participes effici. Ex quo fit ut eorum inoperationibus repleantur, quorum se prius famulatui subiugarint.

391 ista sapientia γ 392 ingerentur M^{ac} : ingeritur G^{ac} : ingenerantur C 393 adhibeantur M^{pc} *Koe* 394 hominis α M *Koe Goe* 395 arbitrantur γ 397 haereses δ : haeresis γ *Koe Goe* principes haeresis γ 407 aliae quae β : aliae quaedam γ geometricam C G M^{pc} quaequae : quae α M *Goe* : que G 420 donorum *om.* C γ 422 uitae σ

3.3.3. It must indeed be examined whether those wisdoms of the rulers of this world, with which they endeavour to infect human beings, are forced upon human beings by the opposing powers with the desire of ensnaring and injuring them, or whether they are offered only as a result of error, that is, not with a view to injuring human beings, but because the rulers of this world themselves think these things to be true and therefore desire to teach others things that they themselves hold to be true, which, I think, is more likely. Just as, for example, certain Greek authors or the leaders of each of the schools, when they have first themselves accepted the error of false teaching instead of the truth and have determined in themselves that such is the truth, they then strive to persuade others of that which they assessed of themselves to be true, so also, it must be supposed, the rulers of this world act, certain spiritual powers having been assigned the rule over certain nations in this world and who are, on this account, termed *rulers of this world*.

There are also, besides these rulers, certain special forces of this world, that is, certain spiritual powers, working certain works, which they have themselves, through the freedom of their will, chosen to effect, among whom are those spirits who work the wisdom of this world: for example, there is a particular force or power which inspires poetry, another geometry, and in the same way they animate each of the arts and disciplines of this kind. Moreover, many of the Greek writers have been of the opinion that the art of poetry cannot exist without madness, which also is why it is often recorded in their histories that those whom they call poets were suddenly filled with a kind of spirit of madness. And what is to be said also of those whom they call diviners, from whom, by the work of those demons who have charge over them, oracles are given in artfully constructed verses? But those also, whom they call magi or malevolent, have often, by invoking demons over boys still young in years, made them recite poems in verse to the wonder and amazement of all. These effects must be supposed to be brought about in the following way: just as holy and immaculate souls, when they have devoted themselves to God with all affection and all purity and have kept themselves apart from all contact with demons and purified themselves by lengthy abstinence and have been steeped in pious and religious training, acquire thereby participation in divinity and become worthy of the grace of prophecy and of the other divine gifts, so also, it is to be supposed that those who show themselves appropriate subjects for the opposing powers, that is, those who adopt a form of activity, life, and purpose agreeable to them, receive their inspiration and become participators in their wisdom and teaching. The result of this is that they are filled with the workings of those powers to whose service they have already subjected themselves.

425 **3.3.4.** De his sane qui de Christo aliter docent quam scripturarum regula patitur, non otiosum est intueri, utrum insidioso proposito aduersum Christi fidem nitentes contrariae uirtutes fabulosa quaedam simul et impia dogmata commentatae sint, an uero etiam ipsae audito uerbo Christi et neque euomere id ualentes ex arcanis conscientiae suae neque pure sancteque retinere, per 430 uasa opportuna sibi et, ut ita dicam, per prophetas suos diuersos errores contra regulam christianae ueritatis induxerint. Et magis putandum est quod apostatae et refugae uirtutes, quae a deo recesserint, uel ipsa mentis suae propositique nequitia uel inuidia eorum, quibus ueritate cognita ad illum gradum, unde illae dilapsae sunt, praeparatur ascensus, ad impediendos 435 huiuscemodi profectus errores hos falsae doctrinae deceptionesque conponunt.

Manifeste ergo et ex multis indiciis demonstratur quod humana anima, dum in hoc corpore est, recipere potest diuersas energias, id est inoperationes, spirituum diuersorum malorum ac bonorum; et malorum quidem duplici specie, id est uel tunc, cum penitus ex integro eorum possederint mentem, ita 440 ut nihil omnino eos quos obsederint intellegere uel sentire permittant, sicut exemplo sunt hi, quos uulgo energumenos uocant, quos amentes et insanos uidemus, quales et illi erant, qui in euangelio a saluatore curati esse referuntur, uel cum sentientem quidem et intellegentem animum cogitationibus uariis et sinistris persuasionibus inimica suggestione deprauant, ut exemplo est Iudas 445 ad proditionis facinus diaboli inmissione prouocatus, sicut scriptura declarat dicens: *Cum autem iam immisisset diabolus in cor Iudae Scariothis ut traderet eum.* Boni uero spiritus recipit quis energiam uel inoperationem, cum mouetur et prouocatur ad bona et inspiratur ad caelestia uel diuina; sicut sancti angeli et ipse deus inoperatus est in prophetis, suggestionibus sanctis ad meliora 450 prouocans et cohortans, ita sane ut maneret in arbitrio hominis ac iudicio, si sequi uelit aut nolit ad caelestia et diuina prouocantem. Vnde et ex hoc manifesta discretione dinoscitur, quando anima melioris spiritus praesentia moueatur, id est, si nullam prorsus ex imminenti adspiratione obturbationem uel alienationem mentis incurrat nec perdat arbitrii sui iudicium liberum; 455 sicut exemplo sunt omnes uel prophetae uel apostoli, qui diuinis responsis sine ulla mentis obturbatione ministrabant. Boni ergo spiritus suggestionibus humanam memoriam ad recordationem meliorum prouocari exemplis iam in superioribus edocuimus, cum Mardochaei et Artaxersis fecimus mentionem.

425 *ante* de his *add. titulum:* quomodo uel pseudoprophetae inspirentur ut hereses doceant uel prophetae ut uerbum dei annuntient β 426 aduersus W 427 contrariae uirtutes *om.* γ simul *om.* γ 434 delapsae *Del* 441 energuminos A M[pc] γ : inergumenos C 446 scariotes B : scariotis γ 447 cum mouetur : commouetur B C[ac] γ 448 uel *post* prouocatur *add.* δ 451 ex hoc et δ hoc : hac *Del* 457 iam *om.* γ 458 artaxerses δ

3.3.4. Concerning those, indeed, who teach otherwise regarding Christ than is supported by the rule of the Scriptures, it is not an idle task to ascertain whether it is with treacherous purpose that the opposing powers, exerting themselves against the faith of Christ, have devised certain fabulous and simultaneously impious doctrines, or whether even they, on hearing the word of Christ and being able neither to cast it out from the hidden depths of their conscience nor to retain it pure and holy, have introduced, by means of vessels convenient for them and, so to speak, through their prophets, various errors contrary to the rule of Christian truth. It is, rather, to be supposed that apostate and exiled powers who have departed from God—either by the very wickedness of their mind and will or by their jealousy of those for whom there is prepared, once they have learned the truth, an ascent to the same rank from which the powers have fallen—did invent these errors and delusions of false doctrine in order to hinder progress of that kind.

It is therefore clearly demonstrated by many proofs that the human soul, while it is in the body, is able to accept different energies, that is, works from a variety of spirits either good or evil; and there is a twofold mode of work of the evil spirits: that is, either they take complete and entire possession of the mind, so that they allow those whom they possess to understand or think nothing at all, as for instance those popularly called 'possessed', whom we see to be demented and insane, such as those who are related in the Gospel to have been healed by the Saviour; or they deprave the soul, while it still thinks and understands, by the hostile suggestion of various thoughts and evil persuasions, of which Judas is an example, being incited to the act of betrayal by the devil's insertion of the thought, as Scripture declares, saying, *the devil had already put it into the heart of Judas to betray him.*[82] On the other hand, someone receives the energy and work of a good spirit when he is moved and incited to good and inspired towards heavenly or divine things; just as the holy angels of God himself worked in the prophets, arousing and exhorting them by holy suggestions towards better things, yet, indeed, such that it remained within the will and judgement of the person, whether he was willing or unwilling to follow the encouragement to heavenly and divine things. Whence also from this clear distinction it is discerned when it is that the soul is moved by the presence of a better spirit, that is, if it encounter no disturbance or aberration of mind whatever from the impending inspiration nor lose the free judgement of its will; just as, for example, were all, whether prophets or apostles, who ministered to the divine oracles without any disturbance of mind. We have already shown by previous examples, when we made mention of Mordecai and Artaxerxes, that by the suggestions of a good spirit the human memory is aroused to the recollection of better things.[83]

[82] John 13:2. [83] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2.4.

3.3.5. Illud quoque consequenter requirendum puto, ex quibus causis humana
460 anima nunc quidem a bonis, nunc autem moueatur a malis. Cuius rei causas suspicor esse quasdam antiquiores etiam hac natiuitate corporea, sicut designat Iohannes in matris uentre tripudians et exultans, cum uox salutationis Mariae ad aures Elisabeth matris eius adlata est, et ut declarat Hieremias propheta, qui *antequam plasmaretur in utero matris* cognitus erat deo, et *antequam e uulua*
465 *procederet* sanctificatus ab eo est et puer adhuc prophetiae gratiam cepit. Et rursum e contrario manifeste ostenditur ab aduersariis spiritibus quosdam a prima statim aetate possessos, id est nonnullos cum ipso daemone esse natos, alios uero a puero diuinasse historiarum fides declarat, alii a prima aetate daemonem, quem Pythonem nominant, id est uentriloquum, passi sunt. Pro
470 quibus omnibus ab his, qui dei prouidentia regi omnia quae in hoc mundo sunt adserunt, sicut nostra quoque continet fides, ut mihi uidetur, non aliter poterit responderi ita, ut absque omni iniustitiae culpa diuina prouidentia demonstretur, nisi priores quaedam fuisse eis causae dicantur, quibus antequam in corpore nascerentur animae aliquid culpae contraxerint in sensibus uel
475 motibus suis, pro quibus haec merito pati a diuina prouidentia iudicatae sint. Liberi namque arbitrii semper est anima, etiam cum in corpore hoc, etiam cum extra corpus est; et libertas arbitrii uel ad bona semper uel ad mala mouetur, nec umquam rationabilis sensus, id est mens uel anima, sine motu aliquo esse uel bono uel malo potest. Quos motus causas praestare meritorum
480 uerisimile est etiam prius quam in hoc mundo aliquid agant; ut pro his causis uel meritis per diuinam prouidentiam statim a prima natiuitate, immo et ante natiuitatem, ut ita dicam, uel boni aliquid uel mali perpeti dispensentur.

3.3.5, lines 459–71

Jerome, Ep. *124.8.6–7 (ed. Hilberg 3, 106.23–107.9):*

Sed et hoc requirendum, quare humana anima nunc ab his, nunc ab aliis uirtutibus ad diuersa moueatur. Et putat quarundam, antequam uenirent in corpora, merita praecessisse, ut est illud Iohannis exultantis in utero matris suae, quando ad uocem salutationis Mariae indignam se confabulatione eius Elisabeth confitetur. Statimque subiungit: et e contrario paruuli, licet paene lactantes, malis replentur spiritibus et in diuinos atque ariolos inspirantur in tantum, ut etiam daemon Pythonicus quosdam a tenera aetate possideat; quos derelictos esse apud prouidentiam dei, cum nihil tale fecerint, ut istius modi insaniam sustinerent, non est eius, qui nihil uult absque deo fieri et omnia illius iustitia gubernari.

459 *ante* illud *add. titulum:* quia legimus nonnullos ante natiuitatem adhuc in utero matris spiritu sancto repletos, alios uero spiritu maligno, ut saepe compertum est, quae huius causae habenda sit opinio magis quam ratio β 465 ab eo : a deo δ coepit δ : accepit M[pc]
469 pytonem δ B[ac] : phytonem B[c] : phitonem C γ

3.3.5. This[84] also, I think, must next be investigated: the grounds why the human soul is influenced at one time by good spirits and at another time by evil spirits. I suspect the grounds of such a matter to be something even older than this bodily birth, as John shows by leaping and rejoicing in his mother's womb when the voice of the salutation of Mary reached the ears of his mother Elizabeth,[85] and as the prophet Jeremiah declares, who *before he was formed in his mother's belly* was known by God and *before he came forth from the womb* was sanctified by him and while yet a boy received the grace of prophecy.[86] And again, on the other hand, it is clearly shown that some are possessed by adverse spirits right from the very beginning of their years, that is, some are born with their demon,[87] while others the testimony of histories declare to have practised divination from childhood, and yet others from their earliest years have been subject to the demon they call 'Python',[88] that is, the spirit of ventriloquism.[89] To all these instances, those who maintain that everything in this world is governed by the providence of God, as also our faith holds, as it seems to me, can give no other answer, so as to show divine providence exempt from any reproach of injustice, than say there were certain antecedent grounds by which souls, before they were born in the body, contracted a certain amount of guilt in their thoughts and movements, in respect of which they have been deemed worthy by divine providence to suffer these things.[90] For the soul is always in possession of free will, when in the body and when out of the body; and freedom of will always moves either towards good or evil; nor can the rational sense, that is, the intellect or the soul, ever exist without some movement, either good or evil. It is probable that these movements furnish grounds for merit even before they do anything in this world, so that in accordance with these grounds or merits they are arranged by divine providence immediately upon their birth, indeed even before birth, so to speak, to endure either good or evil.

[84] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8.6–7 (ed. Hilberg 3, 106.23–107.9): 'And in the same book: but this also must be investigated, why the human soul is moved in different directions, at one time by these powers, at another time by others. And he supposes some, before they come into bodies, to have previous merits, such as is the case of John, rejoicing in his mother's womb when, at the voice of Mary's greeting, Elizabeth confessed herself to be unworthy of conversing with her. And he immediately adds: on the other hand, little boys, hardly weaned, are possessed by evil spirits, and diviners and soothsayers are inspired to such a degree that some are even possessed by a prophetic demon from their earliest years; that these should be abandoned from the providence of God, when they have done nothing such that they should rightly bear madness of this kind, cannot be maintained by one who holds that nothing happens apart from God and that all things are governed by his justice.'

[85] Cf. Luke 1:41–4. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.4; *Hom. Luc.* 7–9.

[86] Jer. 1:5–6.

[87] Cf. Mark 7:25, 9:17, etc.

[88] Cf. Acts 16:16.

[89] This is the LXX way of speaking of 'divination'; ἐγγαστρίμυθος is translated by Margaret M. Mitchell, in other works, as 'belly-myther'. Cf. 'Patristic Rhetoric on Allegory: Origen and Eustathius put 1 Samuel 28 on Trial', *JR* 85 (2005), 414–45.

[90] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.4, and the material cited in the notes there.

3.3.6. Et haec quidem dicta sint de his, quae uidentur hominibus uel a prima statim natiuitate uel etiam antequam in hanc lucem prorumpant euenire. De 485 his uero, quae a diuersis spiritibus animae, id est humanis cogitationibus, suggeruntur, quae uel ad bona uel ad contraria prouocent, interdum etiam in hoc existere quaedam anteriores corporeae natiuitatis causae putandae sunt. Interdum uero uigilans mens et abiciens a se quae mala sunt, bonorum ad se adiutorium prouocat; uel e contrario neglegens et ignaua, dum minus cauta 490 est, locum dat his spiritibus, qui uelut latrones ex occulto insidiantes inruere humanas mentes, cum locum sibi datum per segnitiam uiderint, moliuntur, sicut ait Petrus apostolus quia *Aduersarius uester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem transuoret*. Propter quod die noctuque cor nostrum omni custodia conseruandum est, et locus non est dandus diabolo, sed omnia 495 agenda sunt, quibus ministri dei (hi uidelicet spiritus, qui ad ministerium missi sunt eorum, qui ad hereditatem salutis uocati sunt) inueniant in nobis locum et delectentur ingredi hospitium animae nostrae et habitantes apud nos, id est in corde nostro, melioribus nos consiliis regant, si tamen habitaculum cordis nostri uirtutis et sanctitatis cultu inuenerint exornatum.

500 Verum sufficiant ista pro uiribus disserta a nobis de his uirtutibus, quae humano generi aduersantur.

485 a diuersis : aduersis G σ **491** segnitiam δ B[pc] *Koe Goe* : segnitiae B[ac] : segnitiem C γ *Sim* **492** uester : noster σ **493** transuoret : deuoret γ **497–8** id est ... nos *om.* γ **500** *ante* uerum *add. titulum:* de humanis tentationibus *Merl, sed nullum capituli incipientes indicium nullumque titulum in codd. est*

3.3.6. These things, then, are to be said in regard to those events which appear to befall human beings, either immediately from their birth or even before they emerge into this light. In regard, however, to suggestions made by diverse spirits to the soul, that is, to the thoughts of human beings, and which arouse them to good or to its opposite, even in such a case there must sometimes be supposed to exist certain grounds prior to bodily birth. But sometimes the mind, being vigilant and casting away from itself whatever is evil, calls to itself the aid of the good spirits; or, on the contrary, being negligent and slothful, when it is less cautious, it makes room for those spirits which, like robbers lying secretly on the path, contrive to rush into the human minds whenever they see a place made for them by sloth, just as the Apostle Peter says that *Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.*[91] Because of this, our heart must be guarded with all carefulness day and night, and no place be given to the devil,[92] but everything must be done such that the ministers of God (those spirits, that is, who were sent to minister to those who are called to the inheritance of salvation[93]) may find a place within us and be delighted to enter into the guest-chamber of our soul and, dwelling within us, that is, in our heart, may guide us with better counsels, if indeed they shall find the habitation of our heart adorned by the cultivation of virtue and holiness.

But let these points, expounded by us according to our strength, suffice regarding those powers which are opposed to the human race.

[91] 1 Pet. 5:8. On vigilance, see Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.176–81; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 16.5; *Hom. Gen.* 9.3; for negligence, see *Princ.* 1.4.1; 1.6.2; 2.9.2.

[92] Cf. Eph. 4:27. [93] Cf. Heb. 1:14.

De humanis temptationibus

3.4.1. Nunc ergo ne de humanis quidem temptationibus silendum puto, quae nascuntur interdum ex *carne et sanguine* uel ex *prudentia carnis* et sanguinis, quae *deo* esse dicitur *inimica*, posteaquam de his temptationibus exposuimus, quae plus quam humanae dicuntur, id est quas *aduersum principatus et potestates et aduersum mundi huius rectores tenebrarum et spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus* gerimus, uel quae nobis aduersum spiritus malignos et inmundos daemones peraguntur. In qua re consequenter arbitror requirendum si in nobis, id est hominibus, qui ex anima constamus et corpore ac spiritu uitali, est etiam aliud aliquid, quod incitamentum habeat proprium et commotionem ad malum prouocantem; sicut haberi a quibusdam quaestio solet huiusmodi, utrumnam uelut duae animae in nobis dicendae sunt, una quaedam diuinior et caelestis et alia inferior, an uero ex hoc ipso, quod corporibus inhaeremus (quae corpora secundum propriam quidem naturam mortua sunt et penitus exanima, quia ex nobis, id est ex animabus corpus materiale uiuificatur, quod utique contrarium est et inimicum spiritui), trahimur et prouocamur ad haec mala, quae corpori grata sunt, an uero tertium, quod quidam Graecorum opinati sunt, quia anima nostra cum una sit per substantiam, ex pluribus tamen constet, id est quod pars eius rationabilis dicatur, pars uero inrationabilis, et ea quidem pars, quam inrationabilem dicunt, in duos rursum diuidatur affectus cupiditatis et iracundiae. Has ergo tres quas diximus de anima opiniones a nonnullis haberi inuenimus. Ex quibus illud interim, quod quibusdam Graecorum philosophis uisum diximus, quia tripertita sit anima, non ualde confirmari ex diuinae scripturae auctoritate peruideo; ad alia uero duo, quae reliqua sunt, inueniri possunt aliquanta, quae ex diuinis litteris aptari posse uideantur.

1 *titulus:* de humanis temptationibus *ex l.2* : et [et om δ] utrum uerum sit quod quidam dicunt quasi binas animas esse per singulos δ (*rubrum*) *Koe Sim Fern* (*trans. ante* posteaquam *l.4*) : G σ (*in textu*) : quae sint diuersorum de anima opiniones et utrum uerum sit quod quidam dicunt quasi binas animas esse per singulos [et utrum … singulos *om.* C] β : *sine ulla diuisione* M
2 ne : nec δ M^{pc} : *om.* C   silendum puto *ante* posteaquam *(l.4) trans.* δ   4 dicuntur δ
5 aduersum : aduersus δ M^{pc} 8 in qua re : qua re δ : *om.* C   12 sint B G^{ac} *Del*
18 opinati : arbitrati γ   20 rursus δ   23 sit : est δ

On Human Temptations

3.4.1.[1] And now, I think, we must not pass over in silence the subject of human temptations,[2] which are engendered sometimes from *flesh and blood*,[3] or from *the shrewdness of flesh* and blood, which is said to be *hostile to God*,[4] after having already spoken about the temptations which are said to be more than human, that is, which we maintain *against principalities and authorities and against the rulers of the darkness of this world and spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places*,[5] and with those which afflict us against wicked spirits and unclean demons. In this matter, I suppose logically it must be inquired whether there is in us, that is, in human beings who are composed of soul and body and vital spirit,[6] something else besides, which has its own stimulus and movement inciting towards evil, just as the question is wont to be raised by some in this way: whether two souls, as it were, should be said to be in us, the one more divine and heavenly, the other inferior;[7] or whether, from the very fact that we adhere to bodies (which bodies are, according to their own proper nature, dead and utterly lifeless, since it is from us, that is, from our souls, that the material body is vivified, since it is assuredly contrary and hostile to the spirit[8]) we are drawn and incited to those evils which are pleasing to the body; or whether, thirdly, as some of the Greeks have supposed, our soul, although it is one in substance, nevertheless consists of several elements, that is, one element of it is called rational and another irrational, and that which is called irrational is again divided into the two affections of desire and anger.[9] We have found, then, that each of the three opinions we have stated regarding the soul is held by some. Of them, however, that one, which we said was entertained by certain Greek philosophers, that the soul is tripartite, I do not see to be strongly confirmed by the authority of the divine Scriptures; whereas with respect to the remaining two, a certain number of passages may be found in the divine writings which seem capable of being applied.

[1] Some manuscripts have here, as a title, the following, 'Whether what is said by some is true, that each individual has two souls'; others have this as part of the text. This chapter division and title is adopted by Koetschau (and Butterworth in his translation), and followed by Crouzel and Simonetti, and Görgemanns and Karpp, and, in parenthesis by Fernandez. While this is indeed a topic of discussion from *Princ.* 3.4.2 on, it is nevertheless clear that Origen is continuing his discussion of the struggles facing human beings: having dealt with the conflicts resulting from the opposing forces in *Princ.* 3.2–3, he now turns to the temptations arising from human nature. Thus, taking the express statement of Origen in the first sentence, I have followed the earlier editions which had the heading 'On Human Temptations', either after the previous sentence but one (Merlin) or at this point (Delarue).

[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 10:13. [3] Eph. 6:12.

[4] Rom. 8:7: τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν. Cf. Gen. 3:1, where the serpent is described as φρονιμώτατος.

[5] Eph. 6:12. [6] Cf. Wis. 15:11; 1 Thess. 5:23.

[7] According to Porphyry, Numenius spoke of two souls in the human being, a rational one and a non-rational one (Stobaeus, 1.350.25–351.1), as did various disciples of Basilides (cf. Clement *Exc.* 50; *Strom.* 2.20.112–14), and Tatian, *Or.* 12; see also Tertullian, *An.* 10, and Clement, *Strom.* 6.16.135–6.

[8] Cf. Rom. 8:6, 10; Gal. 5:17; John 6:63.

[9] Cf. Plato, *Resp.* 4.436a–441c; *Tim.* 42a.

3.4.2. E quibus primo illud discutiamus, quod adstruere solent quidam, quia una sit bona in nobis anima et caelestis, alia uero inferior et terrena, et quod ea quidem, quae melior est, caelitus inseratur, qualis est illa, quae et Iacob 30 aduersum Esau adhuc in utero posito palmam uictoriae subplantati praestitit fratris, et quae in Hieremia sanctificatur ex uulua, et spiritu sancto repletur ex utero in Iohanne. Illam uero inferiorem, quam dicunt, ex corporali eam semine simul adserunt cum corpore seminari, unde et praeter corpus uiuere eam uel subsistere negant posse, propter quod et carnem eam frequenter appellari 35 dicunt. Quod enim scriptum est: *Caro concupiscit aduersum spiritum*, non hoc de carne dictum accipiunt, sed de hac anima, quae proprie carnis est anima. Sed et ex his student nihilominus confirmare haec, quae in Leuitico ita scripta sunt: *Anima omnis carnis sanguis ipsius est*. Ex eo enim, quod per totam carnem sanguis diffusus uitam praestat carni, in sanguine inesse aiunt hanc animam, 40 quae dicitur *totius carnis* esse *anima*. Hoc autem ipsum quod dictum est: *Carnem repugnare aduersum spiritum, spiritum autem aduersum carnem*, et quod dictum est: *Anima omnis carnis sanguis ipsius est*, alio nomine idem uocari dicunt *sapientiam carnis*, quod est spiritus quidam materialis, qui legi dei subiectus non est, sed nec potest esse subiectus, quia uoluntates habet 45 terrenas et desideria corporalia. De hoc putant etiam apostolum dixisse illud, quod ait: *Video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captiuum me ducentem in lege peccati, quod est in membris meis.*

Si uero quis obiciat eis haec dici de natura corporis, quod secundum proprietatem quidem naturae suae mortuum est, habere autem dicitur *sensum* 50 uel *sapientiam*, quae *inimica est deo* uel quae *repugnat aduersum spiritum*, pro eo uelut si quis dicat quodammodo carnis ipsius esse uocem, quae clamet non esuriendum, non sitiendum, non algendum, neque uelle prorsus in aliquo molestiam pati siue ex abundantia siue ex penuria: haec illi resoluere atque inpugnare conabuntur, ostendentes quam plurimas alias passiones esse animae, 55 quae in nullo prorsus a carne originem trahant, et tamen his spiritus aduersetur, sicut est ambitio auaritia aemulatio inuidia superbia et his similia; cum quibus pugnam quandam esse humanae menti uel spiritui uidentes, non aliud quid causam horum omnium malorum ponent nisi hanc, de qua superius diximus, uelut corporalem animam et ex seminis traduce generatam. Adhibere quoque 60 ad assertionem horum etiam illud testimonium apostoli solent, quo ait: *Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicatio immunditia impudicitia*

27 e : ex *Del* 28 in *om.* G σ 31 fratri γ 35 aduersus δ B 36 propriae δ G 38 est *om.* γ 41 aduersus ... aduersus W 42 est² *om.* γ 46 legi A : legem M[ac] G σ 47 peccatumque M[ac] quod : quae *Del Koe* (=*Vulg.*) : *om.* M 59 traducere W generatum B M[ac] : regeneratam A 60 quo : cum δ 61 autem *om.* δ

3.4.2. Of these opinions, let us first discuss that which some are accustomed to construct, that there is in us a good and heavenly soul, and another earthly and inferior, and that the one which is better is implanted from heaven, such as was that which, while Jacob was still in the womb set against Esau, gave the prize of victory in supplanting his brother, and which, in the case of Jeremiah, was sanctified from the womb, and in that of John was filled by the Holy Spirit from the womb.[10] But that soul, which they call inferior, they say is sown together with the body from the bodily seed,[11] whence they deny that it can live or subsist apart from the body, on account of which they say that it is frequently termed the flesh. For the saying, *The flesh lusts against the spirit*,[12] they take not to be spoken of the flesh, but of this soul, which is properly the soul of the flesh. But they also endeavour, moreover, to corroborate from this what is written thus in Leviticus, *The soul of all flesh is its blood*.[13] For from the fact that the blood, being diffused throughout the flesh, provides life to the flesh, they claim that this soul, which is said to be *the soul of all flesh*, resides in the blood. And the same thing that is spoken about by [the statement], *The flesh wars against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh*,[14] and the saying, *The soul of all flesh is its blood*,[15] is, they claim, termed by another name as *the shrewdness of the flesh*,[16] as it is a kind of material spirit which is not subject to the law of God, nor can it be subject, since it has earthly wishes and bodily desires. It is about this that they suppose the Apostle to be speaking when he said, *But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members*.[17]

But if one were to object to them that these words were spoken of the nature of the body, which according to the property of its nature is indeed dead, but is said to possess a *mind* or a *shrewdness* that is *hostile to God* or which *wars against the spirit*,[18] in the same way as if one were to say that the flesh itself has a voice which should cry out against being hungry or thirsty or cold, or against suffering any discomfort arising whatsoever, whether from excess or deficiency, they would endeavour to resolve and combat this objection by showing that there were many other passions of the soul which in no way derive their origin from the flesh and yet against which the spirit struggles, such as ambition, avarice, jealousy, envy, pride, and others like them; and seeing that the mind or spirit of the human being is in conflict with these, they would lay down as the cause of all such evils nothing other than this bodily soul, as it were, which we have spoken of above and which is generated by the transmission of seed. They are also accustomed to bring forward, in support of their assertion, the testimony of the Apostle, where he says, *Now the works of the flesh are clear,*

[10] Cf. Gen. 25:22–6; Jer. 1:5; Luke 1:41. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.4 (and the material cited in the notes there); 2.9.7; 3.1.22; 3.3.5.

[11] Cf. Tertullian, *An.* 27; 36; Clement, *Exc.* 50; 55.

[12] Gal. 5:17.

[13] Lev. 17:14. Cf. Origen, *Or.* 29.2; *Dial.* 16.

[14] Gal. 5:17.

[15] Lev. 17:14.

[16] Rom. 8:7.

[17] Rom. 7:23.

[18] Rom. 8:7; Gal. 5:17.

idolatria ueneficia inimicitiae contentiones aemulationes irae rixae dissensiones haereses inuidiae ebrietates comessationes et his similia, dicentes non haec omnia de usu uel delectatione carnis originem trahere, ita ut putentur eius
65 substantiae, quae animam non habet, id est carnis, hi omnes motus existere. Sed et illud, quod ait: *Videte, fratres, uocationem uestram, quoniam non multi inter uos sapientes secundum carnem*, ad hoc uidebitur inclinandum, ut propria quaedam uideatur esse carnalis ac materialis sapientia, alia uero sit sapientia secundum spiritum, quae utique non potest dici sapientia, nisi sit anima carnis,
70 quae sapiat hoc, quod *carnis sapientia* nominatur. Ad haec addunt etiam illud: *Si caro repugnat aduersum spiritum et spiritus aduersum carnem, uti non quae uolumus illa faciamus*: qui sunt de quibus dicit: *Vt non quae uolumus faciamus*? Certum est, aiunt, de spiritu non dici, non enim uoluntas spiritus prohibetur; sed neque de carne, quia si non habet animam propriam, sine dubio nec
75 uoluntatem habebit; superest ergo ut de huius animae uoluntate dicatur, quae habere potest propriam uoluntatem, quae utique aduersatur uoluntati spiritus. Et si ita est, constat quod huius animae uoluntas media quaedam est inter carnem et spiritum, uni sine dubio e duobus seruiens et obtemperans, cuicumque obtemperare delegerit, quaeque cum se delectationibus carnis
80 subdiderit, carnales homines facit, cum uero se spiritui iunxerit, *in spiritu* esse hominem facit et propter hoc *spiritalem* nominari. Quod designare uidetur apostolus, cum dicit: *Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in spiritu.*

Requirendum ergo est, quae sit omnino ipsa haec uoluntas inter carnem et spiritum praeter eam uoluntatem, quae carnis esse uel spiritus dicitur. Pro
85 certo namque habetur quod omnia, quaecumque spiritus esse dicuntur, uoluntas sit spiritus, et quaecumque *opera carnis* esse dicuntur, uoluntas sit carnis. Quae ergo ista est praeter haec animae uoluntas, quae extrinsecus nominatur, quam uoluntatem nolens nos facere apostolus dicit: *Vt non quae uultis illa faciatis*? In quo hoc uidetur designari, quod neutro ex his duobus, id
90 est neque carni neque spiritui, debeat adhaerere. Sed dicet quis quia sicut melius est quidem animae, si propriam faciat uoluntatem, quam ut faciat uoluntatem carnis, sic iterum melius est facere eam uoluntatem spiritus magis quam propriam uoluntatem. Quomodo ergo apostolus ait: *Vt non quae uultis illa faciatis*? Quoniam in ea pugna, quae inter carnem et spiritum geritur, non
95 omni modo spiritus certa uictoria est; manifestum est enim obtinere in quam plurimis carnem.

62 idololatria *Del* 66 et *om.* A^{ac} C μ 68 quidem δ 70 addunt : aiunt δ γ 71 aduersus … aduersus δ 72 qui : quae A^{ac} S *Koe* ut *om.* δ C 77 quaedam media γ 78 uno γ 83 ipsa *om.* γ 88 nolens : uolens γ 89 quod : quo γ

which are these: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, dispute, dissension, heresy, envying, drunkenness, revelling, and the like;[19] they claim that not all these derive their origin from the habits or the pleasures of the flesh, such that all these movements are to be reckoned to be of that substance which does not have a soul, that is, the flesh. Moreover, that statement which he makes, *For consider your calling, brethren, how not many among you were wise according to the flesh,*[20] would seem to point to this, that there appears to be a certain proper fleshly and material wisdom, the wisdom according to the spirit being another, and that the former cannot indeed be called 'wisdom' unless there be a soul of the flesh which would be wise in respect of what is called *the shrewdness of the flesh.*[21] And in addition to these passages, they also add this, if *the flesh wars against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, so that we may not do the things that we would,*[22] what things are these of which he says *that we may not do the things we would*? It is certain, they say, that it does not mean the things of the spirit, for the will of the spirit is not forbidden; but neither does it mean the things of the flesh, since if it does not have a soul of its own, it undoubtedly will not have a will; it remains, then, that it means the will of this soul, which is able to have a will of its own, which is certainly opposed to the will of the spirit. And if this is so, it is established that the will of this soul is something intermediate between the flesh and the spirit,[23] undoubtedly serving and obeying one of the two, whichever it has chosen to obey; and when it yields itself to the pleasures of the flesh, it makes human beings fleshly, but when it joins itself to the spirit it makes the human being to be *in the spirit* and to be called, on this account, *spiritual.* It seems to be this that the Apostle indicates when he says, *But you are not in the flesh but in the spirit.*[24]

It must be ascertained what exactly is this will itself, intermediate between flesh and spirit, besides that which is said to be of the flesh or of the spirit. For it is certainly held that everything said to be of the spirit is the will of the spirit and everything called *works of the flesh* is the will of the flesh.[25] What then, besides these, is that will of the soul, which is named separately, which will the Apostle wishes us not to do when he says, *So that you may not do that which you would*?[26] By this it would seem to be indicated that it ought to adhere to neither of these two, that is, neither to the flesh nor to the spirit. But someone may say that, just as it is better for the soul to do its own will than that of the flesh, so also it is better for it to do the will of the spirit than its own will. How, then, does the Apostle say, *So that you may not do that which you would*? Because in that contest, which is waged between flesh and spirit, the spirit is by no means certain of victory, for it is clear that in many cases the flesh prevails.

[19] Gal. 5:19–21. [20] 1 Cor. 1:26. [21] Rom. 8:7. [22] Gal. 5:17.
[23] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.8.4; *Comm. Jo.* 32.218; *Comm. Rom.* 1.18; *Hom. Lev.* 2.2.
[24] Rom. 8:9. [25] Cf. Gal. 5:19, 22. [26] Gal 5:17.

3.4.3. Verum quoniam disputationem incidimus perprofundam, in qua necesse est ex singulis quibusque partibus quae possunt moueri discutere, uideamus ne forte in hoc loco tale aliquid tractari potest, quia sicut melius est
100 animae sequi spiritum tunc, cum spiritus carnem uicerit, ita etiamsi uidetur ei esse deterius sequi carnem repugnantem aduersum spiritum et ad se reuocare animam uolentem, tamen forte utilius uideatur obtineri animam a carne, quam residere in suis propriis uoluntatibus; quoniam dum in suis uoluntatibus manet, tunc est quando *nec calida* dicitur esse *nec frigida*, sed in medio quodam
105 tepore perdurans tardam et satis difficilem conuersionem poterit inuenire; si uero carni adhaereat, ex his ipsis interdum malis, quae ex carnis uitiis patitur, satiata aliquando ac repleta et uelut grauissimis oneribus luxuriae ac libidinis fatigata, facilius et uelocius conuerti a materialibus sordibus ad caelestium desiderium et spiritalem gratiam potest. Et hoc arbitrandum est dixisse
110 apostolum, idcirco *pugnare spiritum aduersum carnem et carnem aduersum spiritum, ut non quae uolumus illa faciamus* (sine dubio ea quae extra uoluntatem spiritus et extra uoluntatem carnis designata sunt), ut si alius nominibus diceremus, quia melius est hominem aut in uirtute esse aut in malitia, quam in nullo horum; anima uero priusquam conuertat se ad spiritum
115 et unum efficiatur cum eo, dum adhaeret corpori et de carnalibus cogitat, neque in bono statu uidetur esse neque manifeste in malo, sed esse animali, ut ita dixerim, similis. Melius autem est ut, si fieri potest, adhaerens spiritui efficiatur spiritalis; si uero id non potest, magis expedit eam uel carnis malitiam sequi, quam in suis positam uoluntatibus animalis inrationabilis statum tenere.
120 Haec autem tractauimus uolentes singularum assertionum disserere opiniones, ampliore quam uoluimus usi excessu, uti ne latere nos putarentur ea, quae moueri solent ab his, qui quaerunt, utrum sit alia anima in nobis praeter hanc caelestem et rationabilem, quae etiam huic naturaliter aduersetur et uocetur uel caro uel sapientia carnis uel anima carnis.

97 in *ante* disputationem *add. Del Koe* 103 in : cum δ quoniam ... uoluntatibus *om.* γ 105 tepore : tempore A[ac] W B[ac] G[ac] σ[ac] conuersationem A 107 et *om.* γ 109 dicisse *Sim* 110 aduersus ... aduersus W 117 spiritu A 118 si uero : siue G M[ac] σ : si M[pc] 121 uolumus A[ac] β G[ac] usi *om.* δ excussu G[ac] M[ac](?) σ[ac] : excursu G[pc] Ab[pc] *Koe*

3.4.3. But since we have entered upon a very deep discussion, in which it is necessary to analyse every single point which may be advanced, let us see whether at this point some such conclusion may not perhaps be determined: that just as it is better for the soul to follow the spirit at the time when the spirit has conquered the flesh, so also, even though it would seem to be worse for it to follow the flesh, when the flesh is warring against the spirit and desiring to call the soul to itself, it may nevertheless perhaps appear more advantageous for the soul to be mastered by the flesh than to abide in the sphere of its own will.[27] Since, as long as it remains in the sphere of its will, then is the time when it is said to be *neither hot nor cold*,[28] but continuing in a sort of lukewarm condition it will find conversion a slow and somewhat difficult process; but if it adheres to the flesh, then, at some time it will be satiated and filled with those very evils which it suffers from the vices of the flesh, and wearied, as it were, by the heavy burdens of luxury and lust, it may more easily and rapidly be converted from the squalor of material things to a desire for heavenly things and to spiritual grace.[29] And the Apostle must be supposed to have said, therefore, that *the spirit wars against the flesh and the flesh against the spirit, so that we may not do that which we would*[30] (those things, undoubtedly, which are designated as apart from the will of the spirit and apart from the will of the flesh), meaning, if we were to say it in other words, that it is better for a human being to be either in a condition of virtue or in a condition of wickedness than in neither of these; but that the soul, before it converts to the spirit and is made one with it, while it adheres to the body and thinks of fleshly things, appears to be neither in a good condition nor in a clearly wicked one, but to be, if I may so speak, like an animal. It is better, however, if it be possible, for it to be rendered spiritual by adhering to the spirit; but, if this is not possible, it is more expedient to follow even the wickedness of the flesh than, fixed in the sphere of its own will, to hold the position of an irrational animal.

We have treated these points, wishing to discuss every single opinion, at greater length than we intended, that those views might not be supposed to have escaped us that are commonly advanced by those who inquire whether there is in us any other soul besides this heavenly and rational one, which is naturally opposed to that one and is called either the flesh or the wisdom of the flesh or the soul of the flesh.

[27] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 17.3. [28] Rev. 3:15.
[29] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.8 (and the material cited in n.71 there); 3.1.13, 17.
[30] Gal. 5:17.

125 **3.4.4.** Nunc iam uideamus, quid etiam aduersum haec responderi soleat ab his, qui defendunt unum esse in nobis motum et unam uitam unius eiusdemque animae, cuius siue salus siue perditio secundum actus suos ipsi proprie adscribatur. Et primo uideamus, cuiusmodi sint passiones animi, quas patimur, ubi sentimus intra nosmet ipsos uelut in partes nos rapi per singula, cum 130 pugna quaedam fit cogitationum in cordibus nostris et quaedam nobis uerisimilitudines suggeruntur, quibus nunc in hoc, nunc in aliud inclinemur, quibusque nunc quidem arguimur, nunc uero nosmet ipsos amplectimur. Nihil autem magnum est, si mala ingenia dicamus quia uarium ac sibi ipsi repugnans iudicium habeant et a semet ipso discordans, cum etiam in omnibus hominibus 135 ita inueniatur, si quando deliberatio incertae rei ad consilium uenerit et prospicitur uel consulitur, quid rectius uel utilius eligatur. Nihil ergo mirum si duae uerisimilitudines sibi inuicem occurrentes et contraria suggerentes in diuersas partes animum rapiunt. Verbi causa, si cogitatio inuitet aliquem ad fidem et timorem dei, tunc non potest dici quia *Caro aduersum spiritum* 140 *pugnat*: sed dum incertum est quod uerum et utile est, animus in diuersa raptatur. Ita et cum putatur caro ad libidinem prouocare, consilium uero melius huiuscemodi incitamentis resistit, non putandum est uita esse aliqua alia, quae aduersum aliam resistat, sed natura corporis, quae repleta satiui humoris loca euacuare gestit atque deplere; sicut nec contraria aliqua uirtus 145 aut uita alterius animae putanda est, quae nobis excitat sitim et prouocat ad bibendum, uel quae esurire facit et inritat ad cibum; sed sicut haec naturalibus motibus corporis uel adpetuntur uel euacuantur, ita et naturalis seminis congregatus per tempus in suis locis umor expelli gestit et abici, quod in tantum nequaquam inpulsu alterius cuiusquam prouocationis efficitur, ut 150 interdum etiam sponte soleat egeri.

Cum ergo dicitur quia *Caro pugnat aduersum spiritum*, ita intellegunt isti quia usus uel necessitas uel delectamentum carnis prouocans hominem abstrahit et abducit a diuinis et spiritalibus rebus. Pro necessitate etenim corporis abstracti, diuinis et in aeternum profuturis rebus uacare non sinimur, 155 sicut rursum in diuinis et spiritalibus anima uacans et spiritui dei coniuncta inpugnare dicitur carnem, dum resolui eam deliciis non sinit et uoluptatibus fluitare, quibus naturaliter delectatur. Hoc modo etiam illud adserunt, quod dictum est: *Sapientia carnis inimica est deo*, non quo uere animam habeat caro

128 sunt γ **129** ubi *coni. Koe Sim Fern* : nisi ω : cum *Del* : [ni]si *Goe* ipsos *om. Sim* uelut : uel γ **142** putanda C *Sim* **142–3** uitam esse aliquam aliam δ σ *Koe Goe* **143** aduersus δ naturam σ *Koe Goe* **144** deplere : replere δ : deflere μ : defluere σ **147** et *om.* γ **151** aduersus W **157** fluctuare A adserunt δ M[pc] *Koe* : asserent B **158** uero G M[ac] : ueram σ

3.4.4. Let us now see what answer is usually given to these statements by those who maintain that there is in us a single movement and a single life of one and the same soul, whose salvation or destruction is ascribed to itself according to its own actions. And let us first see of what kind the passions of the mind are, which we suffer whenever we feel within ourselves as if we are being dragged in different directions, when there arises a certain conflict of thoughts in our hearts and certain images are suggested to us, by which we are inclined now this way and now that, and by which we are at one time reproved and another time we are ourselves approved.[31] It is nothing remarkable, however, if we say that wicked spirits have a varying and self-conflicting and self-discordant judgement, since such is found to be the case with all human beings whenever deliberation about an uncertain matter is brought to council and consideration and consultation is given as to what should be chosen as better and more advantageous. It is therefore not surprising that if two images occur to someone in turn and suggest opposite things, they should drag the mind in different directions. For example, if someone is led by reflection to faith and fear of God, it cannot then be said that *The flesh wars against the spirit*; but while it is uncertain about what is true and advantageous, the mind is dragged in diverse directions. So also, when it is supposed that the flesh incites someone to lust, while a better counsel opposes this sort of incitement, it must not be supposed that there is one life that opposes another, but that [the conflict is due to] the nature of the body, which longs to empty out and exhaust the places filled with seminal fluid; just as it must neither be supposed that it is any opposing power or the life of another soul which excites thirst in us and incites us to drink or which causes us to become hungry and drives us to food. But just as these things are desired or expunged through the natural movements of the body, so also the moisture of the natural seed, collecting from time to time in its proper places, strives to be expelled and discharged, which is so far from never happening without the impulse of some external excitement that sometimes it is even wont to be emitted spontaneously.

When, therefore, it is said that *the flesh wars against the spirit*, they must understand the passage thus: that the use or the needs or the delights of the flesh, inciting a human being, draw and lead him away from divine and spiritual things. For, being drawn away because of the needs of the body, we are not allowed to be at leisure for things divine and profitable for eternity; just as, on the other hand, when the soul has leisure for divine and spiritual things and, being united with the Spirit of God, it is said to war against the flesh, for it does not allow itself to become relaxed through indulgences and to be swayed by the pleasures in which it naturally delights. In this way they take the saying, *The shrewdness of the flesh is hostile to God*,[32] not that the flesh really has a soul

[31] Cf. Rom. 2:15. [32] Rom. 8:7.

uel sapientiam propriam, sed sicut abusiue dicere solemus et sitire terram et
160 uelle eam bibere aquam (hoc utique, quod dicimus uelle, non proprie sed abusiue proferimus, uelut si dicamus iterum quia domus reconponi uult, et alia multa his similia), ita et *sapientia carnis* accipienda est uel quod dictum est quia *Caro concupiscit aduersum spiritum*. Adicere solent etiam illud, quod dictum est: *Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra*. Quod enim clamat
165 ad deum, non est proprie sanguis ille, qui effusus est, sed abusiue sanguis clamare dicitur, dum eius qui sanguinem effudit a deo uindicta deposcitur. Sed et illud, quod apostolus ait: *Video autem aliam legem in membris meis*, ita intellegunt tamquam si dixisset quod is, qui uerbo dei uacare uult, pro necessitatibus et usibus corporalibus, quae uelut lex quaedam corpori inest,
170 distrahitur atque diuellitur et inpeditur, ne *sapientiae dei* uacans intentius possit diuina contueri mysteria.

3.4.5. Quod uero inter *carnis opera* descriptae sunt esse etiam *haereses et inuidiae et contentiones* uel cetera, ita accipiunt quod anima, cum crassioris sensus fuerit effecta, ex eo quod corporis sese passionibus subdit, oppressa
175 uitiorum molibus et nihil subtile uel spiritale sentiens, caro dicitur effecta et inde nomen trahit, in quo plus studii uel propositi gerit. Addunt etiam haec requirentes: Quis inuenietur, uel quis dicetur conditor mali huius sensus, qui sensus dicitur carnis? quia alium nullum creatorem animae et carnis quam deum credendum esse defendent. Et si dicamus quia bonus deus in ipsa
180 conditione sua aliquid sibi creauit inimicum, utique absurdum uidebitur. Si ergo scriptum est quia *Sapientia carnis inimica est deo* et hoc factum ex conditione dicetur, uidebitur ipse deus naturam sibi aliquam fecisse inimicam, quae ei non potest esse subiecta nec legi eius, quippe si animal esse putabitur de quo haec dicuntur. Quodsi ita recipiatur, quid iam differre uidebitur ab his,
185 qui diuersas naturas esse animarum dicunt creatas, quae naturaliter uel saluandae sint uel periturae? Quod utique solis haereticis placet, qui dum iustitiam dei pia ratione adseuerare non possunt, huiuscemodi impietatis figmenta componunt.

Et nos quidem, prout potuimus, ex singulorum personis quae dici possent
190 disputationis modo de singulis dogmatibus in medium protulimus; qui autem legit, eligat ex his quae magis amplectenda sit ratio.

161 proferemus G M^{pc} σ 163 aduersus W 165 deum : dominum μ 166 effundit δ a deo *om.* γ 167 autem *om.* δ 170 dei *om.* γ 174 passionibus sese A 175 uel : ac σ : *om.* W μ 176 trahit nomen A 178 quia : qui γ 179 defendunt M *Koe* deus bonus δ B 189 quae dici possent *post* singulis *(l.190) transp.* δ possint γ : possunt *Del* 191 sit : est δ

or a wisdom of its own, but just as we are accustomed to say improperly that the earth is thirsty and wants to drink water (where we indeed say 'want', yet employ the word not properly but improperly, just as if we were to say again that this house wants to be rebuilt and many other similar expressions), so also must *the shrewdness of the flesh* be understood or the saying that *flesh wars against the spirit*. They are accustomed to add to these the saying, *The voice of your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground*.[33] For what cries out to the Lord is not properly the blood itself that was shed, but the blood is improperly said to cry out when vengeance is demanded from God upon him who shed the blood. That also which the Apostle said, *I see another law in my members*,[34] they understand in this way, as if he had said that the one who wishes to devote himself to the Word of God is, because of the bodily needs and functions that are like a sort of law in the body, distracted and divided and impeded, lest by devoting himself more attentively to the *Wisdom of God*[35] he should be able to behold the divine mysteries.

3.4.5. With regard, however, to the fact that *heresies and envyings and strifes* and other vices are described as being among the *works of the flesh*,[36] they understand in this way, that the soul—when rendered grosser in feeling from yielding itself to the passions of the body, being weighed down by the mass of its vices, and being sensitive to nothing refined or spiritual—is said to be made flesh and takes its name from that in which it exercises the greater part of its endeavour and purpose. They also pose this further question: 'Who will be found, or who will be said to be the creator of this evil mind, which is called the mind of the flesh?' For they maintain that it is to be believed that there is no other creator of the soul and flesh than God. But it would certainly seem absurd if we should say that the good God created anything in his own creation that is hostile to himself. If, then, it is written that *The shrewdness of the flesh is hostile to God*, and if it is said that this is a result of creation, then it will appear that God himself has made a nature hostile to himself, which cannot be subject to him nor to his law,[37] at least if it is assumed that it is an animate being about which these things are said. But if this is accepted, in what way will it appear to differ from those who say that different natures of souls are created, which are by nature either to be saved or to be destroyed? This is satisfactory indeed to heretics alone, who, not able to defend the justice of God by pious reasoning, compose impious inventions such as this.

We have, then, brought into the open, as best we can, in the person of each of the theories, what might be said in the manner of discussion by each teaching; let the one who reads choose from them which is more to be embraced by reason.[38]

[33] Gen. 4:10. [34] Rom. 7:23. [35] 1 Cor. 1:21, 24. [36] Gal. 5:19–20.
[37] Cf. Rom. 8:7. [38] Conclusions are likewise left to the reader at *Princ.* 1.6.4; 1.7.1; 2.3.7.

Quod mundus ex tempore coeperit et finem speret

3.5.1. Post haec iam quoniam quidem unum de ecclesiasticis definitionibus habetur praecipue secundum historiae nostrae fidem, quod mundus hic factus sit et ex certo tempore coeperit et secundum peruulgatam omnibus consummationem saeculi pro sui corruptione soluendus sit, etiam de hoc pauca repetere non uidetur absurdum. Et quantum quidem ad scripturarum fidem pertinet, perfacilis de hoc uidetur adsertio. Denique et haeretici cum in alia multa distracti sint, in hoc tamen scripturae auctoritati cedentes uisi sunt consonare.

De conditione ergo mundi quae alia nos scriptura magis poterit edocere quam ea, quae a Moyse de origine eius descripta est? Quae licet maiora quaedam intra se contineat, quam historiae narratio uidetur ostendere, et spiritalem in quam maximis contineat intellectum atque in rebus mysticis et profundis uelamine quodam litterae utatur: tamen nihilominus hoc indicat sermo narrantis, quod ex certo tempore creata sint omnia quae uidentur. De consummatione uero mundi primo Iacob indicat, cum ad filios suos testatur dicens: *Conuenite ad me, filii Iacob, ut annuntiem uobis quid erit in nouissimis diebus* uel *post nouissimos dies*. Si ergo sunt *nouissimi dies* uel *post nouissimos dies*, cessare dies necesse est qui coeperunt. Dauid quoque ait: *Caeli peribunt, tu autem permanebis, et omnes sicut uestimentum ueterescent, et sicut opertorium mutabis eos, et mutabuntur; tu autem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient*. Dominus uero et saluator noster, cum dicit: *Qui creauit ab initio, masculum et feminam fecit eos*, factum esse mundum etiam ipse testatur; et rursum dicens quia *Caelum et terra transiet, uerba autem mea non transient*, corruptibilem eum finiendumque designat. Sed et apostolus dicens: *Vanitati enim creatura subiecta est, non uolens, sed propter eum, qui subiecit in spe, quia et ipsa creatura liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei* manifeste finem mundi declarat, et cum rursum dicit: *Transiet enim habitus huius mundi*. Verum in eo ipso, quod dixit quia *Vanitati creatura subiecta est*, etiam initium eius ostendit. Si enim uanitati creatura subiecta est propter spem aliquam, ex causa utique subiecta est, et quod ex causa est, necesse est ut

1 *titulum:* quod mundus ex tempore coeperit et finem speret *β* : *om.* et finem speret δ (*rubrum*) γ (*in textu*) *edd.* **7** perfacilis : uel facilis δ : facilis σ **10** eius descripta : eiusdem scripta γ **14** sint : sunt M[ac] σ **20** idem *post* autem *add.* C σ (= *Vulg.*) **23** transient B M S *Koe* **26** libertate *β* G **27** enim *om.* γ

That the World began in Time and Expects an End

3.5.1.[1] Now, after these matters, since one of the ecclesiastical doctrines is held pre-eminently, in accordance with the assurance of our historical narratives—that this world was made and began at a definite time and, in accordance with the consummation of the age known to all, is to be dissolved because it is corruptible—it does not seem absurd to repeat again a few points regarding this. And, indeed, insofar as it concerns the assurance of the Scriptures, the discussion about this seems very easy. For, in fact, even the heretics, although divided on many other matters, yet on this point seem to be at one in submitting to the authority of Scripture.

Concerning, then, the creation of the world, what other book of Scripture is more able to instruct us than that which was written by Moses regarding its origin? This account may well contain certain deeper matters than the historical narrative appears to reveal and may contain a spiritual meaning in many passages and employ the letter as a kind of veil[2] for mystical and profound matters, yet nevertheless the language of the narrator certainly indicates this, that at a definite time all visible things were created. And with regard to the consummation of the world, Jacob is the first to indicate this, when he testifies to his sons, saying, *Gather together to me, sons of Jacob, that I may tell you what shall be in the last days* or *after the last days*.[3] If, then, there are *last days* or an *after the last days*, it is necessary that the days, which had begun, must cease. David also says, *The heavens shall perish, but you will endure, and they will all become old like a garment; like clothing will you change them, and they will be changed; but you are the same, and your years will not fail.*[4] Our Lord and Saviour, indeed, when he says, *He who created them in the beginning, made them male and female*,[5] himself bears witness that the world was made; and again when he says that *Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away*,[6] he points out that they are corruptible and coming to an end. The Apostle, moreover, saying, *The creation was subjected to futility, not willingly, but by the one who subjected it in hope, because the creation itself will also be set free from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*,[7] clearly announces the end of the world, as also he does when he says, *The form of this world passes away*.[8] Yet in that expression which he uses, that *the creation was subjected to futility*, he also points to its beginning. For if the creation was subjected to futility on account of a certain hope, it was certainly

[1] According to Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a13–14), the final part of *Princ.* 3 shows 'that the world, beginning in time, is originated and corruptible' (ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτὸς ἀπὸ χρόνου ἀρξάμενος); that Origen intends to write both about the beginning and about the end of the world is made clear in the opening lines.

[2] Cf. 2 Cor. 3:14. [3] Gen. 49:1.

[4] Ps. 101:27–8. Origen puts these verses together with 1 Cor. 7:31, cited below, in *Princ.* 1.6.4.

[5] Matt. 19:4. [6] Matt. 24:35. [7] Rom. 8:20–1. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.5.

[8] 1 Cor. 7:31.

coeperit; non enim poterat sine ullo initio uanitati creatura esse subiecta et sperare *liberari a seruitute corruptionis*, quae seruire corruptioni non coeperat. Sed et quam plurima alia in diuinis scripturis huiusmodi dicta reperiet si quis requirat ex otio, quibus et initium habere mundus et finem sperare dicatur.

35 **3.5.2.** Si quis ergo est qui aduersetur in hac parte uel auctoritati scripturae nostrae uel fidei, inquiremus ab eo, utrum dicat deum conpraehendere posse omnia, an non posse? Et dicere quidem non posse manifeste impium est. Si uero, quod necesse est, dixerit quia omnia conpraehendit, superest ut eo ipso quo conpraehendi possunt, et initium habere intellegantur et finem. Nam quod 40 penitus sine ullo initio est, conpraehendi omnino non potest. In quantumcumque enim se intellectus extenderit, in tantum conpraehendendi facultas sine fine subducitur et differtur, ubi initium non habetur.

3.5.3. Sed solent nobis obicere dicentes: Si coepit mundus ex tempore, quid ante faciebat deus quam mundus inciperet? Otiosam enim et immobilem 45 dicere naturam dei impium est simul et absurdum, uel putare quod bonitas aliquando bene non fecerit et omnipotentia aliquando non egerit potentatum. Haec nobis obicere solent dicentibus mundum hunc ex certo tempore coepisse et secundum scripturae fidem annos quoque aetatis ipsius numerantibus. Ad quas propositiones non arbitror aliquem haereticorum secundum rationem 50 dogmatis sui posse facile respondere. Nos uero consequenter respondebimus obseruantes regulam pietatis et dicentes quoniam non tunc primum, cum uisibilem istum mundum fecit deus, coepit operari, sed sicut post

41 se enim γ extenderit : ostenderit δ C S[ac] 43 *ante* sed solent *add. titulum:* quod etiam ante hunc uisibilem mundum fuerint creaturae rationabiles quas et tunc dispensabat deus et nunc dispensat et in futurum dispensabit nec unquam ab earum dispensatione cessatur β
47 haec *om.* γ : hoc *Del* nobis : nobis etiam M[pc] : nobis iterum σ

subjected from a cause, and if it was from a cause, it is necessary that it began; for without any beginning the creation could not be subjected to futility and hope to be *set free from the bondage of corruption*, if it had not begun to be subjected to corruption. But if anyone searches at leisure, he will find numerous other such sayings in the divine Scriptures, in which the world is said both to have a beginning and to hope for an end.

3.5.2. If, however, there is anyone who would in this matter oppose either the authority or the credibility of our Scriptures, we would ask of him whether he would say that God can comprehend all things or that he cannot?[9] Now, to say that he cannot is clearly impious. If, then, as is necessary, he answers that he can comprehend all things, it follows from this very fact—that they can be comprehended—that they are understood to have a beginning and an end. For that which is altogether without any beginning cannot be comprehended at all. However far understanding may extend, so far is the ability of comprehending withdrawn and deferred without end when there is held to be no beginning.

3.5.3. But they are wont to object, saying, 'If the world began in time, what was God doing before the world began? For it is at once impious and absurd to say that the nature of God is inactive and immobile, or to suppose that goodness at one time did not do good and omnipotence at one time did not exercise its power.'[10] Such is the objection they are accustomed to make when we say that this world began at a definite time and when we count the years of its age according to the assurance of Scripture.[11] I do not think that any of the heretics can easily give an answer, in accordance with the logic of their own teaching, to these questions. Yet we can give a logical answer in accordance with the rule of piety, by saying that God did not begin to work for the first time when he

[9] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.9.1. The word 'to comprehend' (*compraehendere*, no doubt translating χωρεῖν) has the double meaning of 'to understand' and 'to contain'.

[10] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.10; 1.4.3–5.

[11] As was done, for instance, by Origen's contemporary, and correspondent, Julius Africanus, fragments of whose works remain (PG 12, 63–94); he is mentioned by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.31; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 63; and Photius, *Bibl.* 34. It was a project undertaken by many others, from Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, to early Christian apologists, such as Tatian and Theophilus, to Eusebius, whose chronologies were edited by Jerome.

corruptionem huius erit alius mundus, ita et antequam hic esset, fuisse alios credimus. Quod utrumque diuinae scripturae auctoritate firmabitur. Nam 55 quod erit post hunc alius mundus, Esaias docet dicens: *Erit caelum nouum et terra noua, quae ego faciam permanere in conspectu meo, dicit dominus.* Quod autem ante hunc mundum fuerint etiam alii, Ecclesiastes ostendit dicens: *Quid est quod factum est? ipsum quod futurum est. Et quid est quod creatum est? hoc ipsum quod creandum est; et nihil est omnino recens sub sole. Si* 60 *qui loquetur et dicet: Ecce hoc nouum est, iam fuit id in saeculis quae fuerunt ante nos.* Quibus testimoniis utrumque simul probatur, quod et ante fuerint saecula et futura sint postmodum. Non tamen putandum est plures simul mundos esse, sed post hunc interum alium futurum; de quibus nunc non est necessarium per singula repetere, cum id iam in superioribus fecerimus.

65 **3.5.4.** Illud sane otiose praetereundum esse non arbitror, quod scripturae sanctae conditionem mundi nouo quodam et proprio nomine nuncuparunt, dicentes καταβολήν mundi (quod latine satis inproprie translatum constitutionem mundi dixerunt; καταβολή uero in graeco magis deicere significat, id est deorsum iacere, quod latine inproprie, ut diximus, constitutionem mundi 70 interpraetati sunt), sicut in euangelio secundum Iohannem, cum dicit saluator: *Et erit tribulatio in illis diebus, qualis non fuit a constitutione mundi* (hic constitutio καταβολή dicta est, quod ita intellegendum est, sicut superius

3.5.3, lines 53–62

Jerome Ep. *124.9.1–2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 107.10–26):*

Nobis autem [inquit] placet et ante hunc mundum alium fuisse mundum et post istum alium futurum. Vis discere, quod post corruptionem huius mundi alius sit futurus? Audi Esaiam loquentem: *erit caelum nouum et terra noua, quae ego facio permanere in conspectu meo.* Vis nosse, quod ante fabricam istius mundi alii mundi in praeterito fuerint? ausculta Ecclesiasten: *quid est, quod fuit? ipsum, quod erit. et quid est, quod factum est? ipsum, quod futurum est. Et non est omne nouum sub sole, Quod loquatur et dicat: ecce hoc nouum est; iam enim fuit in saeculis pristinis, quae fuerunt ante nos.* quod testimonium non solum fuisse, sed futuros mundos esse testatur, non quo simul et pariter omnes fiant, sed alius post alium.

60 et *om.* δ μ   63 iterum B^{pc} *Koe* : initium *Del*   aliorum futurorum μ : aliorum futurum *Del*
67 catabolen ω   68 catabole ω   72 catabole W β M σ : catabolae A G

made this visible world, but that[12] just as after its dissolution there will be another world, so also we believe others to have existed before this one was. And both of these claims will be confirmed by the authority of the divine Scripture. For Isaiah teaches that there will be another world after this one, saying, *There will be a new heaven and a new earth, which I will cause to remain in my sight, says the Lord.*[13] And Ecclesiastes shows that there were others even before this world, saying, *What is that which came to be? The very thing that shall be. And what is that which has been created? The very thing that is to be created; and there is nothing new at all under the sun. If one should speak and say, 'See, this is new!'; it has already been in the worlds which were before us.*[14] By these testimonies it is established at the same time both that there were prior worlds and that there will be others hereafter. It must not be supposed, however, that several worlds existed at once, but that after this one another will exist in its turn, about which it is not now necessary to repeat each point, since we have already done this above.[15]

3.5.4. This point, certainly, I think, is not to be passed by idly, that the holy Scriptures have named the creation of the world by a new and particular name, terming it the καταβολή of the world (which has been very improperly translated into Latin as *constitutio*; for in Greek καταβολή signifies rather *deicere*, that is, to cast downwards), which, as we have said, is improperly rendered into Latin by the *constitutio* of the world; just as in the Gospel according to John, when the Saviour says, *And there will be tribulation in those days, such as has not been since the constitution of the world* (here καταβολή is rendered *constitutio*, which is to be understood as explained above).[16]

[12] Cf. Jerome *Ep.* 124.9.1–2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 107.10–26): 'Again, of the world: we hold, he says, that before this world there was another and after it another will exist. Would you learn that after the dissolution of this world another will come to be? Listen to Isaiah, saying, *There will be a new heaven and a new earth, which I will make to remain in my sight.* Would you know that before the fabrication of this work, other worlds existed in the past? Listen to Ecclesiastes: *What is that which came to be? The very thing that shall be. And what is that which has been created? The very thing that is to be created; and there is nothing new at all under the sun. If one should speak and say, "See this is new!"; it has already been in the ages which were before us.* This testimony bears witness not only to the past, but also to the future worlds, not all existing side by side at the same time, but one after another.'

[13] Isa. 66:22. [14] Eccl. 1:9–10. [15] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.3.1–6.

[16] The passage is not from John, but Matt. 24:21, which in fact uses the word ἀρχή (*initio*); καταβολή (*constitutio*) occurs in John 17:24 (and Matt. 25:34). It is possible that this (misattributed and mistaken) illustration was added by Rufinus, who has also added many explanatory comments in the preceding sentences. On the 'foundation' as a 'throwing-down' see esp. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 19.149 and Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 1.4 (especially when he reports what 'another says', presumably Origen).

exposuimus). Sed et apostolus in epistola ad Ephesios eodem sermone usus est, cum ait: *Qui elegit nos ante constitutionem mundi* (et hic constitutionem
75 mundi καταβολήν dixit, eodem sensu quo superius interpraetati sumus intellegendam). Dignum igitur uidetur inquirere, quid est quod hoc nouo nomine indicetur. Et arbitror, quoniam quidem finis et consummatio sanctorum erit in his, quae *non uidentur* et *aeterna* sunt, ex ipsius finis contemplatione, sicut in superioribus frequenter ostendimus, simile etiam initium rationabiles creatu-
80 ras habuisse censendum est. Et si tale initium habuerunt, qualem finem sperant, fuerunt sine dubio iam ab initio in his, quae *non uidentur* et *aeterna* sunt. Quod si est, de superioribus ad inferiora descensum est non solum ab his animabus, quae id motuum suorum uarietate meruerunt, uerum et ab his, qui ad totius mundi ministerium ex illis superioribus et inuisibilibus ad haec inferi-
85 ora et uisibilia deducti sunt, licet non uolentes. *Vanitati quippe creatura subiecta est non uolens, sed propter eum, qui subiecit in spe*, quo uel sol uel luna uel stellae uel angeli dei explerent obsequium mundo; et his animabus, quae ob nimios defectus mentis suae crassioribus istis et solidioribus indiguere corporibus, et propter eos, quibus hoc erat necessarium, mundus iste uisibilis
90 institutus est. Ex hoc ergo communiter omnium per hanc significantiam, id est per καταβολήν, a superioribus ad inferiora uidetur indicari deductio. Spem

3.5.4, lines 77–86

Jerome, Ep. *124.9.3–5 (ed. Hilberg 3, 107.27–108.19):*

Diuinitus habitaculum et ueram requiem apud superos aestimo intellegi, in qua creaturae rationabiles commorantes, antequam ad inferiora descenderent et de inuisibilibus ad uisibilia conmigrarent ruentesque ad terram crassis corporibus indigerent, antiqua beatitudine fruebantur. Vnde conditor deus fecit eis congrua humilibus locis corpora et mundum istum uisibilem fabricatus est ministrosque ob salutem et correptionem eorum, qui ciciderunt, misit in mundum, equibus alii certa obtinerent loca et mundi necessitatibus oboedirent, alii iniuncta sibi officia singulis quibusque temporibus, quae nouit artifex deus, sedula mente tractarent. Et ex his sublimiora mundi loca sol et luna et stellae, quae ab apostolo *creatura* dicitur, acceperunt. Quae *creatura uanitati subiecta est,* eo quod crassis circumdata corporibus et aspectui pateat. Et tamen *non sponte subiecta est uanitati, sed propter uoluntatem eius, qui eam subiecit in spe.*

73 exposuimus : diximus γ sua *post* epistola *add.* δ 75 catabole δ : catabolen β M : catabolem G σ 85 deducta γ 86 quo : quod γ : qua *Del* 91 catabolen α μ : catabolem σ

The Apostle, also, has used the same word in the Epistle to the Ephesians, when he says, *Who has chosen us before the foundation of the world*[17] (here also the *constitutio* of the world translates καταβολή, understood in the same meaning as we interpreted it above). It seems worthwhile, therefore, to inquire what is indicated by this new term. And[18] I am of the opinion that as the end and the consummation of the saints will be in those [worlds] that are *not seen* and *eternal*,[19] it must be supposed, from a contemplation of that very end, as we have frequently pointed out above, that rational creatures have also had a similar beginning.[20] And if they had a beginning such as the end for which they hope, they were undoubtedly from the beginning in those [worlds] that are *not seen* and *eternal*. And if this is so, then there has been a descent from the higher conditions to the lower, not only on the part of those souls who have by the variety of their own movements deserved it, but also on that of those who, to serve the whole world, were brought down from the higher and invisible conditions to these lower and visible ones, even against their will.[21] *Because the creation was subjected to futility, not willingly, but by the one who subjected it in hope*,[22] so that both the sun and the moon and the stars and the angels of God might fulfil an obedient service for the world; and for those souls which, because of their excessive spiritual defects needed these denser and more solid bodies, and because of those for whom this was necessary, this visible world was founded. From this, therefore, a descent of everyone alike would seem to be indicated by the meaning of the word, that is, of καταβολή.

[17] Eph. 1:4.

[18] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.9.3–5 (ed. Hilberg 3, 107.27–108.19): 'And immediately he adds: I think it must be understood that there is above a heavenly dwelling place and true rest, in which rational creatures used to abide before they descended to these lower regions and travelled from invisible to visible places, and where, before they were cast down to earth and needed solid bodies, they enjoyed a primeval blessedness. Whence God the creator made for them bodies appropriate for their lowly surroundings and has fashioned this visible world and sent ministers into the world for the salvation and correction of those who have fallen; of these ministers some have held assigned positions and were obedient to the necessities of the world, while others assiduously performed the duties laid upon them at the various times which the artificer God knows. To the former class belong the sun and the moon and the stars, which are called by the Apostle *the creation*, and these have been given their place in the higher regions. This *creation* has been *subjected to futility* by being clothed in dense bodies and made visible to sight. And yet it *was subjected to futility not willingly, but according to the will of him who subjected it in hope*.'

[19] 2 Cor. 4:18. Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 28; Philo, *Opif.* 12.

[20] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.2; 2.1.1.

[21] Note how again Origen differentiates between those who descend due to their own faults and others who descend to serve. Cf. *Princ.* 1.5.5 (and the material cited in n.39 there); 1.7.5; 2.9.7; *Comm. Jo.* 1.98–100; 2.175–92; *Hom. Ezech.* 1.1–5.

[22] Rom. 8:20.

sane libertatis uniuersa creatura gerit, ut a *seruitutis corruptione liberetur*, cum
filii dei qui uel prolapsi uel dispersi sunt, in unum fuerint congregati, uel cum
cetera officia expleuerint in hoc mundo, quae solus cognoscit omnium artifex
95 deus. Talem uero ac tantum factum esse putandum est mundum, qui uel omnes
eas animas, quae in hoc mundo statutae sunt exerceri, caperet, uel omnes eas
uirtutes, quae adesse eis et dispensare eas ac iuuare paratae sunt. Vnius namque
naturae esse omnes rationabiles creaturas, ex multis adsertionibus conproba-
tur; per quod solum dei iustitia in omnibus earum dispensationibus defendi
100 potest, dum unaquaeque in semet ipsa habet causas, quod in illo uel illo uitae
ordine posita est.

3.5.5. Hanc ergo dispositionem dei, quam postea ordinauit, iam tum ab origine
mundi rationibus causisque prospectis uel eorum, qui pro defectu mentis
uenire in corpora merebantur, uel eorum, qui uisibilium cupiditate raptabantur,
105 sed et illorum, qui uel uolentes uel inuiti praestare officia quaedam his, qui in
hunc statum deciderant, conpellebantur ab eo, qui in spe subiciebat, non
intellegentes quidam nec aduertentes quod ex praecedentibus liberi arbitrii
causis instituta fuisset a deo dispositionis ista uarietas, arbitrati sunt uel
fortuitis motibus uel fatali necessitate agi omnia, quae in hoc mundo fiunt, nec
110 esse aliquid in nostro arbitrio. Vnde nec dei prouidentiam inculpabilem
adsignare potuerunt.

3.5.4, lines 93–5

Jerome Ep. *124.9.6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 108.19–22):*

Alii uero in singulis locis atque temporibus, quae solus artifex nouit, mundi gubernaculis seruiunt, quos angelos eius credimus.

3.5.5, lines 102–6

Jerome, Ep. *124.9.7 (ed. Hilberg 3, 108.22–109.4):*

Quem rerum ordinem et totum mundi <regit dei> prouidentia, dum aliae uirtutes de sublimioribus corruunt, aliae paulatim labuntur in terras, istae uoluntate descendunt, aliae praecipitantur inuitae, hae sponte suscipiunt ministeria, ut ruentibus manum porrigant, illae coguntur ingratae et tanto uel tanto tempore in suscepto officio perseuerant.

92 seruitute corruptionis *Goe dub. in appar.* 96 ut *post* uel *add.* δ 97 eis : his δ
100 in *post* uel *add.* C γ *Koe Goe* 102 tum : dum A : tunc γ 103 perspectis σ
109 fiunt : sunt δ B *Koe Goe* : fiunt *uel* sunt C : *om.* μ 111 potuerunt *desinit* C

The whole creation indeed entertains the hope of freedom, of being *set free from the bondage of corruption* when *the children of God*,[23] who either fell away or were scattered abroad, shall be gathered together into one, or[24] when they shall have fulfilled their other duties in this world, which are known to God alone, the Artificer of all things. It must be supposed that the world was created of such a kind and of such a size as to be able to contain all those souls which were appointed to be trained in this world, and also those powers which were prepared to attend, to serve, and to assist them. For it is proved by many assertions that all rational creatures are of one nature; on which ground alone can the justice of God in all his arrangements concerning them be defended, when everyone has within himself the reasons he has been placed in this or that rank of life.

3.5.5. This[25] arrangement of God, therefore, which he appointed afterwards, when he had already from the beginning of the world foreseen the reasons and causes both of those who, because of spiritual defect, deserved to enter into bodies, and of those who were carried away by their desire for visible things, and also of those who, either willingly or unwillingly, were compelled by him who subjected the same in hope to perform services for those who had fallen into that condition—not understanding [this arrangement] nor perceiving that this variety of arrangement has been founded by God as a result of prior causes arising from free will, they have supposed that everything that happens in this world is directed either by chance movement or by a fateful necessity, and that nothing is within the power of our will. Consequently they have not been able to show that the providence of God is blameless.

[23] Rom. 8:21.

[24] Cf. Jerome *Ep.* 124.9.6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 108.19–22): 'And again: but others in their various places and times, which the Artificer alone knows, undertake the governance of the world, whom we believe to be his angels.'

[25] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.9.7 (ed. Hilberg 3, 108.22–109.4): 'And a little further on: this order of things and the entire world is ruled by the providence of God, such that while some powers fall quickly from the higher realms, others gradually glide down to earth; some descend of their own free will, others are thrown down unwillingly; some freely undertake the task of lending a hand to those who are falling, while others are unpleasantly constrained and continue in their allotted tasks for a certain period.'

3.5.6. Sicut autem diximus quia multis uel ministris uel rectoribus uel auxiliatoribus eguerunt animae omnes, quae in hoc mundo uersatae sunt: ita in nouissimis temporibus, cum iam finis mundo proximus immineret et in
115 ultimam perditionem omne humanum uergeret genus, infirmatis non solum his, qui regebantur, uerum etiam illis, quibus regendi fuerat sollicitudo commissa, non iam tali auxilio nec similibus sui indiguit defensoribus, sed auctoris ipsius et creatoris sui opem poposcit, qui et his oboediendi et illis regendi corruptam profanamque restitueret disciplinam. Vnde unigenitus
120 filius dei, qui erat uerbum et sapientia patris, cum esset in ea *gloria* apud patrem, quam habuit *antequam mundus esset, exinaniuit se ipsum et formam serui accipiens efficitur oboediens usque ad mortem*, ut oboedientiam doceret eos, qui non aliter nisi per oboedientiam salutem consequi poterant, regendi quoque regnandique corruptas restitueret leges, dum *omnes inimicos subicit*
125 *pedibus suis*, et per hoc quod necesse est eum regnare, donec ponat inimicos suos sub pedibus suis et *nouissimum inimicum destruat mortem*, rectores ipsos regendi doceat moderamina. Quia ergo non solum regendi uel regnandi uerum etiam oboediendi, ut diximus, reparare uenerat disciplinam, in semet ipso prius complens quod ab aliis uolebat impleri, idcirco non solum usque ad
130 mortem crucis patri oboediens factus est, uerum etiam in consummatione saeculi in semet ipso conplectens omnes, quos subicit patri et qui per eum ueniunt ad salutem, cum ipsis et in ipsis ipse quoque subiectus dicitur patri, dum *omnia in ipso constant*, et ipse est *caput omnium*, et *in ipso* est salutem consequentium *plenitudo*. Hoc ergo est quod de eo dicit apostolus: *Cum autem*
135 *omnia ei fuerint subiecta, tunc et ipse filius subiectus erit ei, qui sibi subdidit omnia, ut sit deus omnia in omnibus.*

3.5.7. Verum nescio quo pacto haeretici non intellegentes apostoli sensum, qui in his uerbis continetur, subiectionis in filio nomen infamant; cuius appellationis si proprietas requiritur, ex contrariis facile poterit inueniri. Nam
140 si subiectum esse non est bonum, restat ut illud, quod contrarium est, bonum sit, id est non esse subiectum. Sermo namque apostoli secundum quod isti uolunt hoc uidetur ostendere, dum dicit: *Cum autem subiecta fuerint ei omnia,*

112 *ante* sicut *add. titulum:* quae sit causa, ut uerbum dei in carne ueniret, et quomodo subiectis omnibus ipse patri subiciendus dicitur B quia multis *om.* μ : quia σ **116** qui regabantur B : quae gerebantur γ **117** suis γ **119** profanatamque B *Goe* restituerit γ unde : nam *Ian* **121** se : semet δ *Koe Goe* **123** potuerant *Ian* **123–8** regendi … disciplinam *om. Ian* **124** restituuntur G^{ac} M : restituantur G^{pc} : restituit σ suos *post* inimicos *add.* δ **126** rectoresque δ **130** consummationem γ *Ian* **132** ipsis^{1} : et ipsi *Ian* **133** constet M^{ac} G : constent σ in ipso : ipse *Ian* salus μ : salus et σ **134** est *om.* γ **139** requiratur *Ian* **142** dum : cum B

3.5.6. But just as we have said that all souls who have dwelt in this world have been in need of many ministers or rulers or assistants, so, in the last times, when the end of the world is already imminent and the whole human race was verging upon the final destruction, and not only those who were governed by others but also those to whom the care of governing had been committed had become infirm, it was no longer such assistance nor protectors like these that were needed, but the aid of the Author and Creator himself was required, which restores the discipline, which had been corrupted and profaned, of obeying to the one and of ruling to the other. And therefore the only-begotten Son of God, who was the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, when he was with the Father in that *glory* which he had *before the world was*,[26] *emptied himself and taking the form of a servant became obedient even unto death*,[27] that he might teach obedience to those who could not otherwise than by obedience obtain salvation; he restored also the corrupted laws of ruling and reigning in that he *subdues all enemies under his feet*,[28] and by the fact that he must reign until he puts all enemies under his feet and *destroys the last enemy, death*,[29] he teaches the rulers themselves the art of ruling. As he had come, then, to restore the discipline not only of ruling and reigning, but also of obeying, as we have said, fulfilling in himself first what he desired to be fulfilled by others, becoming obedient to the Father not only unto the death of the cross but also in the consummation of the age, by embracing in himself all whom he subjects to the Father and who come to salvation through him, he himself, with them and in them, is also said to be subject to the Father, when *all things subsist in him* and he is *the head* of all things, and *in him is the fullness* of those attaining salvation.[30] This, therefore, is what the Apostle says of him, *When all things have been subject to him, then shall the Son himself also be subject to him who put all things under him, that God may be all in all*.[31]

3.5.7. Indeed I know not how the heretics, not understanding the meaning of the Apostle contained in these words, calumniate the term 'subjection' in regard to the Son; if the propriety of the title is sought, it may easily be found by its opposite. For if to be subject is not good, it follows that the opposite is good, that is, not to be in subjection. Now the language of the Apostle, as they would have it, appears to demonstrate this when it says, *When all things have*

[26] John 17:5. [27] Phil. 2:7–8. [28] 1 Cor. 15:27. [29] 1 Cor. 15:26.
[30] Col. 1:17, 18; 2:9. [31] 1 Cor. 15:28.

tunc et ipse filius subiectus erit ei, qui sibi subdidit omnia, ut quasi is, qui nunc patri subiectus non sit, subiectus futurus sit tunc, cum prius ei pater uniuersa
145 subiecerit. Sed miror quomodo hoc intellegi possit, ut is, qui nondum sibi subiectis omnibus non est ipse subiectus, tunc cum subiecta sibi fuerint omnia, cum rex omnium fuerit et potestatem tenuerit uniuersorum, tunc eum subiciendum putent, cum subiectus ante non fuerit, non intellegentes quod subiectio Christi ad patrem beatitudinem nostrae perfectionis ostendit et
150 suscepti ab eo operis palmam declarat, cum non solum regendi ac regnandi summam, quam in uniuersa emendauerat creatura, uerum etiam oboedientiae et subiectionis correcta reparataque humani generis patri offerat instituta. Si ergo bona et salutaris accipitur ista subiectio, qua subiectus esse dicitur filius patri, ualde consequens et cohaerens est ut et inimicorum quae dicitur filio dei
155 esse subiectio salutaris quaedam intellegatur et utilis; ut sicut cum dicitur filius patri subiectus, perfecta uniuersae creaturae restitutio declaratur, ita cum filio dei inimici dicuntur esse subiecti, subiectorum salus in eo intellegatur et reparatio perditorum.

3.5.8. Verum certis quibusque et modis et disciplinis et temporibus subiectio
160 ista complebitur, id est non necessitate aliqua ad subiectionem cogente nec per uim subditus fiet omnis mundus deo, sed uerbo ratione doctrina prouocatione meliorum institutionibus optimis comminationibus quoque dignis et conpetentibus, quae iuste immineant his, qui salutis et utilitatis suae curam sanitatemque contemnunt. Denique et nos homines, cum uel seruos uel filios
165 erudimus, dum adhuc per aetatem rationis incapaces sunt, minis eos et metu cohercemus; cum uero boni, utilis et honesti intellegentiam ceperint, tunc iam cessante uerberum metu, uerbo ac ratione suasi ad omnia quae bona sunt adquiescunt.

143 ei erit γ 151 uniuersam ... creaturam γ 152 correpta parataque δ
155 utilitatis μ 156 uniuersa B M[ac] restauratio *Ian* 162 institutis *Ian*

been subject to him, then shall the Son himself also be subject to him who put all things under him,[32] as if he, who is now not subjected to the Father, will then be subjected, when the Father has first subjected all things to him. But I am astonished how it can be understood this way—that he who, while all things are not yet subjected to him, is not himself subjected; then, when all things have been subjected to him, when he is king over all and holds power over the universe, they should then suppose him to be made subject, although he was not subjected before—not understanding that the subjection of Christ to the Father shows the blessedness of our perfection and announces the victory of the work undertaken by him,[33] since he offers to the Father not only the summit of ruling and reigning, which he has amended throughout the whole creation, but also the laws, corrected and renewed, of the obedience and subjection due from the human race. If, then, that subjection, by which the Son is said to be subject to the Father, is good and salvific, it is very logically and coherently concluded that the subjection also of enemies, which is said of the Son of God, is to be understood as something salvific and useful; so that, just as when the Son is said to be subjected to the Father, the perfect restoration of the whole creation is announced, so also when the enemies are said to be subjected to the Son of God, the salvation of the subjected and the restoration of the lost is understood in that.

3.5.8. But this subjection, however, will be accomplished in certain ways and disciplines and periods of time; that is, the whole world is not brought into subjection to God by some necessity nor subdued by force, but by word, by reason, by teaching, by exhortation to better things, by the best instruction, and by threatenings, merited and appropriate, which will justly impend over those who despise the care and health of their salvation or benefit.[34] For even we human beings, in training either slaves or children, while they are incapable of reason because of their young age, restrain them by threats and fear; but when they have acquired an understanding of what is good and beneficial and honourable, the fear of the lash being over, persuaded by word and reason, they acquiesce in everything that is good.

[32] 1 Cor. 15:28.

[33] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 7.2: 'As long as I am not subjected to the Father, neither is he said to be *subjected* to the Father. Not that he himself is in need of subjection before the Father but for me, in whom he has not yet completed his work, he is said not to be subjected, for, as we read, *we are the body of Christ and members in part*' (1 Cor. 12:27).

[34] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.10.

Quomodo autem seruata omnibus rationabilibus creaturis arbitrii libertate
170 unusquisque debeat dispensari, id est quos uelut iam paratos et capaces sermo dei et inueniat et instruat, quos autem interim differat, a quibus uero penitus occultetur et longe eorum a se fieri dispenset auditum, quosque rursum contemnentes indicatum sibi et praedicatum uerbum dei correptionibus quibusdam et castigationibus inlatis perurgeat ad salutem conuersionemque
175 eorum quodammodo exigat et extorqueat, quibus uero etiam occasiones quasdam praestet salutis, ita ut interdum etiam ex responsione sola fide prolata indubitatam quis ceperit salutem, quibus haec ex causis uel quibus occasionibus fiant, quidue in his intro inspiciens diuina sapientia, uel quos motus propositi eorum uidens haec uniuersa dispenset: soli deo cognitum est et unigenito eius,
180 per quem creata ac reparata sunt uniuersa, et spiritui sancto, per quem cuncta sanctificantur, *qui ab ipso patre procedit*, cui est gloria in aeterna saecula. Amen.

3.5.8, lines 169–79

Jerome Ep *124.9.8 (ed. Hilberg 3, 109.4–18):*

Ex quo sequitur, ut ob uarios motus uarii creentur et mundi et post hunc, quem incolimus, alius multo dissimilis mundus fiat. nullusque alius diuersis casibus et profectibus uel uirtutum praemiis uel uitiorum suppliciis et in praesenti et in futuro atque in omnibus et retro et † in priore temporibus potest merita dispensare et ad unum rursus finem cuncta pertrahere, nisi solus conditor omnium deus, qui scit causas, propter quas alios dimittat sua perfrui uoluntate et de maioribus ad ultima paulatim delabi, alios incipiat uisitare et gradatim quasi manu data ad pristinum retrahere statum et in sublimibus collocare.

170 iam : etiam δ   172 quam *post* et *add.* A   quodque δ   174 quibusdam *post* castigationibus *add.* γ   175 quemadmodo G M[ac] : quemadmodum M[pc] σ   176 probata γ   178 quidue in : quid uel *Ian*   180 ac : et γ

But how,[35] with the freedom of will in all rational creatures preserved, each one ought to be arranged—that is, those whom, as if already prepared and capable, the Word of God both finds and instructs; and those whom he puts off to a later time; and those from whom he is utterly concealed and arranges himself to be far from their hearing; and again those whom, despising the Word of God revealed and preached to them, being afflicted with certain corrections and chastisements, he presses into salvation and whose conversion is as it were demanded and extorted; and those to whom he even provides certain opportunities of salvation, so that sometimes, with faith evoked even by an answer alone, someone has obtained an assured salvation;[36] and those to whom these things happen from causes or certain occasions, while perceiving inwardly this in them, or beholding the movements of their will, divine Wisdom arranges all these things—is known to God alone[37] and to his only-begotten Son, through whom all things were created and restored, and to the Holy Spirit, through whom all things are sanctified, *who proceeds from the Father*,[38] to whom be glory unto the eternal ages. Amen.[39]

[35] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.9.8 (ed. Hilberg 3, 109.4–18): 'And again: from which it follows that because of these various movements various worlds are created, and after this one, in which we dwell, there will be another world quite unlike it. And no one is able to arrange the merits of those who in diverse degrees fall or rise, or the rewards for virtue or the punishments for sin, both in the present and in the future, and at every time both past and [...] in prior times, and can bring everything once again to a single end, except God the Creator of all, who knows the reasons why he allows some to perform their own will and to sink gradually from the higher realms to the lowest, while others he begins to visit and to draw back gradually, as if giving them a hand, to their former state and to place them once more on high.'

[36] Perhaps Luke 18:41–2. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 3.9.

[37] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.9.8.

[38] John 15:26. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.13, and n.66 there.

[39] Only here and at *Princ.* 4.1.7 does Origen end with a doxology and an 'Amen'. *Princ.* 4.3.14 ends with a doxology, but no 'Amen'.

De consummatione

3.6.1. De fine uero et consummatione omnium iam quidem et in superioribus pro uiribus nostris disseruimus, secundum quod diuinae scripturae indulsit auctoritas, quae sufficere ad instructionem putamus, paucis etiam nunc ammonitis, quoniam in hunc nos locum quaestionis ordo perduxit. Igitur summum bonum, ad quod natura rationabilis uniuersa festinat, qui etiam finis omnium dicitur, a quam plurimis etiam philosophorum hoc modo terminatur, quia Summum bonum sit, prout possibile est, similem fieri deo. Sed hoc non tam ipsorum inuentum, quam ex diuinis libris ab eis adsumptum puto. Hoc namque indicat Moyses ante omnes, cum primam conditionem hominis enarrat dicens: *Et dixit deus: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.* Tum deinde addit: *Et fecit deus hominem, ad imaginem dei fecit illum, masculum et feminam fecit eos, et benedixit eos.* Hoc ergo quod dixit *ad imaginem dei fecit eum* et de *similitudine* siluit, non aliud indicat nisi quod *imaginis* quidem dignitatem in prima conditione percepit, *similitudinis* uero ei perfectio in consummatione seruata est: scilicet ut ipse sibi eam propriae industriae studiis ex dei imitatione conscisceret, quo possibilitatem sibi perfectionis in initiis datam per *imaginis* dignitatem, in fine demum per operum expletionem perfectam sibi ipse *similitudinem* consummaret. Sed apertius haec et euidentius ita se habere Iohannes apostolus definit, hoc modo pronuntians: *Filioli, nondum scimus quid futuri sumus: si uero reuelatus nobis fuerit* (de saluatore sine dubio dicens) *similes illi erimus.* Per quod certissime indicat et finem omnium, quem adhuc sibi dicit ignotum, et similitudinem dei sperandam, quae pro meritorum perfectione praestabitur. Ipse quoque dominus in euangelio haec eadem non solum futura, uerum etiam sui intercessione futura designat, dum ipse hoc a patre discipulis suis impetrare

1 *titulus:* de consummatione S^{mg} : de consummatione mundi δ μ Ab : de consummatione mundi et quid sit summum bonum uel quae perfectio omnium B : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S
16 ei : et δ : *om.* γ et *post* perfectio *add.* δ **17–18** possibilitate ... data *corr. Del Koe Goe*
18 in[1] *om.* γ

The Consummation

3.6.1.[1] We have already discussed, to the best of our ability in the preceding pages, the subject of the end and the consummation of all things, so far as the authority of the divine Scripture allowed; this we deem sufficient for instruction, being now reminded of a few more points, since the order of the inquiry has brought us back to the subject. The highest good, then, towards which every rational being hastens, which is also called the end of all things, is defined even by many among the philosophers in this way, that 'The highest good is to become as far as possible like God.'[2] But this is not so much a discovery of theirs as, I think, taken by them from the divine books.[3] For Moses, before all others, points to it when he describes the first creation of the human being, saying, *And God said, 'Let us make the human being in our image and likeness.'* Then he adds afterwards: *And God made the human being, in the image of God he made him; male and female he made them and he blessed them.*[4] The fact that he said, *in the image of God he made him* and was silent about the *likeness*, indicates nothing else except that the human being obtained the dignity of the *image* in his first creation, but the perfection of the *likeness* was reserved for him at the consummation; that is, that he might acquire it for himself by the exercise of his own diligence in the imitation of God, so that while the possibility of attaining perfection was given to him in the beginning through the dignity of the *image*, he should in the end, through the accomplishment of the works, complete in himself the perfected *likeness*.[5] Now the Apostle John more openly and clearly determines this to be the case, when speaking thus: *Little children, we do not yet know what we shall be; but when he is revealed to us* (speaking, no doubt, of the Saviour), *we shall be like him.*[6] By this he points out with utmost certainty both the end of all things, which he says was still unknown to him, and also the hoped-for likeness to God, which will be conferred in proportion to the perfection of merits. The Lord himself, in the Gospel, also points out that these same things will not only come to pass, but will come about by his own intercession, when he saw fit to make this request

[1] Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a15), gives 'On the End' (*περὶ τέλους*), but as the first item of *Princ.* 4.

[2] Plato, *Theat.* 176b.

[3] A claim similarly made by Justin, *1 Apol.* 59–60; Tatian, *Or.* 31–41, esp. 40; Theophilus of Antioch, *Autol.* 1.14; 3.23; Clement, *Strom.* 1.17.87; 1.22.150; 5.14, esp. 92; 6.2.27.5; and in other places by Origen: *Comm. Cant.* Prol. (GCS 8, p. 75); 1 (GCS 8, p. 141); *Cels.* 1.15; 6.19; 7.30.

[4] Gen. 1:26–8.

[5] The distinction between 'image' and 'likeness' had already been made by Irenaeus, who, however, refers the first to the body (*Haer.* 5.6.1) and the second to the possession of the Spirit, and by Clement, in a manner similar to Origen, *Prot.* 10.98.4; *Strom.* 2.22.131; 6.97.2. Origen returns to this theme frequently, e.g. *Cels.* 4.30; *Comm. Rom.* 4.5; *Or.* 27.2; *Hom. Ezech.* 13.2.

[6] 1 John 3:2. Origen connects this verse to Gen. 1:26–8 also in *Hom. Ezech.* 13.2; see also *Hom. Exod.* 6.5.

dignatur dicens: *Pater, uolo ut ubi ego sum et isti mecum sint*; et: *Sicut ego et tu unum sumus, ita et isti in nobis unum sint*. In quo iam uidetur ipsa similitudo, si dici potest, proficere et ex simili unum iam fieri, pro eo sine dubio quod in
30 consummatione uel fine *omnia et in omnibus deus* est.

In quo requiritur a nonnullis, si ratio naturae corporeae, quamuis expurgatae ad liquidum et penitus spiritalis effectae, non uideatur obsistere uel ad similitudinis dignitatem uel ad unitatis proprietatem, quod naturae diuinae, quae utique principaliter incorporea est, nec similis uideatur posse dici quae in
35 corpore est natura nec unum cum ea uere ac merito designari, maxime cum id, quod unum est filius cum patre, ad naturae proprietatem referendum fidei ueritas doceat.

3.6.2. Cum ergo in fine *deus esse omnia et in omnibus* promittatur, sicut consequens est, non est opinandum uenire ad illum finem animalia uel pecora
40 uel bestias, ne etiam in animalibus aut pecoribus uel bestiis deus inesse designetur; sed nec ligna uel lapides, ne in his quoque esse dicatur deus. Ita ne ullam quidem malitiam ad illum finem putandum est peruenire, ne dum *in omnibus deus esse* dicitur, etiam in aliquo malitiae uasculo inesse dicatur. Nam etiamsi nunc quoque ubique et *in omnibus esse* dicimus *deum*, pro eo quod
45 nihil potest esse uacuum deo, non tamen ita esse dicimus, ut *omnia* sit nunc in quibus est. Vnde diligentius intuendum est quale est hoc, quod perfectionem beatitudinis rerumque finem significat, quod non solum *in omnibus esse* dicitur *deus*, sed etiam *omnia esse* dicitur *deus*. Quae sint ergo ista *omnia*, quae *deus* futurus sit *in omnibus*, requiramus.

3.6.2, lines 38–41

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 211.29–212.2), Koetschau Frag 27:*

λεγομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ***πάντα*** *γίνεσθαι* ***ἐν πᾶσιν****, ὥσπερ οὐ δυνάμεθα κακίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὅτε θεὸς* ***πάντα*** *γίνεται* ***ἐν πᾶσιν****, οὐδὲ ἄλογα ζῷα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐν κακίᾳ ὁ θεὸς γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἀλόγοις ζῴοις, ἀλλ᾽οὐδὲ ἄψυχα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός, ὅτε* ***πάντα*** *γίνεται, οὕτως οὐδὲ σώματα, ἅτινα τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει ἄψυχά εἰσιν* [*Koe. ἐστιν*].

27 dignatur : designatur δ S[ac] 29 iam *om.* γ 31 quamuis : quam γ
34 principaliter : corporaliter γ 35 uera γ 37 *post* doceat *lacunam signauit Koe*
41 uel : nec γ 44 esse : esit G M[ac] : sit M[pc] σ 46 quibus : omnibus μ : quibuscumque S

of the Father for his disciples, saying, *Father, I will that where I am these also may be with me;* and, *as I and you are one, so also may they be one in us.*[7] In this the likeness itself already seems, if we may so say, to advance, and from being similar to become one,[8] for the reason, no doubt, that in the consummation or end *God is all and in all.*[9]

In this context,[10] the question is asked by some whether the condition of bodily nature, however much cleansed to purity and rendered completely spiritual, does not seem to offer an obstruction towards the dignity of the likeness and to the property of unity, for it does not seem possible that a being who is in a body can either be said to be like the divine nature, which is in any case principally bodiless, or be described truly and rightly as one with it, especially as the truth of our faith teaches that the fact that the Son is *one* with the Father must be referred to the property of nature.

3.6.2. When,[11] then, it is promised that in the end *God is all and in all*, it is not to be supposed, as is fitting, that animals, either cattle or beasts, come to that end, lest it should be implied that God is even in animals, either cattle or beasts; neither will pieces of wood or stones, lest it should be said that God is in them also. So also it is not to be supposed that anything wicked comes to that end, lest when it is said that *God is in all* he should be said to be even in some vessels of wickedness. For although we say that *God* is even now everywhere and *in all*, for the reason that nothing can be empty of God, we do not, however, say that he is now *all* in those in whom he is. Hence it must be examined more carefully what that condition is which marks the perfection of blessedness and the end of things, where *God* is said not only *to be in all*, but *God* is said even *to be all.* Let us inquire, then, what is this *all* which *God shall be in all.*

[7] John 17: 24, 21.

[8] On unity as a sign of perfection, see also Origen, *Or.* 21.2; 27.8; *Fragm. Comm. Jo.* 5 (= *Philoc.* 5).

[9] 1 Cor. 15:28.

[10] At this point Koetschau places in his apparatus, as indicating the real content of this paragraph, a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8[9].9 (ed. Hilberg 3, 109.19–110.1), the eleventh anathema of the Second Council of Constantinople, and a sentence from Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. Synod.* (= Jerome, *Ep.* 92.2 [ed. Hilberg 2, 149.12–14), and refers back to *Princ.* 2.3.2. Following this paragraph, Koetschau inserts into his text two paragraphs from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.8[9].10–12 (ed. Hilberg 3, 110.1–111.5). This material is included in Appendix II as item no. 18.

[11] Cf. Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 211.29–212.2), an extract said to be from *Princ.* 3 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 27: 'When God is said to become *all in all*, just as we cannot include evil, when God becomes *all in all*, nor irrational animals, lest God should come to be in evil and in irrational animals, nor soulless beings, lest God be in them, when he becomes *all*, so also neither can we include bodies, which are in their own nature soulless.'

50 **3.6.3.** Et ego quidem arbitror quia hoc, quod *in omnibus omnia esse* dicitur *deus*, significet etiam in singulis eum omnia esse. Per singulos autem *omnia* erit hoc modo, ut quidquid rationabilis mens, expurgata omni uitiorum faece atque omni penitus abstersa nube malitiae, uel sentire uel intellegere uel cogitare potest, omnia deus sit, nec ultra iam aliquid aliud nisi deum sentiat, 55 deum cogitet, deum uideat, deum teneat, omnis motus sui deus modus et mensura sit: et ita erit ei *omnia deus*: non enim iam ultra mali bonique discretio, quia nusquam malum (*omnia* enim ei *deus* est, cui iam non adiacet malum), nec ultra ex *arbore sciendi bonum et malum* edere concupiscet qui semper in bono est, et cui *omnia deus* est. Si ergo finis ad principium reparatus et rerum 60 exitus conlatus initiis restituet illum statum, quem tunc habuit natura rationabilis, cum de ligno sciendi bonum et malum edere non egebat, ut amoto omni malitiae sensu et ad sincerum purumque deterso solus qui est unus *deus* bonus hic ei fiat *omnia*, et non in paucis aliquibus uel pluribus sed ut *in omnibus* ipse sit *omnia*, cum iam nusquam mors, nusquam *aculeus mortis*, nusquam 65 omnino malum: tunc uere *deus omnia in omnibus* erit. Verum istam perfectionem ac beatitudinem rationabilium naturarum ita demum quidam permanere in eo statu quo supra diximus putant, id est ut deum omnia habeant, et deus eis sit omnia, si nullatenus eas societas naturae corporalis amoueat. Alioquin aestimant gloriam summae beatitudinis inpediri, si materialis 70 substantiae interseratur admixtio. De qua re plenius nobis in superioribus quae occurrere potuerunt pertractata atque digesta sunt.

3.6.4. Nunc uero quoniam apud apostolum Paulum mentionem *spiritalis corporis* inuenimus, qualiter etiam inde sentiri debeat de hoc, tantummodo prout possumus requiramus. Quantum ergo sensus noster capere potest, 75 qualitatem spiritalis corporis talem quandam esse sentimus, in quo inhabitare deceat non solum sanctas quasque perfectasque animas, uerum etiam *omnem illam creaturam*, quae *liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis*. De quo corpore etiam illud apostolus dixit quia *Domum habemus non manu factam, aeternam in*

50 in *Ian Sc Merl Del Koe Goe Sim Fern* : *om.* ω 52 omni : omnium σ 54–5 deum sentiat deum cogitet *om. Sc Del* 55–6 omnis motus sui [eius *Merl*] deus modus et mensura sit *Sc Del Koe Goe* : omnes motus sit deus sit ω *Sim Fern* : omnis motus suus deus sit *Ian* 57 ei *om.* γ *Sc* 59 est *om.* δ si : sic A^{pc} W *Del* : sicut *Ian* 60 tunc *om.* γ 61 ut : et *Ian* 64 iam *om. Sc* 65 tunc : dum δ 67 quo : quod G σ 68 amoueat M^{pc} *Sc (cod. F)* : ammoneat A^{ac} W B G M^{ac} σ : ammoueat A^{pc} : admoneat *Sc (cod. C)* 70 a *post* plenius *add. Sc* 70–1 quae in superioribus *Sc Del* 72 apud *om. Sc* 73 fecisse *post* corporis *add. Sc* 74 possimus A *ante* quantum *add. titulum:* qualiter intellegi debeat spiritale [spirituale C] corpus, quod ex resurrectione futurum promittit apostolus et quia ex hoc ipso corpore in quo nunc sumus in melius mutato [inmutato C] erit illud quod gloriosum et spiritale nominatur uel materiae β 75 spiritualis *Sc* 78 quia *om. Sc*

3.6.3. I reckon that this expression, where *God* is said *to be all in all*, also means that he is all in each individual person. And he will be *all* in each individual in such a way that everything which the rational mind, when cleansed from all the dregs of the vices and utterly swept clean of every cloud of wickedness, can sense or understand or think will be all God; it will no longer sense anything else apart from God; it will think God, see God, hold God; God will be the mode and measure of its every movement; and thus *God* will be *all* to it:[12] for there will no longer be any distinction between good and evil, since evil nowhere exists (for *God*, to whom evil never approaches, is *all* things to it), nor will one, who is always in the good and to whom *God* is *all*, desire any longer to eat from *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*.[13] When,[14] then, the end has been renewed to the beginning and the departure of things joined to their entrance, that condition will be restored which rational beings then had, when they did not need to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, so that to them, with all perception of wickedness having been removed and having been cleansed, to be sound and pure, he who is alone the one good *God* himself becomes *all*, and he himself becomes *all* not in a few things or in many, but *in all*, when indeed there is nowhere death, nowhere *the sting of death*,[15] nowhere any evil; then, truly, *God will be all in all*. But some suppose that this perfection and blessedness of rational beings only remains in that condition we have described above—that is, that all things should possess God and God should be all things to them—if union with bodily nature in no way at all prevents them. Otherwise, if any intermingling with material substance were introduced, they reckon that the glory of the highest blessedness would be impeded. Concerning this subject, those things that had occurred to us have been more fully investigated and analysed in the preceding pages.

3.6.4. But now, since we find mention by the Apostle Paul of a *spiritual body*, let us inquire, to the best of our ability, how we also ought to think of this. As far, then, as our understanding can grasp it, we consider the quality of a spiritual body to be such as befits being inhabited not only by all holy and perfect souls, but also by that *whole creation* which will be *set free from the slavery of corruption*.[16] Regarding this body, the Apostle has also said that *We have a house not made by hand, eternal in the heavens*,[17] that is, in the mansions

[12] This is similar to the way that Origen describes the soul of Christ, in *Princ.* 2.6.6, 'which, like iron in the fire, was placed in the Word forever, in Wisdom forever, in God forever, is God in all that it does, feels, and understands'.

[13] Gen. 2:17.

[14] Koetschau here places in his apparatus a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.10.1–4 (111.6–112.9) as representing the full scope of what Origen originally wrote and Rufinus omitted; it is included in Appendix II as item no. 19.

[15] 1 Cor. 15:56. [16] Cf. Rom. 8:21. [17] 2 Cor. 5:1.

caelis, id est in mansionibus beatorum. Ex hoc ergo coniecturam capere
80 possumus, quantae puritatis, quantae subtilitatis quantaeque gloriae sit qualitas corporis illius, si conparationem faciamus eius ad ea, quae nunc, licet caelestia sint et splendidissima corpora, manu facta tamen sunt et uisibilia. De illo autem dicitur *domus esse non manu facta, sed aeterna in caelis*. Quia ergo *quae uidentur temporalia sunt, quae autem non uidentur aeterna sunt*, omnibus his corporibus,
85 quae siue in terris siue in caelis uidemus et quae uideri possunt et manu facta sunt et aeterna non sunt, multa longe praelatione praecellit illud, quod et uisibile non est nec manu factum est, sed aeternum est. Ex qua conparatione conici potest, quantus decor, quantus splendor quantusque fulgor sit corporis spiritalis, et uerum esse illud, quod dictum est, quia *Oculus non uidit nec auris audiuit nec*
90 *in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparauit deus his, qui diligunt eum*. Non autem dubitandum est naturam corporis huius nostri uoluntate dei, qui talem fecit eam, usque ad illam qualitatem subtilissimi et purissimi ac splendidissimi corporis posse a creatore perduci, prout rerum status uocauerit et meritum rationabilis naturae poposcerit. Denique cum uarietate et diuersitate mundus
95 indiguit, per diuersas rerum facies speciesque omni famulatu praebuit se materia conditori, utpote domino et creatori suo, quo diuersas caelestium terrenorumque ex ea duceret formas. Cum uero res ad illud coeperint festinare, *ut sint omnes unum*, sicut est pater cum filio unum, consequenter intellegi datur quod, ubi omnes unum sunt, iam diuersitas non erit.

100 **3.6.5.** Propterea namque etiam *nouissimus inimicus*, qui *mors* appellatur, *destrui* dicitur, ut neque ultra triste sit aliquid, ubi mors non est, neque diuersum sit, ubi non est inimicus. Destrui sane nouissimus inimicus ita intellegendus est, non ut substantia eius quae a deo facta est pereat, sed ut propositum et uoluntas inimica, quae non a deo sed ab ipso processit, intereat.
105 Destruitur ergo, non ut non sit, sed ut inimicus et mors non sit. Nihil enim omnipotenti inpossibile est, nec insanabile est aliquid factori suo; propterea enim fecit omnia, ut essent; et ea, quae facta sunt, ut essent, non esse non possunt. Propter quod immutationem quidem uarietatemque recipient, ita ut

79 in *om. Sc* **80** quantaeque : quantae *Sc* **85** et quae : quae et δ : quae B **86** et aeterna facta sunt *post* sunt[1] *add. Sc (codd. C F)* **89** esse : est γ **91** uoluntate : bonitate W **93** perduci : produci *Sc* **96** quo : quod γ **97** de simplicitate et unitate corporum post resurrectione *post* terrenorumque *add. Sc (ed. princ., om. codd. C F)* **100** id est [*om Sc.*] diabolus *post* inimicus *add. Sc Merl* **105** destruetur γ *Sc Koe Goe* **107–8** non esse non possunt : nec esse non possent *Sc*

of the blessed. From this statement, then, we can form a conjecture of what great purity, of what great refinement, and of what great glory is the quality of that body, if we make a comparison of it with those which now, although they are bodies celestial and most splendid, are yet made by hand and visible. But of that body it is said that it is *a house not made with hands but eternal in the heavens*. Since, then, *things seen are temporal, but those not seen are eternal*,[18] all those bodies which we see, either on earth or in the heavens, and which are able to be seen, and have been made by hand and are not eternal, are very greatly surpassed in glory by that which is neither visible nor made by hand but is eternal. From this comparison, it may be conjectured how great is the beauty, how great the splendour, and how great the brilliance of a spiritual body, and how true is that saying, that *eye has not seen nor ear heard nor has it entered into the heart of a human being what God has prepared for those who love him*.[19] It ought not to be doubted, however, that the nature of this body of ours may, by the will of God who made it such, be brought, by the Creator, to that quality characterizing the exceptionally refined and pure and splendid body, according as the condition of things shall require and the merits of the rational being shall demand. Finally, when the world needed variety and diversity, matter offered itself with all docility throughout the diverse appearances and species of things to the Maker, as to its Lord and Creator, that he might bring forth from it the diverse forms of heavenly and earthly things.[20] But when things have begun to hasten towards that end, *that they all may be one* as the Father is one with the Son,[21] it may rationally be understood that where all are one, there will no longer be any diversity.[22]

3.6.5. It is on this account, moreover, that *the last enemy*, who is called *death*, is said to be *destroyed*,[23] that there may no longer be any sadness when there is no death, nor diversity when there is no enemy. The destruction of the last enemy, indeed, is to be understood in this way, not that its substance, which was made by God, shall perish, but that the hostile purpose and will which proceeded not from God but from itself shall disappear. It is destroyed, therefore, not in the sense that it shall not be, but that it shall not be an enemy and death. For nothing is impossible to the Almighty,[24] nor is anything beyond healing by its Maker, for it was on this account that he made all things, that they might exist;[25] and those things which were made that they might exist cannot not exist. Because of this, they will undergo change and variation, so as to occupy a better or worse position in accordance with their merits;[26]

[18] 2 Cor. 4:18. [19] 1 Cor. 2:9. [20] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1.2, 4. [21] John 17:22.

[22] Koetschau suggests supplementing this last sentence by placing in his apparatus anathemas 12, 13, 14, 15 of the Second Council of Constantinople; they are included in Appendix II as item no. 20.

[23] 1 Cor. 15:26. [24] Cf. Job 42:2; Matt. 19:26. [25] Cf. Wis. 1:14.

[26] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1.2; 3.6.3.

pro meritis uel in meliore uel in deteriore habeantur statu; substantialem uero
110 interitum ea, quae a deo ad hoc facta sunt, ut essent et permanerent, recipere
non possunt. Non enim ea, quae opinione uulgi interire creduntur, continuo
etiam uel fidei uel ueritatis ratio ea interisse consentit. Denique caro nostra ab
inperitis et infidelibus ita post mortem deperire aestimatur, ut nihil prorsus
substantiae suae reliquum habere credatur. Nos uero, qui resurrectionem eius
115 credimus, immutationem eius tantummodo per mortem factam intellegimus,
substantiam uero certum est permanere et uoluntate creatoris sui certo quo
tempore reparari rursus ad uitam, atque iterum permutationem eius fieri; ut
quae primo fuit caro *ex terra terrena*, tum deinde dissoluta per mortem et
iterum facta *cinis ac terra* (*quoniam terra es* inquit *et in terram ibis*) rursum
120 resuscitetur e terra et post hoc iam, prout meritum inhabitantis animae
poposcerit, in gloriam *corporis* proficiat *spiritalis*.

3.6.6. In hunc ergo statum omnem hanc nostram substantiam corporalem
putandum est perducendam, tunc cum omnia restituentur, ut unum sint, et
cum *deus fuerit omnia in omnibus*. Quod tamen non ad subitum fieri sed
125 paulatim et per partes intellegendum est, infinitis et immensis labentibus
saeculis, cum sensim et per singulos emendatio fuerit et correctio prosecuta,
praecurrentibus aliis et ueiociore cursu ad summa tendentibus, aliis uero
proximo quoque spatio insequentibus, tum deinde aliis longe posterius: et sic
per multos et innumeros ordines proficientium et deo se ex inimicis
130 reconciliantium peruenitur usque ad *nouissimum inimicum*, qui dicitur *mors*,
ut etiam ipse *destruatur*, ne ultra sit inimicus.

Cum ergo restitutae fuerint omnes rationabiles animae in huiuscemodi
statum, tunc etiam natura huius corporis nostri in *spiritalis corporis* gloriam
perducetur. Sicut enim de rationabilibus naturis uidemus non alias esse, quae
135 pro peccatis in indignitate uixerint, et alias, quae pro meritis ad beatitudinem
inuitatae sunt, sed has easdem, quae antea fuerant peccatrices, conuersas
postmodum et deo reconciliatas uidemus ad beatitudinem reuocari: ita etiam de
natura corporis sentiendum est quod non aliud corpus est, quo nunc in
ignobilitate et in corruptione et in infirmitate utimur, et aliud erit illud, quo in
140 incorruptione et in uirtute et in gloria utemur, sed hoc idem abiectis his
infirmitatibus, in quibus nunc est, in gloriam transmutabitur, spiritale effectum,
ut quod fuit indignitatis uas, hoc ipsum expurgatum fiat uas honoris et
beatitudinis habitaculum. In quo statu etiam permanere semper et immutabiliter

112 consensit γ : consenserit *Del* 116 uoluntatem A[ac] : ad uoluntatem A[pc2] certoque γ
117 rursus reparari γ 120 e terra et : et terra A[ac] W : e terra A[pc2] : terra et B
133 natura etiam γ 136 sint γ *Koe Goe*

but things which were made by God, that they might exist and abide, cannot undergo a destruction of substance. For those things which, in the opinion of the common people, are believed to perish, the rule of faith or truth alike accepts that they have not perished. Finally, our flesh is considered by the uneducated and unbelievers to be so destroyed after death, such that it is believed to have no remnant at all of its former substance. We, however, who believe in its resurrection, understand that a change only is effected in it by death, but that its substance certainly abides and that by the will of its Creator, at the appointed time, it is restored to life again and that once again a change is effected in it, so that what at first was flesh, *of the earth, earthy*,[27] was then dissolved by death and again made *ashes and earth*[28] (for *earth you are*, it says, *and to the earth you will go*[29]), is raised again from the earth and afterwards shall, as the merits of the indwelling soul will have required, advance to the glory of a *spiritual body*.[30]

3.6.6. Into this condition, then, it must be supposed that this entire bodily substance of ours will be brought when all things will be restored, when they shall be one, and when *God shall be all in all*. It must be understood, however, that this shall happen not suddenly, but gradually and by degrees, during the passing of infinite and immeasurable ages,[31] with the improvement and correction being accomplished slowly and by degrees, some hastening on in advance and tending towards perfection by a quicker route,[32] and others following behind at a close distance, with others far behind: and so, through the many and innumerable ranks of those making progress and being reconciled, from enmity, to God, until *the last enemy*, which is called *death*, is reached, so that it too may be *destroyed* and no longer be an enemy.[33]

When, therefore, all rational souls have been restored to a condition like this, then also the nature of this body of ours will be brought into the glory of a *spiritual body*.[34] For just as in the case of rational natures, we do not see one kind which has lived in dishonour on account of sin and another kind which has been invited to blessedness because of its merits, but we see the same, who were formerly sinful, then later being converted and reconciled to God, being recalled to blessedness, so also, with respect to the nature of the body, it must be understood that there is not one body which we now make use of in lowliness and corruption and weakness, and that it will be a different one which we shall use in incorruption and power and glory, but that this same body, having cast off the weaknesses in which it now exists, will be transformed in glory, being rendered spiritual, so that what was a vessel of dishonour may, when cleansed, become a vessel of honour and an abode of blessedness.[35] And

[27] 1 Cor. 15:47. [28] Gen. 18:27. [29] Gen. 3:19. [30] 1 Cor. 15:44.
[31] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.2–3; 3.1.23. [32] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.6; 3.1.17.
[33] Cf. 1 Cor. 15:26. Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.5. [34] 1 Cor. 15:44.
[35] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.1.21–4.

creatoris uoluntate credendum est, fidem rei faciente sententia apostoli Pauli
145 dicentis: *Domum habemus non manu factam, aeternam in caelis.*

Non enim secundum quosdam Graecorum philosophos praeter hoc corpus, quod ex quattuor constat elementis, aliud quintum corpus, quod per omnia aliud sit et diuersum ab hoc nostro corpore, fides ecclesiae recipit; quoniam neque ex scripturis sanctis uel suspicionem aliquam de his proferre quis potest
150 neque ipsa rerum consequentia hoc recipi patitur, maxime cum manifeste definiat sanctus apostolus quia non noua aliqua corpora resurgentibus a mortuis dentur, sed haec ipsa, quae uiuentes habuerant, ex deterioribus in melius transformata recipiant. Ait enim: *Seminatur corpus animale, resurget corpus spiritale* et: *Seminatur in corruptione, resurget in incorruptione;*
155 *seminatur in infirmitate, resurget in uirtute; seminatur in ignobilitate, resurget in gloria.* Sicut ergo profectus est homini quidam, ut cum sit prius *animalis* homo nec intellegat quae sunt spiritus dei, ueniat in hoc per eruditionem, ut efficiatur *spiritalis* et *diiudicet omnia, ipse uero a nemine diiudicetur*: ita etiam de corporis statu putandum est quod idem ipsum corpus, quod nunc pro
160 ministerio animae nuncupatum est *animale*, per profectum quendam, cum anima adiuncta deo *unus* cum eo *spiritus* fuerit effecta, iam tum corpus quasi spiritui ministrans in statum qualitatemque proficiat spiritalem, maxime cum, sicut saepe ostendimus, talis a conditore facta sit natura corporea, ut in quamcumque uoluerit uel res poposcerit qualitatem facile subsequatur.

165 **3.6.7.** Omnis igitur haec ratio hoc continet, quod duas generales naturas condiderit deus: naturam uisibilem, id est corpoream, et naturam inuisibilem, quae est incorporea. Istae uero duae naturae diuersas sui recipiunt permutationes. Illa quidem inuisibilis, quae et rationabilis est, animo propositoque mutatur pro eo quod arbitrii sui libertate donata est; et per hoc aliquando in bonis, aliquando in
170 contrariis inuenitur. Haec uero natura corporea substantialem recipit permutationem; unde et ad omne quodcumque moliri uel fabricari uel retractare uoluerit artifex omnium deus, materiae huius habet in omnibus famulatum, ut in quascumque uult formas uel species, prout rerum merita deposcunt, naturam corpoream transmutet et transferat. Quod euidenter propheta designans ait:
175 *Deus*, inquit *qui facit omnia et transmutat.*

144 uoluntatem γ 147 constat *om.* μ : subsistit σ et *post* corpus *add.* G σ 150 neque : quae γ 155 resurget[2] : surget B μ 159 disputandum A 165 *ante* omnis *add. titulum:* quod ad omnem permutationem quam uoluerit dei sequax sit natura corporea et ideo in summa omnium perfectione summae claritas capax futura sit B 172 ut *om.* γ

in this condition also, it must be believed, will it abide forever and unchangeably by the will of the Creator, of which we are made certain by the declaration of the Apostle, saying, *We have a house, not made by hand, eternal in the heavens.*[36]

For the faith of the Church does not accept the view of certain Greek philosophers, that there is besides the body, which is composed of four elements, another fifth body, which is entirely other than and different from our present body,[37] since neither can anyone produce from holy Scripture the slightest suspicion of this, nor does any rational inference from the facts of the case allow it to be accepted, especially when the holy Apostle clearly specifies that no new bodies shall be given to those who rise from the dead, but that they shall receive these very ones, which they had while living, transformed from an inferior to a better condition. For he says, *It is sown an animated body, it will rise a spiritual body*, and, *it is sown in corruption, it will rise in incorruption; it is sown in weakness, it will rise in power; it is sown in lowliness, it will rise in glory.*[38] Just as, therefore, there is a kind of progress for the human being, so that although he is first an *animated* human being and does not understand things that are of the Spirit of God, by means of instruction he comes to be rendered *spiritual* and *judges all things, but is himself not judged by anyone*,[39] so also regarding the state of the body, it must be supposed that this very body which now, because of its service to the soul, is called *animated*, will, through a certain progress—when the soul, united to God, shall have been made *one spirit* with him,[40] the body even then serving, as it were, the spirit—attain a spiritual state and quality, especially since, as we have often pointed out, bodily nature was so made by the Creator as to pass easily into whatever condition he should wish or the circumstances should require.

3.6.7. This whole argument, then, presupposes this, that God created two universal natures: a visible, that is, a bodily nature, and an invisible nature, which is bodiless.[41] These two natures each undergo different changes. That invisible one, which is also rational, is changed in mind and purpose, because it is endowed with freedom of will, and on this account is sometimes found in the good, and other times in the opposite. But this bodily one undergoes a substantial change, so that, in whatever he wishes to undertake or to fashion or to rework, the Artificer of all things, God, has the service of this matter in every way, so that he can transform and apply it in whatever forms and species he desires, as the merits of things require. The prophet evidently points to this when he says *God who makes and transforms all things.*[42]

[36] 2 Cor. 5:1.

[37] The fifth element referred to here is probably Aristotle's 'aether', discussed in his lost work *On Philosophy*; see *Cicero, Acad.* 1.7.26; Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.4; *Comm. Jo.* 13.126; *Cels.* 4.60.

[38] 1 Cor. 15:42–4. [39] 1 Cor. 2:14–15. [40] 1 Cor. 6:17.

[41] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 8.11; *Hom. Gen.* 1.2; on the necessary connection between these two realities, see *Princ.* 1.7.1; 2.2.2; 4.4.8.

[42] Amos 5:8.

3.6.8. Iam sane illud quaerendum est, si tunc, cum *erit deus omnia in omnibus*, in consummatione omnium uniuersa corporis natura una specie constabit, et omnis qualitas corporis illa sola erit, quae in illa inenarrabili gloria fulgebit, quae spiritalis corporis futura esse sentienda est. Si enim recte accipimus id,
180 quod in initio libri sui Moyses scribit dicens: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram*, hoc esse principium totius creaturae, ad hoc principium finem omnium consummationemque conuenit reuocari, id est ut illud caelum atque illa terra habitatio et requies sit piorum; ita ut prius terrae illius sancti quique et mansueti hereditatem capiant, quoniam quidem hoc et lex et prophetae et
185 euangelium docet. In qua terra puto esse ueras illas et uiuas formas illius obseruantiae, quam Moyses per legis *umbram* tradebat. De quibus dictum est quia *Exemplario et umbrae deseruiunt caelestium*, hi scilicet, qui seruiebant in lege. Sed et ad ipsum Moysen dictum est: *Vide ut facias omnia secundum formam et similitudinem, quae tibi ostensa est in monte.* Vnde mihi uidetur
190 quod, sicut in hac terra lex paedagogus quidam fuit eorum, qui ad Christum ab ipsa perduci deberent, eruditi ab ea et instituti, ut facilius possent post institutionem legis perfectiora quaeque Christi instituta suscipere, ita etiam illa terra, sanctos quosque suscipiens, uerae et aeternae legis institutionibus eos prius imbuat et informet, quo facilius etiam caeli perfecta illa et quibus
195 addi iam nihil potest instituta patiantur; in quo uere erit illud, quod *aeternum* dicitur *euangelium* et testamentum semper nouum, quod numquam ueterescet.

3.6.9. Hoc itaque modo in consummatione ac restitutione omnium fieri putandum est, ut paulatim proficientes et ascendentes modo et ordine perueniant primo ad terram illam et eruditionem, quae in ea est, in qua ad
200 meliora et illa, quibus iam addi nihil potest, instituta praeparentur. Post *actores* enim et *procuratores* Christus dominus, qui est rex omnium, regnum ipse suscipiet, id est post eruditiones sanctarum uirtutum eos, qui eum capere possunt secundum quod sapientia est, ipse instruet, regnans in eis tamdiu

177 in *om.* γ 195 patiatur δ : potiantur γ 197 itaque modo : utique W 201 regnum : regum δ S 202 eruditione μ : eruditionem σ *Koe* sanctorum B μ eum: eam A

3.6.8. And now this point must be investigated, whether, when *God shall be all in all*,[43] in the consummation of all things, the whole of bodily nature will consist of one species,[44] and the whole quality of body will be only that which will shine in that indescribable glory which, it must be believed, will be the property of the spiritual body. For if we rightly take the passage, which Moses writes in the beginning of his book, saying, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*,[45] to be the beginning of all creation, it is appropriate for the end and consummation of all things to be recalled to this beginning, that is, that that heaven and that earth may be a dwelling and a resting-place for the pious, so that the saints and the meek may first obtain an inheritance in that land,[46] since this is what the Law and the Prophets and the Gospel teach. In that earth, I think, there exist those true and living forms of those observances which Moses handed down under the *shadow* of the Law.[47] For it is said of them that *they serve a copy and a shadow of the heavenly things*,[48] that is to say, those who served under the Law. Moreover, to Moses himself, it was said, *See that you make all things according to the form and likeness that has been shown to you on the mountain.*[49] From this it appears to me that, just as on this earth the Law was a sort of pedagogue to those who were duty bound to be led by it to Christ,[50] being trained and instructed by it, so that they might more easily, after the ordinances of the Law, be able to receive the more perfect ordinances of Christ, so also that other earth,[51] when it receives all the saints, first imbues and educates them in the ordinances of the true and everlasting Law, that they may more easily bear those perfect ordinances of heaven to which nothing can ever be added; in which there will truly be that which is called the *eternal Gospel* and that testament ever new, which shall never grow old.[52]

3.6.9. In this way, then, it is thought to be in the consummation and restoration of all things, that those gradually making progress and ascending in order and measure shall arrive first at that other earth and the training that is in it, in which they may be prepared for those better ordinances, to which nothing can ever be added. For after *the stewards and guardians*,[53] the Lord Christ, who is king of all, will himself assume the kingdom; that is, after [their] training in the holy virtues, he himself will instruct those who are capable of receiving him in respect of his being Wisdom,[54] reigning in them until he subjects them to the

[43] 1 Cor. 15:28. [44] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.4.

[45] Gen. 1:1, alluding to the distinction he makes (in *Princ.* 2.3.6–7, see also *Sel. Ps.* 36, 2, cited in n.62 there) between the earth of Gen. 1:1 and the 'dry land' also called 'earth' in Gen. 1:10.

[46] Cf. Deut. 4:38; Ps. 36:11; Matt. 5:4; Heb. 4:9. Cf. *Princ.* 2.3.7.

[47] Heb. 10:1. [48] Heb. 8:5. [49] Exod. 25:40. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Exod.* 9.2.

[50] Cf. Gal. 3:24. [51] See n.45 above.

[52] Cf. Rev. 14:6; Heb. 8:13, 9:15, 12:24. On the 'eternal Gospel', see also Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.13; *Hom. Lev.* 4.10.

[53] Gal. 4:2. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.3. [54] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.1, 9–12.

usquequo eos etiam patri subiciat qui sibi subdidit omnia, id est ut, cum
205 capaces dei fuerint effecti, *sit* eis *deus omnia in omnibus*. Tunc ergo consequenter etiam natura corporea illum summum et cui addi iam nihil possit recipiet statum.

Hactenus nobis etiam corporeae naturae uel spiritalis corporis ratione discussa, arbitrio legentis relinquimus ex utroque quod melius iudicauerit
210 eligendum. Nos uero in his finem libri tertii facimus.

3.6.9, lines 204–7

Jerome Ep. *124.10.5–6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 112.12–20):*

[Et post disputationem longissimam, qua omnem naturam corpoream in spiritalia corpora et tenuia dicit esse mutandam cunctamque substantiam in unum corpus mundissimum et omni splendore purius conuertendam et talem qualem nunc humana mens non potest cogitare, ad extremum intulit] et erit deus *omnia in omnibus*, ut universa natura corporea redigatur in eam substantiam, quae omnibus melior est, in diuinam uidelicet, qua nulla est melior.

205 effecti fuerint γ **210** faciemus δ : faciamus σ *Koe Sim* *post* facimus: explicit liber III δ Ab : explicit periarchon liber III B : finit liber tertius G : finit liber III M

Father, who has subjected all things to himself; that is,[55] when they shall have been rendered capable of God, then *God will be* to them *all in all*. Then, therefore, it follows that even bodily nature will receive that highest condition to which nothing more can ever be added.

Having discussed to this point the principle of bodily nature, or of the spiritual body, we leave it to the decision of the reader to determine which of the two he decides to be better.[56] For our part, we here bring the third book to an end.

[55] Cf. Jerome *Ep.* 124.10.5–6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 112.12–20): 'And after a very long discussion, in which he says that all bodily nature must be changed into spiritual and subtle bodies and that all substance must be converted into one body most pure and brighter than all splendour and of such a quality as the human mind cannot conceive, at the end he concludes: And God shall be *all in all*, so that the whole of bodily nature shall be reduced into that substance which is superior to all, that is to say, into the divine nature, than which nothing is better.'

[56] Origen addresses his readers also in *Princ.* 1.6.3; 2.3.7; 2.8.4, 5.



PART THREE:

The Inspired Scriptures

LIBER QUARTUS

Quod Scripturae diuinitus inspiratae sunt

4.1.1. Verum quoniam de tantis et talibus rebus disserentibus non sufficit humanis sensibus et communi intellectui summam rei committere et, ut ita dixerim, uisibiliter de inuisibilibus pronuntiare, assumenda sunt nobis ad probationem horum, quae dicimus, etiam diuinarum scripturarum testimonia. Quae testimonia ut certam et indubitatam habeant fidem siue in his, quae dicenda a nobis, siue quae iam dicta sunt, necessarium prius uidetur ostendere quod ipsae scripturae diuinae sint, id est dei spiritu inspiratae. Igitur quam poterimus breuiter etiam de hoc adsignabimus ex ipsis diuinis scripturis quae nos conpetenter mouerint proferentes, id est de Moyseo primo, legislatore gentis Hebraeae, et ex uerbis Iesu Christi, auctoris et principis Christianorum religionis et dogmatis.

1 *titulus:* liber quartus *edd.* : incipit liber quartus W B : incipit liber IIII A : incipit periarchon IIII μ : incipit IIII Ab 2 *titulus:* quia scripturae diuinitus inspiratae sunt G δ (*in textu*) : quod scripturae diuinitus inspiratae sunt M : quod diuinitus inspiratae sunt scributurae B : capitulum I quod scripturae diuinae sint id est spiritu inspiratae Ab; *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 3 et talibus : actibus B 10 adsignamus δ : adsignauimus μ 11 moseo B G[pc] : museo G[ac] M

Περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς θείας γραφῆς

4.1.1. *Ἐπεὶ περὶ τηλικούτων ἐξετάζοντες πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τῇ ἐναργείᾳ τῶν βλεπομένων, προσπαραλαμβάνομεν εἰς τὴν φαινομένην ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων μαρτύρια τὰ ἐκ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἡμῖν εἶναι θείων γραφῶν, τῆς τε λεγομένης παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς καλουμένης καινῆς, λόγῳ τε πειρώμεθα κρατύνειν ἡμῶν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ οὐδέπω περὶ τῶν γραφῶν ὡς θείων διελέχθημεν· φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀλίγα ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ διαλάβωμεν, τὰ κινοῦντα ἡμᾶς ὡς περὶ θείων γραμμάτων εἰς τοῦτο*

1 *Titulus: περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ πῶς ταύτην ἀναγνωστέον καὶ νοητέον, τίς τε ὁ* [*ὁ* : *ἐκ* A] *τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσαφείας λόγος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἔν τισιν ἀδυνάτου ἢ ἀλόγου. ἐκ τοῦ δ τόμου* [*τόμου om.* E] *τοῦ* [*τοῦ* : *καὶ* A] *περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ διαφόφων ἄλλων συνταγμάτων Ὠριγένους* 2 *δὲ post ἐπεὶ suppl. Koe Goe* : *ἐπειδὴ* H 4–5 *εἰς τὴν τῶν λεγομένων φαινομένην ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν μαρτυρία* D 5 *μαρτυρίαν* B *εἶναι om.* B[ac] 8 *διελέχθημεν corr. Koe Sim Goe Fern* : *διηλέχθημεν* B *Rob* : *διειλέχθημεν* D H

That the Scriptures are Divinely Inspired

4.1.1.[1] But, since it is not sufficient, in discussing topics so great and important, to leave the conclusion of the matter to human opinion and common conceptions[2] and, so to speak, to pronounce on things invisible as if visible, we must also adduce, for the proof of what we have said, the testimonies of the divine Scriptures. And that these testimonies may possess an assured and indubitable conviction, both regarding what we have to say and what we have already said, it seems necessary first to show that the Scriptures themselves are divine, that is, inspired by the Spirit of God. We shall, therefore, as briefly as we can, establish even this point, by offering from the divine Scriptures themselves passages that can suitably make an impression upon us, that is, first from Moses, the lawgiver of the Hebrew nation, and [then] from the words of Jesus Christ, the author and leader of the Christian religion and teaching.

[1] Photius, *Bibl.* 8 (ed. Henry 1, 4a15–16), speaks of *Princ.* 4 as treating (besides 'Concerning the End', which we have as *Princ.* 3.6) 'that the Scriptures are divine; finally, how the Scriptures ought to be read and understood' (*ὅτι θεῖαι αἱ γραφαί· τέλος ὅπως δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰς γραφάς*). For *Princ.* 4.1–3, we also have the Greek text (set below) from the *Philocalia*. As will be clear, Rufinus has not infrequently extended the text in his translation; those places where it is likely that the *Philocalia* has either omitted a passage or abridged it are noted.

[2] The 'common conceptions' (*κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι*) were widely appealed to in ancient philosophy, either as 'innate ideas' or commonly held positions, to which appeal could be made before developing an argument. See also Origen, *Cels.* 1.4; 3.40; 8.52.

On the Divine Inspiration of the Divine Scriptures

4.1.1.[1] Since, in investigating matters of such importance, not being satisfied with the common conceptions and the evidence of things that are seen, adducing in addition, for the manifest proof of our assertions, testimonies from what are believed by us to be divine writings, both from that which is called the Old Testament and that which is called the New, we endeavour by reason to confirm our faith, and, as we have not yet spoken of the Scriptures as divine, come and let us treat of a few points regarding them, as in an epitome, laying out for this purpose the reasons that move us [to regard them] as divine

[1] The full title given at the beginning of *Philocalia* 1 is: 'Concerning the divine inspiration of the divine Scripture and how it is to be read and understood; what is the reason for the obscurity in it and for what is impossible or irrational in some cases when taken according to what is said'; this heading covers *Princ.* 4.1–3, which is then followed by extracts from *Hom. Jer.* 39, *Comm. Ps.* 50, and *Hom. Lev.* 5. The paragraph divisions of this lengthy extract from *Princ.* 4.1–3 in editions and translations of the *Philocalia* are numbered continuously.

Cum enim permulti legislatores extiterint apud Graecos et barbaros, innumeri
15 quoque doctores uel philosophi ueritatem se pollicentes adserere, nullum
meminimus legislatorem adfectum quendam et studium etiam exterarum
gentium animis inicere potuisse, ut leges suas uel susciperent libenter uel cum
omni animi intentione defenderent. Nemo ergo eam quae sibi uisa est ueritatem
non solum pluribus aliis exteris nationibus, sed ne uni quidem genti ita insinuare
20 atque inolescere potuit, ut ad omnes eius scientia uel credulitas perueniret. Et
quidem dubitari non potest quod et legislatores optauerint obseruari ab omnibus,
si fieri posset, hominibus leges suas, et magistri, omnibus innotescere eam quae
sibi uisa fuerat ueritatem. Sed scientes quia id omnino non possent, nec uirtus in
eis aliqua tanta subsisteret, quae etiam exteras nationes ad legum suarum uel
25 adsertionum obseruantiam prouocaret, ne conari quidem hoc aut incipere
omnino ausi sunt, ne inprudentes eos etiam in hoc inefficax et inexplebile notaret
inceptum. At uero in omni orbe terrarum, in omni Graecia atque uniuersis
exteris nationibus innumeri sunt et inmensi, qui relictis patriis legibus et his,
quos putabant deos, ad obseruantiam Moysi legis et discipulatum se Christi
30 cultumque tradiderunt, et hoc non sine ingenti odio aduersum se commoto
eorum, qui simulacra uenerantur, ita ut ab his frequenter et cruciatibus
adfligantur, nonnumquam etiam agantur in mortem; amplectuntur tamen
et cum omni affectu custodiunt doctrinae Christi sermonem.

17 animis inicere : animi sincere *μ* : admiscere sic S : admiserere [admittere Ab[pc]] sic Ab
20 inolescere : innotescere *σ* **23** fuerit *δ* **24–5** qua … prouocarent *γ*
27 inceptum : ineptum *μ* uniuersis *om. Pa* **29** ad : uel *Pa* mosei B *μ*
30 aduersum se commoto *om. Pa* **33** et *om.* G cum omni affectu et M *σ*

10 *παρατιθέμενοι. Καὶ πρῶτόν γε* <*πρὸ*> *τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων
καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δηλουμένων ῥητοῖς χρήσασθαι, περὶ Μωσέως καὶ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ νομοθέτου τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τοῦ εἰσηγητοῦ τῶν
κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν σωτηρίων δογμάτων, ταῦτα διαληπτέον.*

Πλείστων γὰρ ὅσων νομοθετῶν γεγενημένων ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ
15 *βαρβάροις, καὶ διδασκάλων δόγματα καταγγελλόντων ἐπαγγελλόμενα
τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδένα ἱστορήσαμεν νομοθέτην ζῆλον ἐμποιῆσαι
δεδυνημένον τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι περὶ τοῦ παραδέξασθαι τοὺς λόγους
αὐτοῦ· πολλήν τε παρασκευὴν τὴν μετὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἀποδείξεως
λογικῆς εἰσενεγκαμένων τῶν περὶ ἀληθείας φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλομένων,*
20 *οὐδεὶς δεδύνηται τὴν νομισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἀλήθειαν ἔθνεσι διαφόροις
ἐμποιῆσαι, ἢ ἑνὸς ἔθνους ἀξιολόγοις πλήθεσι. Καίτοιγε ἐβούλοντο ἂν*

10 *πρὸ ante τοῦ add Koe Sim Fern* *τῶν γραμμάτων* : *τῶν πράγματων* B : *om.* D
13 *χριστιανισμῶν* B[ac] **18** *τὴν* : *τῆς* A

For although there have been very many lawgivers among the Greeks and Barbarians, and also countless teachers and philosophers professing that they declare the truth, we remember no lawgiver who was able to instil in the minds of foreign nations a certain desire and eagerness such that they adopted his laws willingly or defended them with every effort of mind.[3] No one, then, has been able to introduce and implant what seemed to himself the truth not only among many foreign nations but even among a single nation, in such a way that knowledge of and belief in this should extend to all. And yet it cannot be doubted that the lawgivers would have wished their laws to be observed by all human beings, if it were possible, while the teachers would have wished that what appeared to themselves to be the truth should become known to all. But knowing that they were altogether incapable of this, and that they did not possess such power as would summon foreign nations to the observance of their laws and teaching, they did not dare to attempt or to try this at all, lest an ineffective and futile effort at this should brand them as foolhardy. And yet throughout the whole world, throughout the whole of Greece and every foreign nation, there are innumerable and immeasurable people who have abandoned their ancestral laws and those whom they had reckoned gods, and handed themselves over to the observance of the Law of Moses and to the discipleship and worship of Christ, and this despite the fact that an intense hatred has been incited against them by those who worship idols, such that they are frequently subjected by them to tortures and sometimes even led to death; yet they nevertheless embrace and guard, with all affection, the word of Christ's teaching.[4]

[3] This, and what follows, is a major theme throughout Origen's *Contra Celsum*, e.g. 1.27; 1.64; 3.51 etc.

[4] Cf. *Cels.* 1.27.

writings. And first of all, <before> making use of the words in the writings themselves and the things set forth in them, one must treat these points regarding Moses and Jesus Christ, the lawgiver of the Hebrews and the author of the saving doctrines of Christianity.

For although there have been very many lawgivers among the Greeks and Barbarians, and teachers who proclaimed doctrines declaring the truth, we have no record of a lawgiver able to instil zeal for the acceptance of his words among the other nations; although a great apparatus of supposed logical demonstration has been brought forward by those professing to philosophize about truth, no one has been able to impress upon diverse nations what was deemed by him the truth, or even upon any credible number of persons in a single nation. And yet not only would the lawgivers have wished to enforce

4.1.2. Et est uidere quomodo breui tempore ipsa religio creuerit, poenis cultorum mortibusque proficiens, sed et bonorum direptionibus atque omni ab his suppliciorum genere tolerato; et eo maxime mirum est quod ne doctores quidem ipsi uel satis idonei sunt uel satis plures: *praedicatur* tamen sermo iste *in omni orbe terrarum*, ita ut *Graeci ac barbari, sapientes et insipientes* religionem Christianae doctrinae suscipiant. Ex quo dubium non est non haec humanis uiribus aut opibus agi, ut cum omni potestate et credulitate sermo Christi Iesu apud omnium mentes atque animos conualescat. Nam et praedicta esse ab eo haec ipsa et diuinis ab eo responsis confirmata, manifestum est cum dicit quia *Apud praesides et iudices adducemini propter me, in testimonium ipsis et gentibus*; et rursum: *Praedicabitur hoc euangelium in omnibus gentibus*; et iterum: *Multi mihi dicent in illa die: Domine, domine, nonne in tuo nomine manducauimus et bibimus, et in tuo nomine daemonia eiecimus? et dicam eis:*

35–6 ab his omni *γ* 36 suppliciorum : adflictionum *Pa* ex *ante* eo *add.* A 40 credulitate : persuasione *Pa* 41 Iesu Christi *Pa* praedicata *γ* 44 et rursum ... gentibus *om. Pa* 45 nomine tuo *Pa* 46 magnificauimus *δ* : manducabimus *μ*

καὶ οἱ νομοθέται κρατῦναι τοὺς φανέντας νόμους εἶναι καλοὺς εἰ δυνατὸν παρὰ παντὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει, οἵ τε διδάσκαλοι ἐπινεμηθῆναι ἣν ἐφαντάσθησαν εἶναι ἀλήθειαν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἀλλ' ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι προσκαλέσασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων διαλέκτων καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τήρησιν τῶν νόμων καὶ τὴν παραδοχὴν τῶν μαθημάτων, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπεβάλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἀφρόνως γε σκοπήσαντες περὶ τοῦ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον τυγχάνειν. Πᾶσα δὲ Ἑλλὰς καὶ βάρβαρος ἡ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἡμῶν ζηλωτὰς ἔχει μυρίους, καταλιπόντας τοὺς πατρῴους νόμους καὶ νομιζομένους θεούς, τῆς τηρήσεως τῶν Μωσέως νόμων καὶ τῆς μαθητείας τῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγων· καίτοιγε μισουμένων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα προσκυνούντων τῶν τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ προστιθεμένων, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δὲ πρὸς τῷ μισεῖσθαι κινδυνευόντων τῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον παραδεξαμένων.

4.1.2. *Καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιστήσωμεν πῶς ἐν σφόδρα ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι, τῶν ὁμολογούντων τὸν χριστιανισμὸν ἐπιβουλευομένων, καί τινων διὰ τοῦτο ἀναιρουμένων, ἑτέρων δὲ ἀπολλύντων τὰς κτήσεις, δεδύνηται ὁ λόγος, καίτοιγε οὐδὲ τῶν διδασκάλων πλεοναζόντων,* **πανταχόσε κηρυχθῆναι τῆς οἰκουμένης,**

24 *οὐ* B : *οἷα* A : *οἷα μὴ* E 27 *γε* : *δὲ* B 28 *τοιοῦτο* D 30 *καταλειπόντας* B
33 *νόμῳ om.* A *τῷ*² : *το* B *Fern*

4.1.2. And one can see how in a short time this religion has increased, making progress through the punishment and death of its worshippers, and also by the plundering of their goods and every kind of torture endured by them. And this is especially wonderful since its teachers themselves are neither very skilful nor very numerous; yet this word is *preached in all the world*,[5] so that *Greeks and barbarians, wise and foolish*,[6] adopt the Christian religion. From which there is no doubt that it is not by human strength or assistance that the word of Christ Jesus comes to prevail, with all force and conviction, in the minds and hearts of all. Moreover, that this was foretold by him and confirmed by his divine utterances is clear, as when he says, *You shall be brought before governors and rulers for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the nations*,[7] and also, *This Gospel will be preached to all nations*,[8] and again, *Many will say to me on that day: 'Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in your name, and in your name cast out demons?' And I will say to them: 'Depart from me, you workers of*

[5] Matt. 24:14; cf. Ps. 18:5. [6] Rom. 1:14. [7] Matt. 10:18.

[8] Matt. 24:14. This quotation is not in the *Philocalia*; Koetschau and Bardy (*Recherches*, 43–4) held that it belongs to the original text of Origen, but dropped out from the *Philocalia* due to the same words ('the nations') concluding this and the previous quotation. But, as Simonetti and Crouzel (SC 269, p. 156, n.13–13a) point out, Rufinus omits this second quotation from his translation of this passage in Pamphilus *Apol.* 84.

those laws which appeared to be good, if possible, upon the whole race of human beings, but the teachers also would have wished that what they imagined to be the truth should have spread throughout the world. But being unable to summon those of other languages and from many nations to the observance of [their] laws and the acceptance of [their] teachings, they did not at all attempt to do this, considering, not unwisely, the impossibility of such a result happening for them. Yet every land, Greek and barbarian, throughout our world, contains thousands of devotees, who have abandoned ancestral laws and those reckoned to be gods for the observance of the laws of Moses and the discipline of the words of Jesus Christ, even though those who adhere to the Law of Moses are hated by the worshippers of idols, and those who accept the word of Jesus Christ in addition to being hated are in danger of death.

4.1.2. And if we consider how in a very few years, although those professing Christianity are persecuted, and some of them are put to death on this account, while others suffer the loss of their possessions, yet the word has been able, despite there not being many teachers, *to be preached everywhere throughout the*

Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis, numquam cognoui uos. Quae si ita quidem
dicta ab eo fuissent nec tamen ad finem ea, quae praedicta sunt, peruenissent,
fortassis minus esse uera uiderentur nec habere aliquid auctoritatis. Nunc uero
50 cum in effectum res, quae fuerant ab eo praedictae, perueniant, cum tanta
autem potestate atque auctoritate praedicta sint, manifestissime declaratur
deum uere esse, qui homo factus salutaria praecepta hominibus tradidit.

4.1.3. Quid uero inde dicendum est quod prophetae de ipso antea praedixerant:
Non cessaturos principes ex Iuda neque duces ex femoribus eius, usquequo ueniat
55 *ille, cui repositum est*, regnum scilicet, *et usquequo ueniat expectatio gentium*?
Manifestissime enim ex ipsa historia apparet et ex his, quae hodie peruidentur,
quia ex temporibus Christi ultra reges apud Iudaeos non extiterunt. Sed et
omnes illae ambitiones Iudaicae, in quibus iactantiae quam plurimum gerebant
et in quibus exultabant, id est uel de templi decore uel de altaris insignibus
60 atque omnibus illis sacerdotalibus infulis indumentisque pontificum, simul
uniuersa destructa sunt. Completa est enim prophetia, quae dixerat: *Per dies*
multos sedebunt filii Israhel sine rege, sine principe; non erit hostia nec altare nec
sacerdotium nec responsa.

48 fuissent ab eo *γ* ad finem tamen *Pa* 49 fortasse *γ* esse uera : esse uera esse *μ* :
uera esse *σ* 50 predicatae *μ* 51 praedicta *δ Pa Sim Fern* : praedictae B *Koe Goe* :
praedicata *γ* 52 deum *om.* *γ* 53 ante praedixerint *Pa* 56 et *om.* *γ*
57 exstiterint *Pa* 59 exultabant : gloriabantur *Pa*

ὥστε **Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους, σοφούς τε καὶ ἀνοήτους** προσθέσθαι τῇ
40 διὰ Ἰησοῦ θεοσεβείᾳ, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι λέγειν οὐ
διστάξομεν, μετὰ πάσης ἐξουσίας καὶ πειθοῦς τῆς περὶ τοῦ κρατυνθήσεσθαι
τὸν λόγον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδάξαντος· ὥστε εὐλόγως ἂν χρησμοὺς νομίσαι τὰς
φωνὰς αὐτοῦ, οἷον ὅτι **ἐπὶ βασιλέων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ,**
εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ **πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ·**
45 **κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐφάγομεν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐπίομεν καὶ τῷ**
ὀνόματί σου δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν; Καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ
ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς. Εἰρηκέναι μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα
ἀποφθεγγόμενον μάτην, ὥστε αὐτὰ μὴ ἀληθῆ γενέσθαι, τάχα εἰκὸς ἦν· ὅτε δὲ
ἐκβέβηκε τὰ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας εἰρημένα, ἐμφαίνει θεὸν ἀληθῶς
50 ἐνανθρωπήσαντα σωτηρίας δόγματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκέναι.

40 *Χριστοῦ post Ἰησοῦ add.* D 40–1 *οὐ διστάξομεν* B^{pc} A : *οὐδεὶς τάξομεν* B^{ac} : *οὐ*
διστάζομεν B^{mg} D *ζ* 41 *κρατυνθῆναι* D 42 *χρησμοὺς ἂν* D *ζ*
42–3 *νομίσαι τὰς φωνὰς* : *νοῆσαι τὰς εὐχὰς* B 44 *ante πολλοὶ lacunam signauit Koe*
45 *τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι* D *(= NT)* 48 *ὥστε ἀληθῆ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτα τάχα* D
49 *ἐκβέβηκεν* B 50 *σωτηρία* E *ἀποδεδωκέναι* A

iniquity; I never knew you.[9] If these sayings, indeed, had been thus uttered by him, and yet those things foretold had not come to fulfilment, they might perhaps hardly appear to be true and not to possess any authority. But now, when the things foretold by him do indeed come into effect, and since they were foretold with such power and authority, he is most clearly shown to be truly God who, having become human, has delivered the saving commandments to human beings.

4.1.3. But what, then, is to be said of this, that the prophets had foretold beforehand of him that *Rulers will not cease from Judah, nor leaders from his loins, until he should come, for whom it is reserved*, that is, the kingdom, *and until the expectation of the nations shall come*?[10] For it is most abundantly evident from history itself and from what is clearly seen at the present day that from the times of Christ onwards kings have not existed among the Jews. Moreover, all those ceremonies of the Jews, of which they made such a great deal of boasting and in which they exulted, whether regarding the adornment of the temple or the ornaments of the altar, and all those priestly head-bands and the robes of the high priests, were all destroyed together. For the prophecy has been fulfilled which said, *For the children of Israel will sit for many days without a king, without a ruler; there will be no sacrifice nor altar nor priesthood nor oracles.*[11]

[9] Matt. 7:22–3.
[10] Gen. 49:10. See also Heb. 7:14; Rev. 5:5; Justin, *1 Apol.* 32; *Dial.* 52; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.10.2; *Dem.* 57; Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.40.6; Clement, *Paed.* 1.6.47.3; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.143; 13.154; *Hom. Jer.* 9.1.
[11] Hos. 3:4.

world, so that *Greeks and barbarians, wise and foolish*, have submitted themselves to the worship of God through Jesus, we shall not hesitate to say that the matter is more than human, Jesus having taught with all authority and persuasiveness that his word should prevail;[2] so that one may reasonably regard as oracles those utterances of his, such as, *You shall be brought before governors and rulers for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the nations*, and, *Many will say to me on that day: 'Lord, Lord, have we not eaten in your name and drunk in your name and cast out demons in your name?' And I will say to them: 'Depart from me, you workers of iniquity; I never knew you.'* That he uttered these words speaking in vain, so that they were not true, was perhaps possible; but when what was said with so much authority has come to pass, it shows that God, having truly become human, delivered to human beings the doctrines of salvation.

[2] Cf. Mark 13:31.

His ergo testimoniis utimur aduersum eos, qui uidentur adserere de his, quae in Genesi ab Iacob dicta sunt, quod de Iuda dicta sint et dicunt permanere adhuc principem ex genere Iudae, istum uidelicet, qui est gentis ipsorum princeps, quem nominant patriarcham, nec deficere posse de semine eius qui permaneant usque ad aduentum eius Christi, quem sibi ipsi describunt. Sed si uerum est quod ait propheta, quia *Dies multos sedebunt filii Israhel sine rege, sine principe; nec erit hostia nec altare nec sacerdotium*, et utique ex quo subuersum est templum nec hostiae offeruntur nec altare inuenitur nec sacerdotium constat: certissimum est *defecisse principes ex Iuda*, sicut scriptum est, *et ducem ex femoribus eius, usquequo uenit ille, cui repositum est.* Constat ergo quia uenit ille, *cui repositum est*, in quo et *expectatio gentium* est. Quod manifeste uidetur impletum de multitudine eorum, qui per Christum deo ex diuersis gentibus crediderunt.

64 aduersus *Pa* 65 quod de Iuda dicta sint : de Iuda *Pa* adhuc *om. Pa* 69–70 nec … quo : nec est sacrificium neque altare neque sacerdotium et ex quo utique *Pa* 73 uenit : ueniat *Pa* repositum : repromissum *Pa* 73–4 in … est *om. Pa* 73 et *om. γ*

4.1.3. *Τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι προεφητεύθη ὁ Χριστὸς τότε* ***ἐκλείψειν τοὺς ἐξ Ἰούδα ἄρχοντας εἰρημένους καὶ ἡγουμένους ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται,*** *δηλονότι ἡ βασιλεία,* ***καὶ ἐπιδημήσῃ ἡ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσδοκία;*** *Σαφῶς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας δῆλον καὶ ἐκ τῶν σήμερον ὁρωμένων, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Ἰησοῦ οὐκέτι βασιλεῖς Ἰουδαίων ἐχρημάτισαν, πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς ἐσεμνύνοντο, λέγω δὲ τῶν τε κατὰ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιτελουμένην λατρείαν καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καταλελυμένων. Ἐπληρώθη γὰρ ἡ λέγουσα προφητεία·* ***ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ὄντος βασιλέως οὐδὲ ὄντος ἄρχοντος, οὐκ οὔσης θυσίας οὐδὲ ὄντος θυσιαστηρίου οὐδὲ ἱερατείας οὐδὲ δήλων.***

Καὶ τούτοις χρώμεθα τοῖς ῥητοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Γενέσει ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν εἰρημένων φάσκοντας τὸν ἐθνάρχην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα γένους τυγχάνοντα, ἄρχειν τοῦ λαοῦ, οὐκ ἐκλειψόντων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἧς φαντάζονται Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας. Εἰ γὰρ ***ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήσονται οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ὄντος βασιλέως οὐδὲ ὄντος ἄρχοντος, οὐκ οὔσης θυσίας οὐδὲ θυσιαστηρίου οὐδὲ ἱερατείας οὐδὲ δήλων,*** *ἐξ οὗ δὲ κατεσκάφη ὁ ναός, οὐκ ἔστι θυσία οὐδὲ θυσιαστήριον οὐδὲ ἱερατεία, δῆλον ὅτι* ***ἐξέλιπεν ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ.*** *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ προφητεία φησίν·* ***οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ***

51 *ὁ Χριστὸς secl. Koe Goe* 52 *εἰρημένους om. ζ* *ἐκ τῶν* : *τῶν ἐκ* D *ζ* : *τῶν* A 53 *ᾧ* : *ὃ* B^{mg} A *ἐπιδημήσει* A 54 *ὁρωμένων* : *εἰρημένον* A 59 *καθίσονται* E 65 *τῶν om.* E *οὗτοι post φαντάζονται add.* D 66 *καθίσονται* D E 67 *ὄντος*^{1} *om.* D *post οὐδὲ*^{2} *add. <ὄντος> Koe in appar.* *οὐδὲ θυσιαστηρίου post θυσιαστηρίου add.* E 68 *οὐκ ἔστι* : *οὐκέτι* D *ζ* 69 *δηλονότι* B 71 *οὐδὲ*: *καὶ* E

We use these testimonies, then, against those who seem to assert that what is said by Jacob in Genesis is said of Judah and say that there remains to this day a prince from the race of Judah, that is, he who is the prince of their nation, whom they call 'the Patriarch', and that neither can there fail [a ruler] of his seed, who will remain until the arrival of that Christ as they picture him to themselves. But if what the prophet says is true, *The children of Israel will sit for many days without king, without ruler; there will be no sacrifice nor altar nor priesthood*, and if, indeed, from the time when the temple was overthrown, no sacrifices are offered, nor is an altar found, nor does a priesthood exist, then it is most certain that *rulers* have *ceased from Judah*, as it is written, *and a leader from his loins, [when] he came, for whom it is reserved*. It is established, then, that *he came, for whom it is reserved*, and in whom also is *the expectation of the nations*. This is clearly seen to have been fulfilled in the multitude of those who, from different nations, have believed through Christ in God.

4.1.3. What need is there to mention also [how] Christ was foretold, that then those called *'rulers' would cease from Judah and leaders from his loins, when he should come for whom it is reserved*,[3] the kingdom clearly, *and the expectation of the nations should sojourn*? For it is abundantly clear from the history and from what is seen today that from the times of Jesus there were no longer those who were called kings of the Jews, all those Jewish institutions in which they prided themselves having been destroyed, I mean those relating to the temple and the altar and the performance of worship and the robes of the high priest. For the prophecy was fulfilled which said, *The children of Israel will sit for many days, there being neither king nor ruler, neither sacrifice, nor altar, nor priesthood, nor oracles*.

And these sayings we use in response to those who, in being perplexed by what was said in Genesis by Jacob to Judah, assert that the Ethnarch, being of the race of Judah, rules the people, and that those of his seed will not cease until the sojourn of Christ, as they imagine him. For if *The children of Israel will sit many days, there being neither king nor ruler, neither sacrifice nor altar nor priesthood nor oracles*, [and] from the point when the temple was razed to the ground there is neither sacrifice nor altar nor priesthood, it is clear that *a ruler has ceased from Judah and a leader from his loins*. And since the prophecy says, *A ruler would not cease from Judah nor a leader from his loins until there should come the things reserved for him*, it is clear that *he has arrived to whom*

[3] On the difference between the way this verse is cited here and below, see Justin, *Dial.* 120; he asserts that the reading 'when he should come for whom it is reserved' is that of the Seventy, while 'until there should come the things reserved for him' is the Jewish one.

4.1.4. Sed et in Deuteronomii cantico per prophetiam designatur pro peccatis prioris populi futura esse insensatae gentis electio, non alia utique quam haec, quae per Christum facta est. Sic enim ait: *Exacerbauerunt me in simulacris suis, et ego in zelo concitabo eos, in gente insipiente inritabo eos.* Est ergo satis
80 euidenter agnoscere, quemadmodum Hebraei, qui *deum exacerbasse* dicuntur *in his, qui non sunt dii,* et *inritasse eum in simulacris suis, inritati sunt* et *ipsi in zelotypia per gentem insipientem,* quam deus elegit per aduentum Christi Iesu et discipulos eius. Sic enim dicit apostolus: *Videte enim uocationem uestram, fratres, quoniam non multi sapientes inter uos secundum carnem, non multi*
85 *potentes, non multi nobiles; sed quae stulta sunt mundi elegit deus et ea, quae non sunt, ut ea, quae erant prius, destrueret.* Non ergo glorietur *carnalis Israhel*; ita namque ab apostolo uocatur: *Non* inquam *glorietur caro in conspectu dei.*

76 et *om.* W **78** exaceruauerunt A W[ac] B G M[ac] enim *ante* me *add.* A **79** in non gente *post* eos[1] *add.* B in gente ... eos *om. Pa* **80** exaceruasse B : exaceruare G : exacerbare M σ **82** zelotypiam *Pa* elegit : egerit A[ac] W : elegerit A[pc] **85** et *om.* B μ **86** distruere δ **87** namque : enim *Pa*

ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, δῆλον ὅτι **ἐλήλυθεν ᾧ τὰ ἀποκείμενα, ἡ προσδοκία τῶν ἐθνῶν**. Καὶ τοῦτο σαφὲς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν διὰ Χριστοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἰς τὸν θεόν.

75 **4.1.4.** Καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δευτερονομίου δὲ ᾠδῇ προφητικῶς δηλοῦται ἡ διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ προτέρου λαοῦ ἐσομένη τῶν ἀσυνέτων ἐθνῶν ἐκλογή, οὐ δι' ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γεγενημένη. **Αὐτοὶ** γάρ φησι **παρεζήλωσάν με ἐπ' οὐ θεῷ, παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν· κἀγὼ παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, καὶ ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς**. Καὶ ἔστι σφόδρα
80 σαφῶς καταλαβεῖν δυνατόν, τίνα τρόπον οἱ λεγόμενοι **παρεζηλωκέναι τὸν θεὸν** Ἑβραῖοι **ἐπὶ τῷ οὐ θεῷ** καὶ **παρωργικέναι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν παρωργίσθησαν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν ἐπὶ τῷ οὐκ ἔθνει, τῷ ἀσυνέτῳ ἔθνει**, ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο διὰ τῆς ἐπιδημίας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. **Βλέπομεν** οὖν **τὴν κλῆσιν ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ**
85 **δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς· ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρότερον ὄντα καταργήσῃ**, καὶ **μὴ καυχήσηται ὁ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραήλ** (καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου **σάρξ**) **ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ**.

77 φησιν B 78 αὐτοὺς : αὐτοῖς B 79 καὶ[1] *om.* D αὐτοὺς : αὐτοῖς B ἔστι: ἔτι B 80 σαφῶς λ : τρανῶς E H : *om.* B 82 παρωξύνθησαν D ζ ἔθνει *om.* D ζ **84** οὖν : γοῦν E **86** ἀγενῆ : ἀσθενῆ D τὰ[2] *om.* E ἐξουδενημένα D **87** ἵνα τὰ πρότερον ὄντα ἐκεῖνα D

4.1.4. In the song in Deuteronomy, also, it is indicated through prophecy that, on account of the sins of the former people, there will be an election of a foolish nation, none other certainly than that which has come to pass through Christ. For it says this, *They have provoked me with their idols, and I will drive them to jealousy; I will enrage them with a foolish nation.*[12] It is therefore evident enough to perceive how the Hebrews, who are said to have *provoked God with those which are no gods* and to have *enraged him with their idols*, have *themselves* also *been enraged in jealousy* by means of the *foolish nation*, which God chose through the arrival of Christ Jesus and his disciples. For the Apostle speaks in this way, *For consider your calling, brethren, that not many among you were wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; but God chose the foolish things of the world and those which are not, that he might destroy the things which formerly were.*[13] Therefore, *Israel according to the flesh*, for such is it called by the Apostle, should not glory: Let *no flesh*, I say, *glory in the presence of God*![14]

[12] Deut. 32:21. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 119; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 95; Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.36.1; Clement, *Strom.* 2.9.43.1.
[13] 1 Cor. 1:26–8. [14] 1 Cor. 10:18; 1:29.

it is reserved, the expectation of the nations. And this is clear from the multitude of the nations who have believed, through Christ, in God.

4.1.4. And in the song of Deuteronomy the future election of foolish nations on account of the sins of the former people is prophetically made known, which has come to pass through none other than Jesus. *For*, it says, *they made me jealous with what is no god, they enraged me with their idols; so I will make them jealous with what is no nation, and enrage them with a foolish nation.* Now it is possible to understand very clearly in what manner the Hebrews, who are said to have *made God jealous with what is no god* and to have *enraged him by their idols, have been enraged to jealousy by what is no nation, by a foolish nation*, which God chose through the sojourn of Christ Jesus and his disciples. *We see*, then, *our calling, that not many were wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; but God chose the foolish things of the world, in order to shame the wise, and God chose the low and the despised, even things that are not, in order to bring to naught things that formerly were*, and *so that Israel according to the flesh* (which is called by the Apostle *flesh*) *should not boast in the presence of God.*

4.1.5. Sed et de his, quae in psalmis prophetantur de Christo, quid dicendum est, in eo maxime, qui superscribitur *Canticum pro dilecto*, ubi refertur quia *lingua*
90 eius *calamus scribae uelociter scribentis, decorus specie super filios hominum*, quoniam *effusa est gratia in labiis eius*? Indicium autem *effusae gratiae in labiis eius* hoc est, quod breui tempore transacto doctrinae eius (anno enim et aliquot mensibus docuit) uniuersus tamen orbis doctrina ac fide pietatis eius impletus est. Orta est enim *in diebus eius iustitia et multitudo pacis* permanens usque ad
95 finem, qui finis *ablatio lunae* appellata est: et *dominatur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad fines terrae*. Datum est autem et signum domui Dauid. *Virgo enim in utero concepit et peperit Emmanuhel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus*; et impletum est quod ait ipse propheta: *Nobiscum deus. Scitote, gentes, et*

91 eius : tuis *γ*   91–2 indicium ... eius *om. Pa*   93 doctrina : praedicatione *Pa*   94 enim : ergo *γ Pa*   96 orbis *post* fines *add. Pa*   97 enim : namque *δ*   utero : uentre *Pa*   est interpretatum : interpretatur *Pa*

90 **4.1.5.** *Τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐν ψαλμοῖς προφητειῶν περὶ Χριστοῦ, ᾠδῆς τινος ἐπιγεγραμμένης* **ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ**, *οὗ ἡ* **γλῶσσα** *λέγεται εἶναι* **κάλαμος γραμματέως ὀξυγράφου. Ὡραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων**, *ἐπεὶ* **ἐξεχύθη χάρις ἐν χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ**; *Τεκμήριον γὰρ τῆς* **ἐκχυθείσης χάριτος ἐν χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ** *τὸ ὀλίγου διαγεγενημένου χρόνου τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ*
95 *(ἐνιαυτὸν γάρ που καὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους ἐδίδαξε) πεπληρῶσθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας.* **Ἀνατέταλκε** *γὰρ* **ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης** *παραμένον ἕως συντελείας, ὃ* **ἀνταναίρεσις** *ὠνόμασται* **σελήνης**· *καὶ μένει* **κατακυριεύων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης**. *Καὶ* **δέδοται**
100 **σημεῖον τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυείδ· ἡ παρθένος γὰρ [ἔτεκε καὶ] ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχε καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός**. *Πεπλήρωται, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης φησί·* **μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός· γνῶτε, ἔθνη, καὶ ἡττᾶσθε, ἰσχυκότες ἡττᾶσθε**. *Ἡττήμεθα γὰρ καὶ νενικήμεθα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑαλωκότες ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ*

91 *εἶναι λέγεται* D   93–4 *ἐν χείλεσιν om.* B   94 *τοῦ ante χρόνου add.* D   95 *ὀλίγους om.* B   *ἐδίδαξεν* B   96 *τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ om.* B   *ἀνατέταλκεν* B   97 *δικαιοσύνη om.* B   98 *κατακυριεῦον* D *ζ*   100 *ἔτεκε καὶ secl. Koe (a Klostermann) Sim Goe Fern*   102 *ὁ*² *om.* B   *φησὶν* B : *om.* D

4.1.5. What is to be said, moreover, regarding those prophecies regarding Christ in the Psalms, especially in that one which is entitled *A Song for the Beloved*, in which it is said that his *tongue is the pen of a scribe swiftly writing, fairer than the children of human beings*, that *grace was poured on his lips*?[15] Now, a proof that *grace was poured on his lips* is this, that although the time of his teaching was brief (for he taught for but a year and some months[16]), the whole world, nevertheless, has been filled with his teaching and faith in his religion. There has arisen *in his days righteousness and an abundance of peace*, abiding even to the end, which end is called *the taking away of the moon*; and *he has dominion from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth.*[17] A sign was also given to the house of David. *For a virgin has conceived in the womb and born Emmanuel, which is interpreted 'God with us'.*[18] There is also

[15] Ps. 44:1–3.

[16] As maintained by the Valentinians, according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.3.3, and Clement, *Strom.* 1.21.145.3. Irenaeus himself, *Haer.* 2.22.3–6, on the basis of the question 'You are not yet fifty years old, and yet you have seen Abraham' (John 8:57) and a tradition going back to the elders in Asia, concluded that Christ must have reached at least forty years old. In *Hom. Luc.* 32.5, Origen accepts that it might have been one year; but in *Comm. ser. Matt.* 40 and *Cels.* 2.12, he also accepts a three-year period.

[17] Ps. 71:7–8.

[18] Isa. 7:14; Matt. 1:23. See *Cels.* 1.34–5 for Origen's comments on the difference between παρθένος, as found in the LXX, and νεᾶνις, as found in other versions. See also Justin, *Dial.* 66; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 9.

4.1.5. And what need is there to speak about the prophecies regarding Christ in the Psalms, there being a certain ode with the superscription *For the Beloved*, whose *tongue* is said to be *the pen of a swift writer; fairer in beauty than the sons of men*, since *grace was poured upon his lips*? A proof that *grace was poured upon his lips* is that although the period of his teaching was short (for he taught for about a year and a few months) the world has been filled with his teaching and the religion that came through him. For, *In his days righteousness has arisen and an abundance of peace* abiding until the consummation, which is called *the taking away of the moon*; and he remains *having dominion from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the earth.* And a *sign has been given to the house of David: for the virgin [did bear and] conceived and bore a son, and his name is Emmanuel, which is God with us.* Also fulfilled is, as the same prophet says, *God is with us; Understand, you nations, and be defeated; you who are strong, be defeated.* For we have been defeated and vanquished, we who have been captured from the nations by the grace of his word. But even the

uincimini. Victi enim nos sumus et superati, qui ex gentibus sumus, et uelut
100 exuuiae quaedam uictoriae eius existimus, qui eius gratiae nostra colla subiecimus. Sed et locus natiuitatis eius praedictus est in Michea propheta dicente: *Et tu Bethlem, terra Iuda, nequaquam exigua es in ducibus Iuda; ex te enim exiet dux, qui regat populum meum Israhel.* Sed et septimanae annorum impletae sunt usque ad Christum ducem, quas praedixerat Danihel propheta.
105 Adest nihilominus et is, qui per Iob praedicatus est *beluam ingentem consumpturus*, qui et dedit *potestatem* familiaribus suis discipulis *calcare super serpentes et scorpiones et supra omnem uirtutem inimici*, nihil ab eo nocendis. Sed et si quis consideret apostolorum Christi per loca singula discursus, in quibus ab eo missi euangelium praedicarant, inueniet quod et quae ausi sunt
110 adgredi, supra hominem est, et quod explere quae ausi sunt potuerunt, ex deo est. Si consideremus quomodo homines, nouam doctrinam ab his audientes inferri, suscipere eos potuerunt, uel potius quod saepe eis uolentes inferre perniciem diuina quadam quae eis aderat uirtute repressi sunt, inueniemus nihil in hac causa humanis uiribus, sed totum diuina uirtute ac prouidentia procuratum,
115 euidentibus procul dubio *signis et uirtutibus* testimonium reddentibus uerbo doctrinaeque eorum.

99 uincimini : conuncimini B qui … sumus *om. Pa* 100 quaedam uictoriae *om. Pa* gratia *μ* 103 in *post* meum *add. δ* 104 ducem Christum *γ* 105 praedictum B : praedictus *Pa* 106 consummaturus *δ* super : supra *γ* 110 quae ausi sunt *om. γ* potuerunt *dub. secl. Goe in appar.*

105 *προείρηται τόπος γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Μιχαίᾳ·* **καὶ σὺ** *γάρ φησι* **Βηθλεέμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.** *Καὶ αἱ* **ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες** *ἐπληρώθησαν ἕως Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου κατὰ τὸν Δανιήλ. Ἦλθέ τε κατὰ τὸν Ἰὼβ* **ὁ τὸ μέγα κῆτος χειρωσάμενος καὶ δεδωκὼς**
110 **ἐξουσίαν** *τοῖς γνησίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς* **πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ,** *οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένοις. Ἐπιστησάτω δέ τις καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων πανταχόσε ἐπιδημίᾳ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ καταγγεῖλαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πεμφθέντων, καὶ ὄψεται καὶ τὸ τόλμημα οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα θεῖον. Καὶ ἐὰν ἐξετάσωμεν*
115 *πῶς ἄνθρωποι καινῶν μαθημάτων ἀκούοντες καὶ ξένων λόγων προσήκαντο*

105 *βιθλεέμ* A 106 *εἶ om.* B[pc] A *ἐκ σοῦ : ἐξ οὗ* B 107 *αἱ om.* D *ζ* 109 *ἠλθέν* B 112 *ἐπιδημίᾳ τῇ πανταχόσε τῶν ἀποστόλων* D 113 *τοῦ om.* B *ἐπὶ τῷ* A *ζ* 114 *ἐπίταγμα* A D *ζ Koe Sim* : *ἐπίτειγμα* B : *ἐπίτευγμα Goe Fern*

fulfilled that which the same prophet says, *God is with us. Understand, you nations, and be defeated.*[19] For we have been conquered and overcome, we who are of the nations and who are as it were the spoils of his victory, who have bowed our necks to his grace. Even the place of his birth was foretold in the prophet Micah, saying, *And you, Bethlehem, land of Judah, are by no means least among the leaders of Judah; for from you shall come a leader, who shall rule my people Israel.*[20] And, also, the weeks of years until Christ the leader, which the prophet Daniel had foretold, has been fulfilled.[21] He is, moreover, at hand, who was foretold by Job, *who is about to destroy the great beast,*[22] who also gave to his familiar disciples *the power to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy,* without being harmed in any way by them.[23] But if anyone will consider the journeys of the apostles of Christ throughout each place, in which, sent by him, they preached the Gospel, he will find both that what they ventured to undertake is beyond human and also that it is from God that they were able to accomplish what they had ventured. If we consider how human beings, when hearing that a new teaching is being introduced by these [apostles], were able to receive them, or rather, when often desiring to bring them to destruction, were prevented by some divine power that was present with them, we will find that nothing in this matter was effected by human strength, but the whole by divine power and providence, *signs and wonders,*[24] manifest beyond all doubt, bearing witness to their word and teaching.

[19] Isa. 8:8–9.

[20] Matt. 2:6; cf. Micah 5:2. Cf. Justin, *1 Apol.* 34; *Dial.* 78; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 63; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 13.2; Origen, *Cels.* 1.51.

[21] Dan. 9:24. Rufinus omits 'seventy'. On this passage, see also Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 8.2; Clement, *Strom.* 1.21.125; Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 40.

[22] Job 3:8. [23] Luke 10:19. [24] Cf. Acts 5:12; Heb. 2:4.

place of his birth has been foretold in Micah: *For you, Bethlehem,* he says, *in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel.* And the *seventy weeks* until Christ the ruler, according to Daniel, were fulfilled. And he came, the one who, according to Job, *has subdued the great beast* and *has given* to his genuine disciples *authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions and over all power of the enemy,* without being harmed by them in any way. Let anyone also consider the universal sojourn of the apostles sent by Jesus to announce the Gospel, and he will see both that the daring venture was not human and that the command was divine. And if we examine how human beings, on hearing new teachings and strange words, accepted these men, being defeated, in their desire to plot

4.1.6. His autem breuiter demonstratis, id est de deitate Iesu Christi et de omnibus his, quae de ipso prophetata fuerant, expletis, simul etiam illud arbitror adprobatum, quod et scripturae ipsae, quae de eo prophetauerant,
120 diuinitus inspiratae sint, quae uel de aduentu eius uel de potestate doctrinae uel de omnium gentium adsumptione praedixerant. Quibus etiam illud addendum est, quod siue prophetarum uaticinatio siue Moysi lex diuina esse et diuinitus inspirata ex eo maxime inluminata est et probata, ex quo in hunc mundum Christus aduenit. Ante enim quam complerentur ea, quae ab illis
125 fuerant praedicta, quamuis uera essent et a Deo inspirata, tamen ostendi uera esse non poterant pro eo quod nondum probarentur impleta; aduentus uero Christi uera esse et diuinitus inspirata quae dixerant declarauit cum utique prius haberetur incertum, si eorum quae praedicta fuerant exitus esset implendus. Sed et si qui cum omni studio et reuerentia qua dignum est

119 prophetauerunt δ *Koe*   122 mosei B μ : moysis σ   127 uere A[ac]

τοὺς ἄνδρας, νικηθέντες ἐν τῷ θέλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ὑπό τινος θείας δυνάμεως ἐπισκοπούσης αὐτούς, οὐκ ἀπιστήσομεν εἰ καὶ τεράστια πεποιήκασιν, ***ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ*** *τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν* ***καὶ διὰ σημείων καὶ τεράτων καὶ ποικίλων δυνάμεων.***

120 **4.1.6.** *Ἀποδεικνύντες δὲ ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ περὶ τῆς θεότητος Ἰησοῦ καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις προφητικοῖς, συναποδείκνυμεν θεοπνεύστους εἶναι τὰς προφητευούσας περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφάς, καὶ τὰ καταγγέλλοντα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν αὐτοῦ γράμματα καὶ διδασκαλίαν μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας εἰρημένα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν*
125 *ἐκλογῆς κεκρατηκότα. Λεκτέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἔνθεον καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου ἔλαμψεν ἐπιδημήσαντος Ἰησοῦ. Ἐναργῆ γὰρ παραδείγματα περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστους εἶναι τὰς παλαιὰς γραφὰς πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραστῆσαι οὐ πάνυ δυνατὸν ἦν· ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημία δυναμένους ὑποπτεύεσθαι τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς*
130 *προφήτας ὡς οὐ θεῖα εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν ὡς οὐρανίῳ χάριτι ἀναγεγραμμένα. Ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐπιμελείας καὶ προσοχῆς ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς προφητικοῖς λόγοις, παθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν ἴχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, δι' ὧν πάσχει πεισθήσεται οὐκ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τοὺς*

117 *καὶ εἰ* D   121 *χρώμενος* A   *συναποδεικνύντες* B

4.1.6. These points having briefly been demonstrated, that is, regarding the divinity of Jesus Christ and the fulfilment of all that was prophesied regarding him, I reckon that it has also been proved at the same time that the Scriptures themselves, which have prophesied about him, were divinely inspired, those which had either foretold his advent or the power of his teaching or the gathering in of all the nations. To which must also be added that the divine character and the divine inspiration both of the predictions of the Prophets and the Law of Moses have been most clearly brought to light and proved from the point that Christ arrived in this world. For before those things which were foretold by them were fulfilled, although they were true and inspired by God, they nevertheless could not be shown to be true because they were not yet proved to have been fulfilled; but the arrival of Christ proclaimed what had been said to be true and divinely inspired, whereas before it would certainly have been held doubtful whether the accomplishment of those things which had been foretold would be fulfilled.[25] Moreover, if anyone consider the

[25] Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.26.1; Clement, *Strom.* 4.21.134; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.32–6; 13.305–6; 19.28; *Frag. Luc.* 251.

against them, by some divine power watching over them, we will not disbelieve that they even wrought miracles, *God bearing witness* to their words *by signs and wonders and various miracles.*

4.1.6. In demonstrating, in summary fashion, the divinity of Jesus and using the prophetic words regarding him, we simultaneously demonstrate that the writings prophesying him are divinely inspired and that the words announcing his sojourn and teaching were spoken with all power and authority and on this account they have prevailed for the election from the nations. It must also be said that the inspiration of the prophetic words and the spiritual character of the Law of Moses shone forth with the sojourn of Jesus. For it was not at all possible to bring forward clear arguments concerning the inspiration of the ancient Scriptures before the sojourn of Christ; but the sojourning of Jesus led those who might have suspected the Law and the Prophets not to be divine to the clear conviction that they were composed by heavenly grace. One who reads the prophetic words with care and attention, experiencing from the act of reading itself a trace of divine inspiration, will be persuaded, through the things he experiences, that the words believed by us to be of God are not

130 prophetica dicta consideret, in eo ipso dum legit et diligentius intuetur, certum est quod ab aliquo diuiniore spiramine mentem sensumque pulsatus agnoscat non humanitus esse prolatos eos, quos legit, sed dei esse sermones; et ex semet ipso sentiet non humana arte nec mortali eloquio sed diuino, ut ita dixerim, coturno libros esse conscriptos. Legem ergo Moysei splendor aduentus Christi
135 per fulgorem ueritatis inluminans, id quod superpositum erat litterae eius uelamen abstraxit et omnia, quae cooperta inibi bona tegebantur, uniuersis in se credentibus reserauit.

4.1.7. Verum satis operosa res est enumerare singula, quae a prophetis olim praedicta sunt, qualiter uel quando completa sint, ut ex his uideamur eos, qui
140 dubitant, confirmare, cum possibile sit unicuique uolenti de his diligentius noscere ex ipsis libris ueritatis probamenta abundantius congregare. Si uero his, qui minus in diuinis eruditi sunt disciplinis, non statim in prima fronte litterae sensus, qui supra hominem est, uidetur occurrere, nihil mirum est, quod quae diuina sunt ad homines paulo latentius deferuntur et eo magis
145 latent, quo quis uel incredulus fuerit uel indignus. Nam et cum certum sit

132 probatos δ 134 mosei B μ : moysis σ 139 uideamus δ γ 141 ex ipsis : ex his A[ac] W : et ex his A[pc] 144 latentius : lentius γ 145 et *om.* γ *Koe*

πεπιστευμένους ἡμῖν εἶναι θεοῦ λόγους. Καὶ τὸ ἐνυπάρχον δὲ φῶς τῷ
135 *Μωσέως νόμῳ, καλύμματι ἐναποκεκρυμμένον, συνέλαμψε τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ περιαιρεθέντος τοῦ καλύμματος καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κατὰ βραχὺ εἰς γνῶσιν ἐρχομένων, ὧν σκιὰν εἶχε τὸ γράμμα.*

4.1.7. *Πολὺ δ' ἂν εἴη νῦν ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰς περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν μελλόντων ἀρχαιοτάτας προφητείας, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν ὁ ἀμφιβάλλων πληχθεὶς ὡς*
140 *ἐνθέων, διψυχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ περισπασμὸν ἀποθέμενος, ὅλῃ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδῷ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν γραμμάτων τοῖς ἀνεπιστήμοσι προσπίπτειν δοκεῖ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον τῶν νοημάτων, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς ἁπτομένης τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου προνοίας ἔργων, τινὰ μὲν ἐναργέστατα φαίνεται, ᾗ προνοίας ἐστὶν ἔργα,*
145 *ἕτερα δὲ οὕτως ἀποκέκρυπται, ὡς ἀπιστίας χώραν παρέχειν δοκεῖν τῆς*

134 *ἡμῖν εἶναι om.* E 135 *συνέλαμψεν* B 137 *εἶχεν* B 138 *νῦν om.* D 140 *ἑαυτὸν om.* A 142 *δοκεῖ : δοκῇ* A

prophetic sayings with all the diligence and reverence they deserve, it is certain that, in the very act, while he reads and carefully scrutinizes, his mind and senses having been touched by a divine breath, he will recognize what he reads to be not human utterances but the words of God; and in himself he will discern that these books have been composed not by human skill, nor mortal eloquence, but, if I may so speak, in a style that is divine. The splendour of Christ's arrival, therefore, illuminating the Law of Moses with the brightness of truth, has taken away that veil which had covered the letter and disclosed, for everyone who believes in him, all the good things which were concealed, buried within.[26]

4.1.7. It is, however, a considerably laborious matter to recount how and when every instance of what the prophets of old foretold has been fulfilled, so as to appear by this to confirm those who are in doubt; although it is possible for everyone who wishes to become more thoroughly acquainted with these things to gather proofs in abundance from the books of the truth themselves. But if the sense, which is beyond human beings, does not appear to present itself immediately, on the first sight of the letter, to those who are less versed in the divine disciplines, it is not at all surprising, because divine things are conveyed to human beings in a somewhat more obscure manner and are the more hidden in proportion as one is either unbelieving or unworthy. For[27] although it is

[26] Cf. 2 Cor. 3:15–16; Heb. 10:1.

[27] Simonetti and Crouzel (SC 269, p. 164, n.41–41a) suggest that although the following sentences are much more developed and bold than what is found in the *Philocalia*, they are certainly in the spirit of Origen, and that the *Philocalia* probably abridges this passage out of prudence.

compositions of human beings. And the light contained in the Law of Moses, but hidden by a veil, shone forth at the sojourn of Jesus, when the veil was taken away and the good things, of which the letter had a shadow, came gradually to be known.

4.1.7. It would be a huge task to recount now the most ancient prophecies regarding each future event, in order that the doubter, being impressed by them as divine and putting aside every hesitation and distraction, may devote himself with his whole soul to the words of God. But if the supra-human [sense] of the meanings of every part of the writings does not seem to present itself to the uninstructed, no wonder; for, with respect to the works of that providence which embraces the whole world, some appear most clearly to be works of providence, while others are concealed in such a way as to seem to

omnia, quae in hoc mundo sunt uel geruntur, dei prouidentia dispensari, quaedam quidem satis euidenter apparet quod prouidentiae gubernatione digesta sint, alia uero tam occulte tamque inconpraehensibiliter explicantur, ut penitus in his lateat diuinae ratio prouidentiae; ita ut interdum a nonnullis nec
150 credantur quaedam ad prouidentiam pertinere, quoniam quidem ratio ab eis latet, per quam ineffabili quadam arte opera diuinae prouidentiae dispensantur; quae tamen ratio non aequaliter omnibus in occulto est. Nam et inter ipsos homines ab alio minus, ab alio amplius consideratur; plus uero ab omni homine, qui in terris est, quisque ille est caeli habitator agnoscit. Et aliter claret
155 corporum ratio, aliter arborum, aliter animalium, aliter uero tegitur animorum: et diuersi rationabilium mentium motus qualiter per diuinam prouidentiam dispensentur, plus quidem homines, non parum tamen, ut ego arbitror, etiam angelos latet. Sed sicut non idcirco refellitur diuina prouidentia ab his maxime, qui eam esse certi sunt, quia opera eius uel dispensationes humanis ingeniis
160 conpraehendi non possunt: ita nec scripturae quidem sanctae diuina esse inspiratio, quae per omne corpus eius extenditur, pro eo non putabitur, quod infirmitas intellegentiae nostrae non ualet per singula uerba occultas et latentes inuestigare sententias, dum in uilioribus et incomptis uerborum uasculis diuinae sapientiae thesaurus absconditur, sicut et apostolus designat dicens:
165 *Habemus* autem *thesaurum hunc in uasis fictilibus, ut eo magis diuinae potentiae*

147 apparent B γ *Koe Goe* 149 diuina δ 150 quidam A[pc2] ratio ab eis : rationabilis δ
154 quisquis *Del* agnocitur *Del* 155 aliter arborum *om.* γ 159 quia : qui γ
160 nec : ne B μ *Koe Goe* diuinae μ : diuine A[ac] 161 omne *om.* γ

περὶ τοῦ τέχνῃ ἀφάτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διοικοῦντος τὰ ὅλα θεοῦ. Οὐχ οὕτω γὰρ σαφὴς ὁ περὶ τοῦ προνοοῦντος τεχνικὸς λόγος ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις· καὶ οὐχ οὕτω δῆλος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα συμπτώματα, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν ζώων,
150 *σφόδρα τοῦ πρὸς τί καὶ ἕνεκα τίνος εὑρισκομένου τοῖς τούτων ἐπιμελομένοις περὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς καὶ τὰς φαντασίας καὶ φύσεις τῶν ζώων καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν σωμάτων. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐ χρεοκοπεῖται ἡ πρόνοια διὰ τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα παρὰ τοῖς γε ἅπαξ παραδεξαμένοις αὐτὴν καλῶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ τῆς γραφῆς θειότης διατείνουσα εἰς πᾶσαν*
155 *αὐτήν, διὰ τὸ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην λέξιν δύνασθαι τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν παρίστασθαι τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ λαμπρότητι τῶν δογμάτων ἐν εὐτελεῖ καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτῳ λέξει ἀποκειμένῃ.* ***Ἔχομεν γὰρ θησαυρὸν ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, ἵνα λάμψῃ ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ,*** *καὶ μὴ νομισθῇ εἶναι ἐξ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Εἰ γὰρ αἱ κατημαξευμέναι τῶν ἀποδείξεων*

146 *δυνάμει ante ὅλα add.* A 148 *τὰ om.* B 150 *πρός τι* B D H *τινος* H
151 *ἐπιμελωμένοις* B : *ἐπιμελουμένοις* A *τὰς ante φύσεις add.* D
152 *χρεοκοπῆσαι* B 153 *μὴ om.* A *παρὰ om.* D

certain that all things that exist or take place in this world are arranged by the providence of God, there are some things which clearly enough appear to have been disposed by the government of providence, but others are unfolded so obscurely and incomprehensibly that the design of divine providence regarding them is completely concealed, so that occasionally some things are not believed by some to belong to providence, because the design, by which the works of divine providence are arranged with certain ineffable art, is hidden from them, although this design is not equally concealed from all. For even among human beings themselves, it is pondered upon less by one and more by another; whoever is an inhabitant of heaven knows more than every human being who is upon earth. And the design of bodies is clear in one way, that of trees in another way, that of animals in yet another way, but that of souls is concealed in yet another way; and the manner in which the diverse movements of rational minds are arranged by divine providence eludes to a greater degree human beings, and even, I think, in no small degree the angels. But just as divine providence is not refuted, especially for those who are certain of its existence, because its workings and arrangements cannot be comprehended by human minds, so also neither will the divine inspiration of holy Scripture, which extends throughout its entire body, be believed to be non-existent because the weakness of our understanding is not able to trace out the obscure and hidden meaning in each single word, for the treasure of divine wisdom is hidden in the paltry and inelegant vessels of words, as the Apostle also points out, saying, *We have this treasure in earthen vessels, so that the strength of divine power might*

furnish ground for disbelief in that God who orders all things with unspeakable skill and power. For the skilful plan of the providential ruler is not so evident in matters upon the earth as it is with the sun and moon and stars, and not so clear in matters regarding human events as it is with the souls and bodies of animals, where the purpose and the reason of the impulses and the mental images and the nature of animals, and the structure of their bodies, are accurately discovered by those who attend to these things. But just as providence is not annulled, by those who have once for all accepted it rightly, on account of those things which are not understood, so neither is the divinity of Scripture, which extends to it all, annulled because our weakness cannot in every expression approach the hidden splendour of the teachings concealed in poor and humble language. *For we have a treasure in earthen vessels, so that the transcendent power of God might shine forth* and not be thought to be from us human beings. For if it had been the hackneyed methods of demonstration

uirtus effulgeat, dum nullus humanae eloquentiae fucus in dogmatum ueritate miscetur. Si enim uel arte rhetorica uel calliditate philosophica conscripti libri nostri ad credendum inlicerent homines, sine dubio *fides* nostra putaretur in uerborum arte consistere atque *in sapientia humana*, et non *in uirtute dei*.
170 Nunc uero omnibus notum est quod *praedicationis huius uerbum* ita a quam plurimis in omni paene orbe susceptum est, ut *non in suasoriis sapientiae uerbis, sed in ostentatione spiritus et uirtutis* esse intellegerent quae credebant. Propter quod caelesti uirtute, immo etiam plus quam caelesti, ad fidem credulitatemque perducti, pro eo scilicet, ut solum creatorem omnium nostrum
175 deum colamus, temptemus et nos niti magnopere, quo *derelinquentes initiorum Christi sermonem*, quae sunt prima initia scientiae, *ad perfectionem feramur*, ut illa sapientia, quae perfectis traditur, etiam nobis tradatur. Ita namque pollicetur ille, cui commissa est huius sapientiae praedicatio, dicens: *Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos, sapientiam autem non huius mundi neque principum*
180 *huius mundi, qui destruentur*. Ex quo ostendit quia nihil commune habeat haec nostra sapientia, quantum ad sermonis decorem pertinet, cum huius mundi sapientia. Haec igitur sapientia clarius et perfectius describetur in cordibus

167 philosophica calliditate γ   175 niti : initi B

160 *ὁδοὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐναποκείμεναι τοῖς βιβλίοις κατίσχυσαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ* ***πίστις*** *ἡμῶν ἂν εὐλόγως ὑπελαμβάνετο* ***ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων*** *καὶ οὐκ* ***ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ·*** *νῦν δὲ τῷ ἐπάραντι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σαφὲς ὅτι* ***ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα*** *παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δεδύνηται* ***οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως****. Διόπερ δυνάμεως ἡμᾶς*
165 *οὐρανίου ἢ καὶ ὑπερουρανίου πληττούσης ἐπὶ τὸ σέβειν τὸν κτίσαντα ἡμᾶς μόνον, πειραθῶμεν* ***ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον****, τουτέστι τῆς στοιχειώσεως,* ***ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι****, ἵνα ἡ τοῖς τελείοις λαλουμένη σοφία καὶ ἡμῖν λαληθῇ. Σοφίαν γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ ταύτην κεκτημένος* ***λαλεῖν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις****, ἑτέραν τυγχάνουσαν παρὰ* ***τὴν σοφίαν***
170 ***τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τὴν***

161 *εὐλόγως ἂν* E   163 *δεδύνηται : οὐδὲ δύνηται* E   *πειθοῖ* E   165 *καὶ om.* D H   *πληττούσης : πλητγούσης* A   166 *μόνον : θεόν* D

shine out the more,[28] when no taint of human eloquence is mingled with the truth of the doctrines.[29] For if our books enticed human beings to believe because they were composed either by rhetorical art or by philosophical skilfulness, then undoubtedly our *faith* would be considered to be based upon the art of words or *upon human wisdom* and not *upon the power of God*.[30] But now it is well known to all that this *word of preaching* has been so accepted by multitudes throughout almost the whole world that they have understood that they believed *not in persuasive words of wisdom but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power*.[31] On this account, being led by a heavenly, or rather more than heavenly, power to faith and belief, for this reason, that is, that we may worship the sole Creator of all things, our God, let us also endeavour to strive earnestly, that *leaving behind the teaching of the first principles of Christ*, which are but the elementary principles of knowledge, *we may press on to perfection*,[32] in order that that wisdom, which is delivered to the perfect, may also be delivered to us.[33] For such does he, to whom was entrusted the preaching of this wisdom, promise, saying, *Yet we speak wisdom among the perfect, but not the wisdom of this world, nor of the rulers of this world, who will be destroyed*.[34] By this he shows that this wisdom of ours, so far as concerns the beauty of language, has nothing in common with the wisdom of this world. This wisdom, then, will be inscribed more clearly and perfectly in our hearts, if it is made known to us

[28] 2 Cor. 4:7.

[29] For the divine power at work through the 'paltry and inelegant' words of Scripture, see the various passages drawn from *Cels.* in Origen, *Philoc.* 15.

[30] Cf. 1 Cor. 2:5. [31] 1 Cor. 2:4. [32] Heb. 6:1.

[33] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.42–6; 2.21–31; 13.26–39; *Frag. Jo.* 63 (GCS 4, pp. 531–2); *Dial.* 15; *Frag. Prov.* 1.6 (PG 13, 20); *Comm. Matt.* 10.4; 12.30–3; 16.8; *Hom. Gen.* 7.4; *Hom. Ex.* 12.4; *Hom. Lev.* 4.6. See also Clement, *Strom.* 2.6.25–31; 2.9.45; 5.1.2.4–5; 5.1.1–13; 5.4.19–26; 7.3.13.

[34] 1 Cor. 2:6.

used by human beings, laid up in books, that had prevailed over human beings, our *faith* might reasonably be supposed to rest *upon the wisdom of human beings* and not *upon the power of God*; but now, for one lifting up their eyes, it is clear that *the word and the preaching* have prevailed among the multitude *not in persuasive words of wisdom but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power*. Therefore, since a celestial or super-celestial power compels us to worship only the one who created us, let us endeavour, *leaving behind the teaching of the first principle of Christ*, that is, of the elements, *to press on to perfection*, in order that the wisdom spoken to the perfect may be spoken to us also. For he who acquired wisdom promises *to speak it among the perfect*, but another wisdom besides *the wisdom of this age and the wisdom of the rulers of*

nostris, si nobis patefacta fuerit *secundum reuelationem mysterii, quod temporibus aeternis absconditum est, nunc autem manifestatum est per*
185 *scripturas propheticas* et *per aduentum domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi*, cui est gloria in aeterna saecula. Amen.

184 manifestum μ

καταργουμένην· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σοφία ἡμῖν ἐντυπωθήσεται τρανῶς **κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν** καὶ **τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·** ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

171 καὶ *post* κατὰ *add.* E 173 τε *om.* D

according to the revelation of the mystery which has been hidden from eternity but is now manifest through the prophetic Scriptures, and *through the arrival of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,*[35] to whom is the glory unto eternal ages. Amen.[36]

[35] Rom. 16:25–7 and 2 Tim. 1:10 (cf. 1 Tim. 6:14); Origen frequently combines these verses, e.g. *Comm. Jo.* 6.25; 13.101; 13.306; *Cels.* 2.4; 3.61.

[36] Here, and at the end of *Princ.* 3.5.8 are the only two places where Origen concludes with a doxology and 'Amen'; in *Princ.* 4.3.14 he concludes with a doxology but no 'Amen'.

this age, which is being destroyed. And this wisdom will be stamped upon us distinctly, *according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret through times eternal, but now made manifest through the prophetic scriptures* and *the appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,* to whom be glory for all ages. Amen.

<Quomodo oportet legere et intellegere Scripturas>

4.2.1. His igitur breuiter adsignatis de eo, quod per spiritum sanctum diuinae scripturae inspiratae sint, necessarium uidetur etiam illud explicare, quo pacto non recte quidam legentes uel intellegentes erroribus se quam plurimis tradiderunt, pro eo quod qua uia ad intellegentia diuinarum litterarum debet incedi, a quam plurimis ignoratur. Denique Iudaei per duritiam cordis sui, et dum sibimet ipsis uolunt uideri esse sapientes, domino et saluatori nostro non crediderunt, ea quae de ipso prophetata sunt secundum litteram debere intellegi aestimantes, id est quod sensibiliter ac uisibiliter debuerit *praedicare captiuis remissionem*, et quod debuerit prius aedificare ciuitatem, quam uere putant esse *ciuitatem dei*, simul et *exterminare currus Efrem et equum de Hierusalem*, sed et *butyrum et mel manducare ut, priusquam cognosceret proferre malum, et eligere bonum*; sed et *lupum*, animal istud quadrupes,

1 *titulus ex Photius* ὅπως δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰς γραφάς : quod multi spiritaliter non intellegentes scripturas et male intellegendo in haereses declinarint [declinarunt G : declinauerunt Ab] α μ Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S   4 uel intellegentes *om.* γ   6 pluribus γ   8 prophetata : probata γ : prolata *Del*   12 ut : et *coni. Koe Goe*   aut *post* cognosceret *malit Koe in appar.*   13 et eligere : eligere G M[ac] *Koe Goe* : eligeret B σ

Πῶς τὴν θείαν γραφὴν ἀναγνωστέον καὶ νοητέον

4.2.1. Μετὰ τὸ ὡς ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ εἰρηκέναι περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστους εἶναι τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀναγκαῖον ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως καὶ νοήσεως αὐτῶν, πλείστων ἁμαρτημάτων γεγενημένων παρὰ τὸ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐφοδεύειν τὰ ἅγια ἀναγνώσματα τοῖς πολλοῖς μὴ εὑρῆσθαι. Οἵ τε γὰρ σκληροκάρδιοι καὶ ἰδιῶται τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα ἡμῶν οὐ πεπιστεύκασι, τῇ λέξει τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητειῶν κατακολουθεῖν νομίζοντες, καὶ αἰσθητῶς μὴ ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν **κηρύξαντα αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν** μηδὲ οἰκοδομήσαντα ἣν νομίζουσιν ἀληθῶς **πόλιν** εἶναι **τοῦ θεοῦ** μηδὲ **ἐξολοθρεύσαντα ἅρματα ἐξ Ἐφραῒμ καὶ ἵππον ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ**, μηδὲ **βούτυρον καὶ μέλι φαγόντα, καὶ πρὶν γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἢ προελέσθαι πονηρὰ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν**· ἔτι δὲ **λύκον**, τὸ ζῷον τὸ τετράποδον, οἰόμενοι προφητεύεσθαι μέλλειν **βόσκεσθαι μετὰ ἀρνὸς καὶ πάρδαλιν ἐρίφῳ συναναπαύεσθαι μοσχάριόν τε καὶ ταῦρον καὶ λέοντα ἅμα βοσκηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ μικροῦ παιδίου ἀγόμενα καὶ βοῦν καὶ ἄρκον ἅμα νεμηθήσεσθαι, συνεκτρεφομένων αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις τῶν παιδίων, καὶ λέοντα ὡς**

2 ἐπιδρομῇ : περιδρομῇ D   4 τὸ : τοῦ A   9 εἶναι πόλιν C   12 ἐκλεξάμενον E
15 καὶ *post* νεμηθήσεσθαι *add.* B   16 παίδων D

How One Must Read and Understand the Scriptures

4.2.1.[1] These points, then, being briefly noted, concerning the fact that the divine Scriptures are inspired by the Holy Spirit, it seems necessary also to explain this: in what way certain people, not reading or understanding them correctly, have given themselves over into many errors, inasmuch as the way that ought to be followed for the understanding of the divine writings is unknown to many. For the Jews, through their hardness of heart, and because they wish to appear wise in their own sight, have not believed in our Lord and Saviour, supposing that those things which were prophesied of him ought to be understood according to the letter, that is, that he ought, perceptibly and visibly, to *proclaim release to the captives*, and that he ought at first to build a city such as they think *the city of God* truly to be, and at the same time to *cut off the chariots of Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem*, but also to *eat butter and honey in order to choose the good before he should know to bring forth evil*; they also think that it has been prophesied that at the arrival of Christ, *the wolf*,

[1] The Latin manuscripts, and previous editions following them, have, for *Princ.* 4.2, 'Many, not understanding the Scriptures in a spiritual sense and interpreting badly have fallen into heresy', and for *Princ.* 4.3, 'Illustrations from Scripture of the method in which Scripture should be understood'. However, as *Princ.* 4.2 deals not only with misunderstandings, but, from *Princ.* 4.2.4 onwards, how to read and understand Scripture, and as *Princ.* 4.3 continues the same subject by giving illustrations exemplifying such a reading, I have followed Photius (see note to title of *Princ.* 4.1) in taking *Princ.* 4.2–3 as a single chapter with the title given by Photius.

How the Divine Scripture is to be Read and Understood

4.2.1. After having spoken, as in summary, about the inspiration of the divine Scriptures, it is necessary to proceed to the manner of reading and understanding them, since many errors have occurred from the fact that the way by which the holy readings ought to be examined has not been discovered by the multitude. For the hard-hearted and ignorant of the people of the circumcision have not believed in our Saviour, thinking they follow the language of the prophecies regarding him, and not seeing him visibly *proclaiming release to the captives*, nor building up what they consider to be truly a *city of God*, nor *cutting off the chariots from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem*, nor *eating butter and honey, and before knowing or preferring evil, choosing the good*; and thinking it was prophesied that the *wolf*, the four-footed animal, was *to feed with the lamb and the leopard to lie down with the kid, the calf and the bull and the lion to feed together, being led by a little child, and the ox and the bear to pasture together, their young ones growing up together, and*

aestimarunt esse prophetatum quia deberet in aduentu Christi *pasci cum agnis,*
15 *et pardus requiescere cum hedis, uitulus autem et taurus simul cum leonibus pasci et a paruulo puero duci ad pascua, bouem uero et ursum simul in pastibus recubare eorumque fetus pariter enutriri, leones quoque una cum bubus adstare praesepibus et uesci paleis.* Horum igitur omnium, quae de eo prophetata sunt, nihil gestum esse secundum historiam peruidentes, in quibus praecipue
20 aduentus Christi signa obseruanda esse credebant, suscipere praesentiam domini nostri Iesu Christi noluerunt; quin immo et uelut contra ius fasque, id est contra prophetiae fidem, adsumentem sibi eum Christi nomen, cruci illum adfixerunt. Tum uero haeretici legentes quod in lege scriptum est: *Ignis accensus est ex furore meo* et: *Ego deus zelans et reddens peccata patrum in filios*
25 *in tertiam et quartam progeniem* et: *Paeniteor quod unxi Saul in regem* et: *Ego deus, qui facio pacem et creo mala,* et iterum: *Non est malitia in ciuitate, quam dominus non fecit,* et: *Descenderunt mala a domino super portas Hierusalem* et quod *Spiritus malignus a deo suffocabat Saul* et multa alia his similia, quae

16 a *om.* α 18 quae prophetata sunt de eo γ 22 eum sibi γ 23 tum : tunc γ
25 paeniteor W M : peniteor G : peniteo A (*ex corr. in rasura*) : penitet me B : penitet σ

βοῦν φάγεσθαι ἄχυρα, μηδὲν τούτων αἰσθητῶς ἑωρακότες γεγενημένον ἐν τῇ τοῦ πεπιστευμένου ἡμῖν Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ, οὐ προσήκαντο τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς παρὰ τὸ δέον Χριστὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσαντα
20 ἐσταύρωσαν. Οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸ **πῦρ ἐκκέκαυται ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου** καὶ **ἐγὼ θεὸς ζηλωτής, ἀποδιδοὺς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεάν** καὶ **μεταμεμέλημαι χρίσας τὸν Σαοὺλ εἰς βασιλέα** καὶ **ἐγὼ θεὸς ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά,** καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τὸ **οὐκ ἔστι κακία ἐν πόλει, ἣν κύριος οὐκ ἐποίησεν,** ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ **κατέβη κακὰ**
25 **παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ πύλας Ἱερουσαλήμ,** καὶ **πνεῦμα πονηρὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἔπνιγε τὸν Σαούλ,** καὶ μυρία ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια, ἀπιστῆσαι μὲν ὡς θεοῦ ταῖς γραφαῖς οὐ τετολμήκασι, πιστεύοντες δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ᾧ Ἰουδαῖοι λατρεύουσιν, ᾠήθησαν, ὡς ἀτελοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνοντος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, τὸν σωτῆρα ἐπιδεδημηκέναι τελειότερον καταγγέλλοντα
30 θεόν, ὅν φασι μὴ τὸν δημιουργὸν τυγχάνειν, διαφόρως περὶ τούτου

17 *ἑορακότες* B 19 *Χριστὸν post Ἰησοῦν add.* C *Ἰησοῦν ante Χριστὸν add.* λ
21 *ἐκ τοῦ : ἀπὸ* C 22 *μεταμέλημαι* E[ac] 23 *εἰς om.* B *τὸ om.* ε 25 *ἔπνιγεν* B
29–30 *τελειότερον καταγγέλλοντα θεόν om.* C

that four-footed animal, *is to feed with the lambs, and the leopard is to lie down with the kids, and the calf and the bull are to feed together with the lions and to be led to the pasture by a little child, and the ox and the bear are to lie down together in the green fields, and their young ones are to be fed together, and the lions are to stand at the stalls with the oxen and be fed on straw.*[2] Therefore, seeing that of all these things, which were prophesied of him and in which they believed that the signs of the arrival of Christ were especially to be observed, none was enacted in history, they refused to accept the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; or rather, indeed, contrary to all propriety and justice, that is, contrary to the faith of prophecy, they nailed him to the cross for taking upon himself the name of Christ. Then, again, the heretics, reading what is written in the Law, *A fire has been kindled from my anger*,[3] and, *I am a jealous God, repaying the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation*,[4] and, *I regret that I anointed Saul to be king*,[5] and, *I am God, who makes peace and creates evil*,[6] and again, *There is no evil in the city which the Lord has not done*,[7] and, *Evils came down from the Lord upon the gates of Jerusalem*,[8] and, *An evil spirit from God throttled Saul*,[9] and reading many other passages of Scripture similar to these they did not dare to say that these are not

[2] Cf. Isa. 61:1; Ezek. 48:15–35; Ps. 45:5; Zech. 9:10; Isa. 7:15; Isa. 11:6–7.
[3] Deut. 32:22; Jer. 15:14. [4] Exod. 20:5. [5] 1 Rgns 15:11.
[6] Isa. 45:7. [7] Amos 3:6. [8] Micah 1:12.
[9] 1 Rgns 16:14. See also 1 Sam. 18:10, a verse not in the LXX, but one known to Origen, as evidenced by the *Hexapla* (ed. Fields, 1.519).

the lion to eat straw like the ox—seeing none of these things visibly happening in the sojourn of him believed by us to be Christ, they did not accept our Lord Jesus, but they crucified him as having improperly called himself Christ. While those from the heretical sects reading this, *A fire has been kindled from my anger*, and, *I am a jealous God, repaying the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third or fourth generation*, and *I regret that I anointed Saul to be king*, and, *I am God, who makes peace and creates evil*, and, amongst others, *There is no evil in the city which the Lord has not done*, and again, *Evils came down from the Lord upon the gates of Jerusalem*, and, *An evil spirit from God throttled Saul*, and numberless other passages like these, have not dared to disbelieve that these are Scriptures of God, but believing them to be of the creator, whom the Jews worship, they thought that, as the creator was imperfect and not good, the Saviour had sojourned announcing a more perfect God, who they say is not the creator, motivated in various ways

scripta sunt, legentes, dicere quidem eas non esse dei scripturas non ausi sunt,
30 esse tamen eas conditoris dei illius, quem Iudaei colebant, putarunt, quem iustum tantummodo, non etiam bonum credi debere aestimarunt: saluatorem uero aduenisse, ut perfectiorem nobis adnuntiaret deum, quem negant esse conditorem mundi, diuersis etiam de hoc ipso opinionibus dissidentes, quoniam quidem semel recedentes a fide creatoris dei, qui est omnium deus, figmentis
35 se uariis ac fabulis tradiderunt, commentantes quaedam et dicentes alia esse uisibilia et ab alio facta, alia uero quaedam inuisibilia et ab alio condita, prout eis animae suae fantasia uanitasque suggesserit. Sed et nonnulli ex simplicioribus quibusque eorum, qui intra ecclesiae fidem contineri uidentur, maiorem quidem creatore deo nullum esse opinantur, rectam in hoc tenentes sanamque
40 sententiam, uerum talia de eo sentiant, quae ne de aliquo iniustissimo et inmitissimo homine sentienda sunt.

4.2.2. Horum autem omnium falsae intellegentiae causa his quibus supra diximus non alia extitit, nisi quod sancta scriptura ab his non secundum spiritalem sensum, sed secundum litterae sonum intellegitur. Propter quod
45 conabimur pro mediocritate sensus nostri his, qui credunt scripturas sanctas

31 etiam : enim *μ* : autem *σ*   37 suggerit *γ*   38 quibusque : que G M^{ac} : scilicet *σ*
40 ne : nec *Merl Del Koe Goe*   quidem *ante* iniustissimo *add.* B

κινούμενοι· καὶ ἅπαξ ἀποστάντες τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἀγέννητος μόνος θεός, ἀναπλασμοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδώκασι, μυθοποιοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ὑποθέσεις, καθ' ἃς οἴονται γεγονέναι τὰ βλεπόμενα, καὶ ἕτερά τινα μὴ βλεπόμενα, ἅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἀνειδωλοποίησεν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ
35 *ἀκεραιότεροι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐχούντων τυγχάνειν τοῦ μὲν δημιουργοῦ μείζονα οὐδένα ὑπειλήφασιν, ὑγιῶς τοῦτο ποιοῦντες· τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὁποῖα οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ ὠμοτάτου καὶ ἀδικωτάτου ἀνθρώπου.*

4.2.2. *Αἰτία δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς προειρημένοις ψευδοδοξιῶν καὶ ἀσεβειῶν ἢ*
40 *ἰδιωτικῶν περὶ θεοῦ λόγων οὐκ ἄλλη τις εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ ἡ γραφὴ κατὰ τὰ πνευματικὰ μὴ νενοημένη, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸ ψιλὸν γράμμα ἐξειλημμένη. Διόπερ τοῖς πειθομένοις μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τὰς ἱερὰς*

31 *ἀγένητος* A D E   32 *θεός om.* B   33 *βλεπόμενα* : *λεγόμενα* A
35 *ἀκεραιώτεροι* A   39 *ψευδολογιῶν* D

Scriptures of God, but they supposed them, however, to be of that creator God whom the Jews worshipped and whom they esteemed should be believed to be merely just and not also good; but that when the Saviour had come, he proclaimed to us a more perfect God, whom they say is not the creator of the world, yet being divided with different opinions about him, since having once fallen away from the faith in God the Creator, who is the God of all, they have given themselves over to various fictions and fables, imagining certain things and saying that some things are visible and made by a certain one, but other things are invisible and created by another, just as the fancy and vanity of their own minds suggest to them. Yet also not a few of the more simple of those who appear to be enclosed within the faith of the Church esteem that there is no greater than the creator God, holding in this a correct and sound belief, but believe such things about him as would not be believed even of the most unjust and savage of human beings.[10]

4.2.2. Now, the reason for the false apprehension of all these points by those whom we have mentioned above is nothing other than this, that holy Scripture is not understood by them according to its spiritual sense, but according to the sound of the letter. On this account we shall endeavour, according to our

[10] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.10.3 for a similar comment regarding the impoverished understanding of the resurrection by some believers. See also Origen, *Princ.* 1.1.1; 2.11.2; *Comm. Rom.* 1.19; *Hom. Lev.* 16.4; *Hom. Num.* 22.1. On the question of punishments, see Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.2.

regarding this; and once fallen away from the Creator who is the only uncreated God, they have given themselves up to fictions, mythologizing for themselves hypotheses according to which they suppose that there are some things that are seen and certain others which are not seen, which their own souls have idolized. However, even the more simple of those who claim to be of the Church have supposed that there is none greater than the Creator, doing so soundly; but they suppose such things about him that would not be supposed of the most savage and unjust human being.

4.2.2. The reason, in all the cases mentioned, for the false beliefs and impious or ignorant assertions about God appears to be nothing else than Scripture not being understood according to its spiritual sense, but taken as regarding the bare letter. Therefore, for those who are persuaded that the sacred books are

non per humana uerba aliqua esse conpositas, sed spiritus sancti inspiratione conscriptas et uoluntate dei patris per unigenitum filium suum Iesum Christum nobis quoque esse traditas et conmissas, quae nobis uidetur recta esse uia intellegentiae demonstrare obseruantibus illam regulam disciplinamque, quam
50 ab Iesu Christo traditam sibi apostoli per successionem posteris quoque suis caelestem ecclesiam docentibus tradiderunt.

Et quidem quod dispensationes quaedam mysticae indicentur per scripturas sanctas, omnes, ut arbitror, etiam simpliciores quique credentium confitentur. Quae tamen istae uel cuiusmodi sint, si qui rectae mentis est nec iactantiae
55 uitio fatigatur, religiosius se fatebitur ignorare. Nam si qui, uerbi gratia, proponat nobis de filiabus Loth quod patri contra fas uidentur admixtae, uel de duabus uxoribus Abraham, siue de duabus sororibus, quae nuptae sunt

46 per *om.* A[ac] W B γ conposita μ : composita B σ 47 conscripta γ 48 tradita et commissa γ 49 obseruantibus demonstrare γ : demonstrare obseruantes B

βίβλους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς
45 *ἐληλυθέναι, τὰς φαινομένας ὁδοὺς ὑποδεικτέον, ἐχομένοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας.*

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οἰκονομίαι τινές εἰσι μυστικαί, δηλούμεναι διὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, πάντες καὶ οἱ ἀκεραιότατοι τῶν τῷ λόγῳ προσιόντων πεπιστεύκασι· τίνες δὲ αὗται, οἱ εὐγνώμονες καὶ ἄτυφοι ὁμολογοῦσι μὴ
50 *εἰδέναι. Εἰ γοῦν ἐπαπορήσαι τις περὶ τῆς τοῦ Λὼτ θυγατρομιξίας καὶ τῶν δύο γυναικῶν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ δύο τε ἀδελφῶν γεγαμημένων τῷ Ἰακὼβ καὶ δύο παιδισκῶν τετεκνωκυιῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο φήσουσιν ἢ μυστήρια ταῦτα τυγχάνειν ὑφ' ἡμῶν μὴ νοούμενα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὰν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀναγινώσκηται, πειθόμενοι τύπους εἶναι τὰ*
55 *γεγραμμένα ζητοῦσιν ᾧ δυνήσονται ἐφαρμόσαι ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν λεγομένων· ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πείθεσθαι ὅτι τύπος τινός ἐστιν ἡ σκηνὴ οὐ διαμαρτάνοντες, ὅσον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τῷδέ τινι ἀξίως τῆς γραφῆς ἐφαρμόζειν τὸν λόγον, οὗ ἐστι τύπος ἡ σκηνή, ἔσθ' ὅτε ἀποπίπτοντες· καὶ πᾶσαν δὲ διήγησιν νομιζομένην περὶ γάμων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἢ παιδοποιϊῶν*

50 *ἐπαπορήσει* D 52 *τετεκνυοκευῶν* A 54 *πειθόμενα* B[ac] 55 *ᾧ* : *ἃ* E *ἑκάστων* C : *ἑκάστῳ* E 56 *ἐπὶ τῷ* : *ἐπὶ τὸ* B *Fern* : *ἐν τῷ* D

moderate understanding, to demonstrate for those who believe the holy Scriptures to be composed not by merely human words, but written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and handed down and entrusted to us by the will of God the Father through his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, what appears to us to be the right way of understanding [the Scriptures], as we observe that rule and discipline which, delivered to his apostles by Jesus Christ, they handed down in succession to their posterity, the teachers of the heavenly Church.[11]

Now, that there are certain mystical economies indicated through the holy Scriptures, everyone, I think, even the most simple of believers, admits. But what these are or of what kind they are, one who is of right mind and not plagued by the vice of boasting will reverently acknowledge himself to be ignorant. For if anyone, for example, were to ask us about the daughters of Lot, who seem to have had unlawful intercourse with their father,[12] or about the two wives of Abraham,[13] or of the two sisters who were married to Jacob,[14]

[11] On the 'rule' and 'succession' or 'tradition', see Origen, *Princ.* Pr.2 and the material cited in the notes there.

[12] Cf. Gen. 19:30–6; Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 5.5. In *Cels.* 4.45, Origen gives a different interpretation of this passage, similar to Philo, *QG* 4.56, and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.31, who is reporting the exegesis of a presbyter before him, almost certainly Polycarp.

[13] Cf. Gen. 16; Gal. 4:24.

[14] Cf. Gen. 29:21–30.

not compositions of human beings, but that they were composed and have come down to us from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit by the will of the Father of all through Jesus Christ, one must indicate the apparent ways [of understanding Scripture followed] by those who keep the rule of the heavenly Church of Jesus Christ through succession from the apostles.

Now, that there are certain mystical economies made known through the holy Scriptures all, even the most simple of those adhering to the Word, have believed; but what these are, sensible and modest people confess that they do not know. If, for instance, one were to be perplexed about the intercourse of Lot with his daughters, and about the two wives of Abraham, the two sisters married to Jacob, and the two handmaids who bore children by him, they can say nothing except that these are mysteries not understood by us. But when [the passage about] the preparation of the tabernacle is read, persuaded that what is written is a type, they seek to attach what they can to each detail mentioned about the tabernacle; not erring insofar as they are persuaded that the tabernacle is a type of something, but insofar as they rightly attach the word of Scripture to something specific, of which the tabernacle is a type, they sometimes fall short. And they declare that

Iacob, et de duabus ancillis, numerositatem ei augentibus filiorum, quid aliud responderi potest quam esse haec sacramenta quaedam et formas spiritalium
60 rerum, a nobis tamen ignorari cuiusmodi sint? Sed et constructionem tabernaculi cum legimus, certum quidem habemus quod haec, quae scripta sunt, figurae occultarum quarundam rerum sunt; aptare tamen ea suis modis et per singula aperire atque disserere perdifficile, ut non dicam inpossibile, puto esse. Tamen, ut dixi, descriptionem illam plenam esse mysteriorum, etiam
65 communem non refugit intellectum. Sed et omnis illa narratio, quae uel de nuptiis uel de filiis procreatis uidetur esse conscripta uel de diuersis proeliis uel de quibuslibet aliis historiis, quid aliud quam formae ac figurae credendae sunt latentium sacrarumque rerum? Verum uel pro eo quod parum studii ad exercendum ingenium homines adhibent uel quod, antequam discant, scire se
70 putant, inde fit ut numquam scire incipiant; aut si certe nec studium defuerit nec magister, si tamquam diuina haec et non quasi humana quaerantur, id est religiose et pie, et quae deo reuelante in quam plurimis sperentur aperiri, quoniam quidem humanis sensibus ualde et difficilia et occulta sunt: tunc demum fortassis qui ita quaesierit, quae inuenire fas est inueniet.

75 **4.2.3.** Sed fortassis tantummodo in propheticis haec difficultas putetur inesse sermonibus, quoniam quidem certum est apud omnes stilum propheticum figuris semper et aenigmatibus consitum: quid, cum ad euangelia uenimus?

62 ea : eas B 71 tamquam : tam quae μ : tamen ut σ haec ... humana *om.* γ 72 et quae : atque *corr. Del* sperantur σ

60 *ἢ πολέμων ἢ ὧν δήποτε ἱστοριῶν ἂν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δεχθησομένων, ἀποφαίνονται εἶναι τύπους· ἐν δὲ τῷ τίνων, πῇ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἕξιν οὐ πάνυ συγκεκροτημένην, πῇ δὲ διὰ τὴν προπέτειαν, ἔσθ' ὅτε κἂν συγκεκροτημένος τις τυγχάνῃ καὶ ἀπρόπτωτος, διὰ τὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν χαλεπωτάτην εὕρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐ πάνυ σαφηνίζεται ὁ περὶ*
65 *τούτων ἑκάστου λόγος.*

4.2.3. *Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν προφητειῶν, ἃς πάντες ἴσμεν αἰνιγμάτων καὶ σκοτεινῶν πεπληρῶσθαι λόγων; Κἂν ἐπὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια δὲ φθάσωμεν, κἀκείνων ὁ ἀκριβὴς νοῦς, ἅτε* ***νοῦς*** *ὢν* ***Χριστοῦ***, *δεῖται χάριτος τῆς*

60 *δεχθησομένων* : *λεχθησομένων* B ζ 61 *ἀποφαίνωνται* B 63 *τυγχάνει* A *ἀπρόπτωτος* : *ἀπὸ ὀπτός* E *χαλαιποτάτην* A 65 *ἕκαστος* B 67 *λόγων πεπληρῶσθαι* B *Rob* *δὲ om.* B

or of the two handmaids who increased the number of his sons,[15] what else can be answered than that they are certain mysteries and forms of spiritual things, but that it is unknown by us of what kind they are? When, also, we read about the construction of the tabernacle, we hold it as sure that the things that are written are figures of certain hidden things;[16] however, I reckon that it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to apply to them their appropriate standards and to uncover and discuss each separate detail. But that, as I have said, that description is full of mysteries does not escape even the most common mind. And all those narratives, which appear to be composed about marriages or about the begetting of children or about different kinds of battles or about any other narratives whatever, what else can they be believed to be, except the forms and figures of hidden and sacred things? But either because human beings make little effort to exercise their minds, or because, before they learn, they think that they already know, the consequence is that they never begin to know; on the other hand, if neither zeal nor a master is lacking, and if these things are examined as divine, not as if human—that is, in a religious and pious manner, and [as mysteries] which are hoped will be opened by revelation of God, at least in most cases, since to human sense they are exceedingly difficult and obscure—then, perhaps, one who thus seeks will find what it is proper to find.

4.2.3. But perhaps this difficulty is supposed to exist only in the prophetic words, seeing that it is certain to all that the prophetic style is always strewn with figures and enigmas,[17] what, then, [do we find] when coming to the Gospels? Is

[15] Cf. Gen. 30:1–13.

[16] Cf. Exod. 25–31. See also Philo, *Mos.* 2.89–94; *QE* 2.68; Clement, *Strom.* 5.6; *Exc.* 27; Origen, *Hom. Exod.* 9.

[17] Cf. Prov. 1:6. Used also in Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.173; *Cels.* 3.45; 7.10.

every account, which is thought to speak about marriage or childbearing or wars, or any other narratives that are accepted by the multitude, are types; but regarding the detail of each case, partly because their disposition is not fully trained, partly because of rashness, and sometimes, even if someone is well trained and deliberate, because the discovery of these things is excessively difficult for human beings, the rationale of each detail regarding these types is not altogether clearly articulated.

4.2.3. And what is the need to speak about the prophecies, which we all know to be filled with enigmatic and dark sayings? Even if we come to the Gospels, the precise sense of these also, as being *the mind of Christ*, requires the grace

Numquid non etiam ibi sensus interior, utpote *sensus* domini, latet, qui per illam tantummodo gratiam reuelatur, quam acceperat ille, qui dicebat: *Nos autem*
80 *sensum Christi habemus, ut sciamus quae a deo donata sunt nobis, quae et loquimur, non in doctrinae humanae sapientiae uerbis, sed in doctrina spiritus*? Iam uero illa, quae Iohanni reuelata sunt, si quis legat, quomodo non obstupescet tantam ibi inesse occultationem ineffabilium sacramentorum? in quibus manifeste etiam ab his, qui intellegere non possunt, quid in his lateat, intellegitur
85 tamen quia lateat quid. At uero epistulae apostolorum, quae quidem uidentur aliquibus esse planiores, nonne tam profundis repletae sunt sensibus, ut per eas his, qui possunt intellegere diuinae sapientiae sensum, quasi per breue quoddam receptaculum inmensae lucis claritas uideatur infundi? Vnde quoniam haec ita se habent et multi sunt, qui in hac uia errant, non arbitror esse sine periculo
90 facile pronuntiare quemquam nosse se uel intellegere ea, quae ut aperiri possint, *scientiae claue* opus est, quam clauem dicebat saluator esse apud legis peritos. In hoc loco, licet per excessum quendam, inquirendum tamen ab his puto, qui dicunt quod ante aduentum saluatoris non erat ueritas apud eos, qui in lege uersabantur, quomodo a domino nostro Iesu Christo dicatur quia *claues scientiae*
95 apud illos sint, qui libros legis et prophetarum habebant in manibus. Ita enim dixit dominus: *Vae uobis, legis doctoribus, quoniam tulistis clauem scientiae; ipsi non introistis, et uolentes introire prohibuistis.*

78 etiam *om. γ* ibi : inibi A[ac] 81 in[1] *om. μ* in[1] ... sed *om.* B doctrinae : doctis *Del* 89 uia : uita A[ac] G[ac] *Koe* 94 dicatur *om.* A : dicitur A[pc]

δοθείσης τῷ εἰρηκότι· **ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ**
70 **τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν· ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν, οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος**. Καὶ τὰ ἀποκεκαλυμμένα δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀναγνοὺς καταπλαγείη τὴν ἐπίκρυψιν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων καὶ τῷ μὴ νοοῦντι τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐμφαινομένων; Αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολαὶ τίνι τῶν βασανίζειν ἐπισταμένων λόγους δόξαιεν
75 ἂν εἶναι σαφεῖς καὶ εὐχερῶς νοούμεναι, μυρίων ὅσων κἀκεῖ ὡς δι' ὀπῆς μεγίστων καὶ πλείστων νοημάτων βραχεῖαν ἀφορμὴν παρεχόντων; Διόπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ μυρίων ὅσων σφαλλομένων, οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκειν εὐχερῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι νοεῖν τὰ δεόμενα **τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς γνώσεως**, ἥντινα ὁ σωτήρ φησιν εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς νομικοῖς·
80 καὶ ἀπαγγελλέτωσαν οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ

70 τοῦ *om.* D θεοῦ : χριστοῦ A[pc] 72 τῶν *post* ἐπίκρυψιν *add.* B[pc] E *Goe* 74 λόγους ἐπισταμένων B[ac] *Rob Koe Sim* 74–5 δόξαι ἂν B A : δόξαιεν D 76 οὐ *post* βραχεῖαν *add.* E 80 παρὰ τοῖς : παρ' αὐτοῖς B[pc] *Koe Sim*

there not hidden even there an inner sense, as being *the mind* of the Lord, which is revealed by that grace alone which he had received, who said, *But we have the mind of Christ, that we might know the gifts bestowed upon us by God, which also we speak, not in the words of the teaching of human wisdom but in the teaching of the Spirit?*[18] And, again, if someone were to read the things revealed to John, how would he not be amazed at the great obscurity of the ineffable mysteries contained therein? In these, it is clearly understood, even by those who are not able to understand what is concealed in them, that something is nevertheless concealed. And also the epistles of the Apostles, which to some seem to be plainer, are they not filled with meanings so profound that by means of them, as through some small receptacle, the brightness of immeasurable light seems to be poured into those who are able to understand the meaning of divine wisdom? Therefore, since these things are so and there are many who go astray on this path, I do not think that anyone can without danger lightly claim to know or understand those things for which, in order that they might be opened up, *the key of knowledge* is necessary, which key is said by the Saviour to be with those skilled in the law.[19] At this point, although by a certain digression, I think it should be asked of those who say that before the arrival of the Saviour there was no truth among those who were occupied with the law, how it could be said by our Lord Jesus Christ that the *keys of knowledge* were with those, who had the books of the law and the prophets in their hands. For the Lord spoke thus: *Woe unto you, teachers of the law, for you have taken away the key of knowledge: you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those wishing to enter.*[20]

[18] 1 Cor. 2:16, 12–13. [19] Luke 11:52. Cf. Origen, *Sel. Ps. 1* (PG 12, 1077); *Philoc.* 2.2.
[20] Luke 11:52.

that was given to him who said, *We have the mind of Christ, that we might know the gifts bestowed upon us by God; which also we speak, not in words taught by human wisdom but in those taught by the Spirit.* And who, on reading the revelations made to John, would not be struck with amazement at the obscurity of the unspeakable mysteries, evident even to one who does not understand what is written? And to whom of those skilled in investigating words would the epistles of the apostles seem to be plain and easily understood, since there are in them thousands of passages providing, as if through a lattice, a narrow opening to the greatest and deepest thoughts? Therefore, this being the case, and with countless people falling into error, it is not without danger when reading to profess lightly to understand things that need *the key of knowledge*, which the Saviour says is with the lawyers; and those who will not allow that

4.2.4. Verum, ut dicere coeperamus, uiam, quae nobis uidetur recta esse ad intellegendas scripturas et sensum earum requirendum, huiusmodi esse
100 arbitramur, sicut ab ipsa nihilominus scriptura, qualiter de ea sentiri debeat, edocemur. Apud Salomonem in Prouerbiis inuenimus tale aliquid de diuinae scripturae obseruantia praecipi. *Et tu* inquit *describe tibi haec tripliciter in consilio et scientia, et ut respondeas uerba ueritatis his, qui proposuerunt tibi.* Tripliciter ergo describere oportet in anima sua unumquemque diuinarum
105 intellegentiam litterarum: id est, ut simpliciores quique aedificentur ab ipso, ut ita dixerim, corpore scripturarum (sic enim appellamus communem istum et historialem intellectum); si qui uero aliquantum iam proficere coeperunt et possunt amplius aliquid intueri, ab ipsa scripturae anima aedificentur; qui uero perfecti sunt et similes his, de quibus apostolus dicit: *Sapientiam autem*
110 *loquimur inter perfectos, sapientiam uero non huius saeculi neque principum huius saeculi, qui destruentur, sed loquimur dei sapientiam in mysterio absconditam, quam praedestinauit deus ante saecula in gloriam nostram*, hi tales ab ipsa *spiritali lege* quae *umbram habet futurorum bonorum*, tamquam ab spiritu aedificentur. Sicut ergo homo constare dicitur ex corpore et anima et
115 spiritu, ita etiam sancta scriptura, quae ad hominum salutem diuina largitione concessa est.

98 *ante* uerum *add. titulum:* quo ordine uel quo sensu intellegi debeant scribturae diuinae B 101 docemur γ 102 in *om.* δ B 103 proposuerint W γ 111 destruitur A[ac] W : destruuntur A[pc] 114 aedificantur γ

Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τυγχάνειν, πῶς **ἡ τῆς γνώσεως κλεὶς** *ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγεται παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις τυγχάνειν, τοῖς, ὥς φασιν αὐτοί, μὴ ἔχουσι βίβλους περιεχούσας τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς γνώσεως καὶ παντελῆ μυστήρια. Ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως ἡ λέξις·* **οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι**
85 **ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσήλθετε, καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε.**

4.2.4. *Ἡ τοίνυν φαινομένη ἡμῖν ὁδὸς τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνειν ἐστὶ τοιαύτη, ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν λογίων ἐξιχνευομένη. Παρὰ τῷ Σολομῶντι ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις εὑρίσκομεν*
90 *τοιοῦτόν τι προστασσόμενον περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων θείων δογμάτων·* **καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀπόγραψαι αὐτὰ τρισσῶς ἐν βουλῇ καὶ γνώσει, τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγους ἀληθείας τοῖς προβαλλομένοις σοι.** *Οὐκοῦν τριχῶς ἀπογράφεσθαι*

82 *παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις λέγεται* D 83 *τῆς γνώσεως om.* D 86 *ἐκωλύσετε* B 89 *τὸ post εὑρίσκομεν add.* D 91 *ἀπόγραψε* B 92 *ἀπογράψασθαι* D

4.2.4. But, as we began to say, the way that seems to us to be correct for understanding the Scriptures and investigating their sense, we consider to be of the following kind, just as we are indeed taught by Scripture itself how we ought to think of it. We find some such observation regarding the divine Scriptures prescribed by Solomon in Proverbs. *And you,* he says, *represent these things for yourself thrice, in counsel and knowledge, so that you may answer the words of truth to those who have asked you.*[21] Each one, therefore, ought to represent in his own soul the sense of the divine letters thrice; that is, in order that the more simple may be edified from, if I may speak thus, the very body of Scripture (for such do we term that common and narratival sense); while if some have begun to make considerable progress and are able to perceive something more, they may be edified from the very soul of Scripture; and those who are perfect and resemble those of whom the Apostle says, *We speak wisdom among the perfect, yet a wisdom not of this world nor of the rulers of this world, who will be brought to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God, hidden in a mystery, which God has foreordained before the ages for our glory,*[22] such as these may be edified from that *spiritual law* which has *a shadow of the good things to come,*[23] as if from the Spirit. Just as the human being, therefore, is said to consist of body and soul and spirit, so also does holy Scripture, which has been granted by the divine bounty for human salvation.

[21] Prov. 22:20–1. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 9.7. In *Hom. Gen.* 2.6, Origen proposes a threefold interpretation a propos of Gen. 6:16. For the analogy with the human being, see Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 5.1; *Sel. Lev.* (PG 12, 421 = *Philoc.* 1.30). See also Philo, *Migr.* 93; *Contempl.* 78; Clement, *Strom.* 6.15.132.

[22] 1 Cor. 2:6–7. [23] Rom. 7:14; Heb. 10:1.

the truth was with these before the sojourn of Christ, let them explain how *the key of knowledge* was said by our Lord Jesus Christ to be with those who, as they allege, did not have the books containing the secrets of knowledge and perfect mysteries. For the passage is thus: *Woe to you lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those who were entering.*

4.2.4. The way, then, as it appears to us, in which we ought to deal with the Scriptures and gather their sense, is such as the following, which has been traced out from the writings themselves. We find something such as this enjoined by Solomon in Proverbs regarding the divine teachings of the writings: *You are to register them thrice in counsel and knowledge, to answer words of truth to those who challenge you.* It is, therefore, necessary to register

Quod nos etiam in libello Pastoris, qui a nonnullis contemni uidetur, designatum uidemus, cum iubetur Hermas duos libellos scribere et postea ipse denuntiare presbyteris ecclesiae quae ab spiritu didicit. Quod his uerbis
120 scriptum est: Et scribes, inquit, duos libellos, et dabis unum Clementi et unum Graptae. Et Grapte quidem commoneat uiduas et orfanos, Clemens uero mittat per omnes ciuitates, quae foris sunt, tu uero annuntiabis presbyteris ecclesiae. Est ergo Grapte quae orfanos iubetur et uiduas commonere, purus ipsius litterae intellectus, per quem commonentur animae pueriles, quae nondum
125 patrem deum habere meruerunt et propterea orfani appellantur. Sed et uiduae sunt, quae ab illo quidem iniquo uiro, cui contra legem iunctae fuerant, recesserunt, uiduae uero permanent ex eo quod nondum profecerunt in hoc, ut caelesti sponso iungerentur. Clemens uero his, qui iam recedunt a littera, in eas quae foris sunt ciuitates mittere iubetur quae dicta sunt, uelut si diceret: ad
130 eas animas, quae per haec aedificatae extra corporis curam et extra desideria carnalia esse coeperunt. Ipse uero quae ab spiritu sancto didicerat non per litteras neque per libellum, sed uiuenti uoce iubetur annuntiare presbyteris ecclesiarum Christi, id est his, qui maturum prudentiae sensum pro capacitate doctrinae spiritalis gerunt.

117 libros γ   121 et *post* orfanos *add.* δ   126 fuerunt δ   131 quae : qui δ B *Goe*   133 pro capacitate : ac capacitate μ : ad capacitatem Ab : ac capacem S

δεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραμμάτων νοήματα· ἵνα ὁ μὲν ἁπλούστερος οἰκοδομῆται ἀπὸ τῆς οἱονεὶ σαρκὸς τῆς γραφῆς, οὕτως
95 *ὀνομαζόντων ἡμῶν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχήν, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναβεβηκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς ὡσπερεὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς, ὁ δὲ τέλειος καὶ ὅμοιος τοῖς παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ λεγομένοις·* **σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων, ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ**
100 **θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν**, *ἀπὸ* **τοῦ πνευματικοῦ νόμου, σκιὰν περιέχοντος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν**. *Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος συνέστηκεν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ οἰκονομηθεῖσα ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν δοθῆναι γραφή.*

Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ ὑπό τινων καταφρονουμένῳ βιβλίῳ, τῷ
105 *Ποιμένι, περὶ τοῦ προστάσσεσθαι τὸν Ἑρμᾶν δύο γράψαι βιβλία, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀναγγέλλειν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἃ μεμάθηκεν*

95 *τὴν : καὶ* A   98 *τούτου ... τοῦ αἰῶνος om.* B D E   *τὴν καταργουμένην* D
101 *περιέχοντος : ἔχοντος* E   103 *ὑπὸ θεοῦ om.* E   106 *μεμάθηκεν : μεμαθήκαμεν* B D

This we see indicated also in the book of *The Shepherd*, which seems to be despised by some, where Hermas is commanded to 'write two books', and afterwards, 'to announce to the presbyters of the Church what he learned from the Spirit'. For it is written in these words: 'And you', he says, 'will write two books and you will give one to Clement and one to Grapte. And let Grapte admonish the widows and orphans, and let Clement send throughout all the cities, which are abroad, while you shall announce to the presbyters of the Church.'[24] Grapte, therefore, who is commanded to admonish the orphans and widows, is the bare understanding of the letter itself, by which the young souls are admonished, who have not yet deserved to have God as Father, and on that account are termed orphans. The widows, in turn, are those who have departed from the wicked husband to whom they had been united contrary to the law, but remain widows because they have not yet advanced to the point of being united to the heavenly bridegroom. But Clement is ordered to send what was said to those who are already departing from the letter into 'the cities which are abroad', as if he meant to those souls who, being built up by these means, have begun to be above the cares of the body and the desires of the flesh. And what he had learnt from the Holy Spirit, he himself is commanded to announce, not by letters nor by a book, but by the living voice, to the presbyters of the Church of Christ, that is, to those who, by their capacity for receiving spiritual teaching, possess a mature mind of wisdom.

[24] Hermas, *Vis.* 2.4.3. Hermas is also cited in Origen, *Princ.* Pr.4 and 1.3.3.

in one's own soul the senses of the sacred writings thrice: so that the simple may be edified from the flesh, as it were, of Scripture, for so we designate the obvious interpretation; while one who has ascended a certain measure may be edified from the soul, as it were; and the person who is perfect and like those spoken of by the Apostle—*We speak wisdom among the perfect, a wisdom not of this age nor of the rulers of this age, who are being brought to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery, which God foreordained before the ages unto our glory*—[may be edified] from *the spiritual law, having a shadow of the good things to come.* Just as the human being consists of body and soul and spirit, in the same way so also does Scripture, arranged by God to be given for the salvation of human beings.

On this account we also explain in this way that passage in the book, *The Shepherd*, which is despised by some, where Hermas is commanded to 'write two books', and after doing so 'to announce to the presbyters of the church'

135 **4.2.5.** Illud sane non est ignorandum, esse quaedam in scripturis, in quibus hoc quod diximus corpus, id est consequentia historialis intellegentiae, non semper inuenitur, sicut in consequentibus demonstrabimus; et est ubi ea quam diximus anima uel spiritus solummodo intellegenda sunt. Quod etiam in euangeliis designari puto, cum dicuntur *pro purificatione Iudaeorum sex* 140 *hydriae* positae, *capientes metretas binas uel ternas*, in quo, ut dixi, hoc uidetur sermo euangelicus indicare de his, qui dicuntur ab apostolo *in occulto Iudaeis*, quod hi purificentur per uerbum scripturae, capientes interdum quidem *duas metretas*, id est animae uel spiritus secundum quod supra diximus intellectum recipientes, interdum autem *tres*, cum etiam corporalem intellegentiam, quae 145 est historiae, seruare lectio ad aedificationem potest. *Sex* uero *hydriae* consequenter dictae sunt de his, qui in hoc mundo positi purificantur. In sex enim diebus (qui perfectus est numerus) mundum hunc et omnia, quae in eo sunt, legimus consummata.

135 est *om.* γ   138 animi uel spiritu A[ac] : animam uel spiritum A[pc]   sunt : est A[pc]

ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτω διηγούμεθα. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη· γράψεις δύο βιβλία, καὶ δώσεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. Καὶ Γραπτὴ μὲν νουθετήσει τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, Κλήμης δὲ πέμψει εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, σὺ δὲ 110 *ἀναγγελεῖς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Γραπτὴ μὲν γάρ, ἡ νουθετοῦσα τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς, αὐτὸ ψιλόν ἐστι τὸ γράμμα, νουθετοῦν τοὺς παῖδας τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ μηδέπω πατέρα θεὸν ἐπιγράψασθαι δυναμένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀρφανοὺς καλουμένους, νουθετοῦν δὲ καὶ τὰς μηκέτι μὲν τῷ παρανόμῳ νυμφίῳ χρωμένας, χηρευούσας δὲ τῷ μηδέπω* 115 *ἀξίας αὐτὰς τοῦ νυμφίου γεγονέναι. Κλήμης δέ, ὁ ἤδη τοῦ γράμματος ἐξιστάμενος, εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις λέγεται πέμπειν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡς εἰ λέγοιμεν τὰς ἔξω τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν κάτω νοημάτων τυγχανούσας ψυχάς. Οὐκέτι δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ λόγων ζώντων αὐτὸς ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ πνεύματος προστάσσεται ἀναγγέλλειν τοῖς τῆς πάσης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ* 120 *θεοῦ πρεσβυτέροις πεπολιωμένοις ὑπὸ φρονήσεως.*

110 *γὰρ om.* A   112 *θεὸν πατέρα* D   115 *οὐρανίου ante νυμφίου suppl.* Goe *(a Schnitzer)*   *ἤδη : ἔξω* ϵ   118 *ζώντων λόγων* A C E Goe   *ὁ αὐτὸς* ϵ

4.2.5. This point indeed is not to be disregarded, that there are certain passages in Scripture in which what we have called 'the body', that is, the sequence of the narratival meaning, is not always found, as we shall demonstrate in the following pages; and there are places where what we have called 'the soul' or 'the spirit' are alone to be understood. I think that this is indicated in the Gospels, when *six jars* are said to be set down *for the purification of the Jews, each containing two or three firkins*,[25] by which, as I have said, the evangelical word seems to indicate those who are called by the Apostle *Jews in secret*[26] because they are purified by the word of Scripture, receiving indeed sometimes *two firkins*, that is accepting the meaning of the soul and of the spirit, as we have said above, and sometimes even *three*, when the reading is also able to preserve, for edification, the bodily meaning, which is that of the narrative. And *six jars* are appropriately mentioned regarding those who are being purified while placed in this world. For we read that in six days (which is a perfect number[27]) the world and all things in it were finished.

[25] John 2:6; a 'firkin' is a unit of liquid volume (usually 9 gallons); this archaic term is used so as to retain the reference to 'two' or 'three'.

[26] Rom. 2:29. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.6; *Comm. Jo.* 1.1; 1.259; 13.103; *Frag. Jo.* 8 and 114 (GCS 4, pp. 489–90, 557–8); *Hom. Jer.* 12.13.

[27] Cf. *Comm. Jo.* 28.1: 'Those who investigate the nature of numbers have said that six is the first perfect number, being equal to its own parts, both from the combination of what is doubled from the unity, one and two, which is three, a prime number, and the doubling of the number arrived at, now I mean from the two, for when the two has been multiplied by the three it makes six' (Preuschen indicates this as follows: 6 = (1+2) × 2 or 6 = 1+2+3). See also Philo, *Opif.* 3.13: 'If we start with 1 it [i.e. 6] is the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors [i.e. 1 × 2 × 3] as well as made up of the sum of them [i.e. 1+2+3], its half being 3, its third part being 2, its sixth part 1.'

what he learnt 'from the Spirit'. The wording is this: 'You will write two books, and give one to Clement and one to Grapte. And let Grapte admonish the widows and the orphans, and let Clement send to the cities abroad, while you shall announce to the presbyters of the church.' Grapte, who admonishes the widows and the orphans, is the mere letter, admonishing the young souls who are not yet able to be enrolled with God as Father and therefore called 'orphans', admonishing also those who no longer associate with the unlawful bridegroom, but remain 'widows' because they have not yet become worthy of the Bridegroom. But Clement, who has already risen above the letter, is said to send the sayings 'to the cities abroad', as if we were to say the 'souls' who are outside bodily and lower thoughts; while the disciple of the Spirit himself is commanded to announce, no longer by letters, but by living words, to the presbyters of the whole Church of God, who have grown grey through wisdom.

4.2.6. Quanta igitur sit utilitas in hoc primo quem diximus historiali intellectu,
150 testimonio est omnis credentium multitudo, quae et satis fideliter et simpliciter credit; nec multa adsertione indiget quod palam omnibus patet. Eius uero intellegentiae, quam uelut animam esse scripturae supra diximus, exempla nobis quam plurima dedit apostolus Paulus, sicut est primo in illa epistola ad Corinthios. *Scriptum est enim,* inquit, *non infrenabis bouem triturantem.* Tum
155 deinde explanans qualiter praeceptum istud deberet intellegi, addit dicens: *Numquid de bubus cura est deo? Aut propter nos utique dicit? Propter nos enim scriptum est quia debet qui arat in spe arare, et qui triturat sub spe percipiendi.* Sed et alia huiusmodi quam plurima, quae hoc modo sunt interpretata de lege, instructionem plurimam audientibus conferunt.

157 recipiendi δ

4.2.5. *Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεί εἰσί τινες γραφαὶ τὸ σωματικὸν οὐδαμῶς ἔχουσαι, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δείξομεν, ἔστιν ὅπου οἱονεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς γραφῆς μόνα χρὴ ζητεῖν. Καὶ τάχα διὰ τοῦτο αἱ* **ἐπὶ καθαρισμῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑδρίαι κεῖσθαι** *λεγόμεναι, ὡς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ*
125 *ἀνέγνωμεν,* **χωροῦσιν ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς·** *αἰνισσομένου τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ* **ἐν κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαίων**, *ὡς ἄρα οὗτοι καθαρίζονται διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῶν γραφῶν, ὅπου μὲν* **δύο μετρητάς**, *τὸν ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴπω ψυχικὸν καὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν λόγον, χωρούντων, ὅπου δὲ* **τρεῖς**, *ἐπεί τινες ἔχουσι πρὸς τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν*
130 *οἰκοδομῆσαι δυνάμενον.* **Ἓξ** *δὲ* **ὑδρίαι** *εὐλόγως εἰσὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ καθαριζομένοις, γεγενημένῳ ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις, ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ.*

4.2.6. *Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς πρώτης ἐκδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὠφελούσης ὅτι ἔστιν ὄνασθαι, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πλήθη τῶν γνησίως καὶ ἁπλούστερον πεπιστευκότων· τῆς δὲ ὡς ἂν εἰς ψυχὴν ἀναγομένης διηγήσεως παράδειγμα*
135 *τὸ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ πρὸς Κορινθίους κείμενον.* **Γέγραπται γάρ·** *φησιν* **οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα.** *Ἔπειτα διηγούμενος τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐπιφέρει·* **μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ; Ἢ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; Δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη, ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν.** *Καὶ πλεῖσται δὲ περιφερόμεναι τοῖς πλήθεσιν*
140 *ἁρμόζουσαι ἑρμηνεῖαι καὶ οἰκοδομοῦσαι τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρων ἀκούειν μὴ δυναμένους τὸν αὐτόν πως ἔχουσι χαρακτῆρα.*

122 *ἑξῆς* : *ἐφεξῆς* C 124 *ὑδρείαι* A C 125 *ἢ* : *καὶ* E 126 *ἀποστόλων* E 128 *χωροῦντος* B A 129 *εἰρημένοις* ϵ *τὸ* : *τὸν* ϵ 130 *ὑδρεῖαι* A D *εὐλόγως εἰσὶν* B : *εἰσὶν εὐλόγως* C 131 *γενομένῳ* E *ἐν om.* A 132 *οὖν om.* B A *καὶ ante ὅτι add.* B 134 *τὸ ante παράδειγμα add.* ϵ 135 *τὸ* : *τῷ* B[ac] A 136 *φημώσεις* A 137 *νόμον* : *τόπον* E *ἢ om.* A 140 *οἰκοδομῆσαι* C *ὑψηλότερον* B

4.2.6. How great the usefulness is in this first, what we have called the narratival, sense is witnessed by the entire multitude of believers, who believe quite faithfully and simply; nor does it need much argument, because it is openly manifest to all. But of that sense, which we have spoken above as being the soul, as it were, of Scripture, the Apostle Paul has given us numerous examples, as for example in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. *For it is written,* he says, *you shall not muzzle the ox when it is treading out the grain.* And, then, when explaining how this precept ought to be understood, he adds, saying, *Is it for the ox that God is concerned? Or does he speak altogether for our sake? It was written for our sake, so that he who ploughs ought to plough in hope and he who threshes in hope of partaking.*[28] Moreover, very many other similar passages of the Law, which are explained in this way, impart great instruction to those who hear them.

[28] 1 Cor. 9:9–10; Deut. 25:4. Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 4.49.

4.2.5. But since there are certain passages which do not at all contain the bodily sense, as we will show in the following, there are places where it is necessary to seek only the soul and the spirit, as it were, of the Scriptures. And perhaps on this account the *jars,* as we read in the Gospel according to John, are said *to be placed for the purification of the Jews, containing two or three firkins each*; the language alludes to those who [are called] by the Apostle *Jews in secret,* as these are purified by the word of the Scriptures, which contain, in some cases, *two firkins,* that is, so to speak, the psychical and the spiritual principle, and sometimes *three,* since some have, in addition to those already mentioned, the bodily one also, which is capable of edifying. And there are rightly *six jars,* for those being purified in the world, which came to be in six days, the perfect number.

4.2.6. That there is benefit to be had from the first interpretation, which in this respect is profitable, the multitude of genuine and simple believers bears witness; while of that explanation referring to the soul, an illustration is provided by Paul in the first [Epistle] to the Corinthians: *For it is written,* he says, *you shall not muzzle the ox when it is treading out the grain.* Then, explaining this precept, he adds: *Is it for the ox that God is concerned? Or does he speak altogether for our sake? It was written for our sake, so that he who ploughs ought to plough in hope and he who threshes in the hope of partaking.* And most of the interpretations in circulation, being adapted to the multitude and edifying those unable to understand the higher meanings, have somewhat the same character.

160 Spiritalis autem explanatio est talis, si qui potest ostendere quorum *caelestium exemplaribus et umbrae deseruiunt* hi, qui *secundum carnem* Iudaei sunt, et quorum *futurorum bonorum umbram habet lex*, et si qua huiusmodi in scripturis sanctis inueniuntur; uel cum requiritur quae sit illa *sapientia in mysterio abscondita, quam praedestinauit deus ante saecula in gloriam nostram,*
165 *quam nemo principum huius saeculi cognouit*; uel illud quod dicit ipse apostolus, cum exemplis quibusdam utitur de Exodo uel Numeris et ait quia *Haec in figura contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem propter nos, in quos fines saeculorum deuenerunt*, et occasionem nobis praestat intellegentiae, ut possimus aduertere quorum figurae erant ista, quae illis accidebant, cum dicit: *Bibebant enim de*
170 *spiritali sequenti petra, petra uero erat Christus.* Sed et de tabernaculo in alia epistula meminit illius dicti, quod Moyseo fuerat praeceptum: *Facies*, inquit, *omnia secundum formam, quae tibi ostensa est in monte.* Ad Galatas uero scribens et uelut exprobrans quibusdam, qui uidentur sibi legere legem nec tamen intellegunt eam, pro eo quod allegorias esse in his quae scripta sunt
175 ignorant, ita cum increpatione quadam ait ad eos: *Dicite mihi uos, qui sub lege*

166 utatur *γ* 167 finis A[ac] W B 170 sequenti : e sequenti A (C̄SEQUENTI *malit Koe in appar.*) : consequenti S (=*Vulg.*) 171 moseo B *μ* : moysi S faties A[pc]

Πνευματικὴ δὲ διήγησις τῷ δυναμένῳ ἀποδεῖξαι, ποίων **ἐπουρανίων ὑποδείγματι** *καὶ* **σκιᾷ οἱ κατὰ σάρκα** *Ἰουδαῖοι* **ἐλάτρευον,** *καὶ* **τίνων μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ὁ νόμος ἔχει σκιάν.** *Καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἐπὶ πάντων κατὰ*
145 *τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ζητητέον* **σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν** *τῶν δικαίων, ἣν* **οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκε.** *Φησὶ δέ που ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος, χρησάμενός τισι ῥητοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐξόδου καὶ τῶν Ἀριθμῶν, ὅτι* **ταῦτα τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς, εἰς**
150 **οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησε.** *Καὶ ἀφορμὰς δίδωσι τοῦ τίνων ἐκεῖνα τύποι ἐτύγχανον, λέγων·* **ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός.** *Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς δὲ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ὑπογράφων ἐχρήσατο τῷ·* **ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.** *Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστολῇ, οἱονεὶ ὀνειδίζων*
155 *τοῖς ἀναγινώσκειν νομίζουσι τὸν νόμον καὶ μὴ συνιεῖσιν αὐτόν, μὴ συνιέναι κρίνων ἐκείνους, ὅσοι μὴ ἀλληγορίας εἶναι ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις νομίζουσι·*

145 *ἐπαγγελείαν* A 147 *ἔγνωκεν* B 149 *συνέβαινον* B 150 *κατήντησεν* B *Fern* : *κατήντηκεν* A : *κατήντηκε* D H *Goe* 153 *τῷ* : *τὸ* B A D

But a spiritual interpretation is like this: when one is able to show of what *heavenly realities they*, who are Jews *according to the flesh, serve the patterns and shadow*, and of what *good things to come the Law has a shadow*,[29] and any other such expressions which may be found in holy Scripture; or when it is asked what is that *wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God foreordained before the world for our glory, which none of the rulers of this world knew*;[30] or that which the same Apostle says, when he employs certain illustrations from Exodus or Numbers and affirms that *these things happened to them in a figure, but they were written for our sake, upon whom the ends of the ages has come*,[31] and offers us an opportunity for understanding, so that we can perceive of what those things that happened to them were figures, when he says, *For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ*.[32] In another epistle, also, he mentions that command, which was enjoined upon Moses, regarding the tabernacle, *You shall make*, he says, *all things according to the figure which was shown to you on the mountain*.[33] And writing to the Galatians and as if reproaching some who seem to themselves to read the Law, yet do not understand it, because they are unaware that there are allegories in what is written, he says to them in a certain tone of rebuke: *Tell me, you who*

[29] Heb. 8:5; 1 Cor. 10:18; Heb. 10:1.
[30] 2 Cor. 2:7–8. [31] 1 Cor. 10:11.
[32] 1 Cor. 10:4. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Exod.* 11.2.
[33] Heb. 8:5; Exod. 25:40. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.2.2, and the material cited there in n.16.

But spiritual interpretation is for one who is able to show of what *heavenly realities* the Jews *according to the flesh serve the pattern and shadow*, and *of what good things to come the Law has a shadow*. And, generally speaking, according to the apostolic promise one must seek everywhere *the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God foreordained before the ages for the glory* of the righteous, *which none of the rulers of this age knew*. The same Apostle says somewhere, after mentioning certain passages from Exodus and Numbers, that *these things happened to them figuratively, but they were written on our account, upon whom the ends of the ages has come*. And he offers an opportunity for ascertaining of what things these were types, when he says, *For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ*. And, when sketching out the various matters pertaining to the tabernacle in another epistle, he makes use of this: *You shall make all things according to the figure which was shown to you on the mountain*. Moreover, in the Epistle to the Galatians, as if reproaching those who think they read the Law and yet do not understand it, judging that those who do not think that there are allegories in

uultis esse, legem non audistis? Scriptum est enim quia Abraham duos filios habuit, unum ex ancilla et unum de libera. Sed ille quidem, qui de ancilla natus est, secundum carnem natus est, qui uero de libera, secundum repromissionem: quae sunt allegorica. Haec enim sunt duo testamenta, et reliqua. In quo et hoc
180 quoque considerandum est, quam caute apostolus dixerit quod ait: *Qui sub lege uultis esse* et non dixit: qui sub lege estis, *legem non audistis? Audistis*, hoc est intellegitis uel agnoscitis. Sed et in epistula ad Colossenses breuiter sensum totius legis amplectens et constringens ait: *Nemo ergo uos iudicet in esca uel in potu aut in sollemnibus diebus uel neomenia uel sabbato, quae sunt umbra*
185 *futurorum*. Ad Hebraeos quoque scribens et de his, qui ex circumcisione sunt, disserens ait: *Hi, qui exemplari et umbrae deseruiunt caelestium*. Sed fortassis per haec de quinque libris Moysei non uidebitur dubitandum ab his, qui apostoli scripta uelut diuinitus dicta suscipiunt. De reliqua uero historia requirant, si etiam illa, quae ibi inferuntur, *in figura* illis, de quibus scribitur,
190 dicenda sunt contigisse; obseruauimus nos etiam de hoc dictum esse in epistola ad Romanos, ubi de Regnorum libro tertio apostolus ponit exemplum dicens: *Reliqui mihi septem milia uirorum, qui non curuauerunt genua Baal*. Quod Paulus accepit uelut figuraliter dictum de his, qui *secundum electionem* Israhelitae uocati sunt, ut ostenderet non solum nunc gentibus profuisse
195 aduentum Christi sed et quam plurimos Israhelitici generis ad salutem uocatos.

177 ex : de *γ* de[1] : ex B 180–1 sub … dixit qui *om. γ* 187 mosei B *μ* : moisis *σ*
190 sint B 192 bahal B *μ* 195 plurimis *δ Koe Goe* uocatis A[pc] *Koe Goe*

λέγετέ μοι φησὶν **οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; Γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἕνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ**
160 **τῆς ἐλευθέρας διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας· ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γάρ εἰσι δύο διαθῆκαι** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Παρατηρητέον γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι φησίν· **οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι**, οὐχὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον ὄντες, καὶ· **τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;** Τοῦ **ἀκούειν** ἐν τῷ νοεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν κρινομένου. Καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς δὲ ἐπιστολῇ, διὰ βραχέων τὸ βούλημα τῆς πάσης
165 ἐπιτεμνόμενος νομοθεσίας, φησί· **μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει**

158 ὅτι *om.* D 159 ἐλευθέρας … ἐκ τῆς *om.* B 159 γεγένηται A H[ac]
160 εἰσὶν B A 161 *αἱ ante δύο add.* A 162 οὐχ E οὐχὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον ὄντες καὶ : *καὶ οὐχὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον ὄντες Koe (a Klostermann)* 165 φησίν B ἢ *post κρινέτω add.* A E *Goe*

desire to be under the Law, do you not hear the Law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave, the other by a free woman. But he who was born of the slave was born according to the flesh; while he of the free woman, according to the promise. These things are allegorical; for these are the two covenants, and the rest.[34] Here this point must be noted, how carefully the Apostle said, *You who desire to be under the Law*, and did not say 'who are under the Law, *do you not hear the Law?*' *Do you hear*, that is, do you understand and know? And, again, in the Epistle to the Colossians, briefly summing up and condensing the sense of the whole Law, he says, *Let no one, therefore, judge you in matters of meat or drink or holy days or a new moon or a sabbath, which are a shadow of things to come.*[35] Writing to the Hebrews, also, and discussing those who are of the circumcision, he says, *They serve a pattern and shadow of heavenly things.*[36] Now, probably, through these examples no doubt will appear regarding the five books of Moses for those who accept the writings of the Apostle as divine sayings. But should they ask, regarding the rest of the narrative, whether the events related therein may also be said to have *happened in a figure*[37] to those about whom it is written, we have noted that even this has been stated in the Epistle to the Romans, where the Apostle cites an example from the third book of Reigns, which says, *I have left for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal.*[38] This Paul takes as spoken figuratively of those who are called Israelites *according to election*,[39] in order to show the arrival of Christ to have been beneficial not only to the Gentiles, but also that very many of the race of Israel are called to salvation.

[34] Gal. 4:21–4. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 11.1. [35] Col. 2:16–17. [36] Heb. 8:5.
[37] 1 Cor. 10:11. [38] Rom. 11:4; cf. 3 Rgns 19:18. [39] Rom. 11:5.

what is written do not understand it, he says, *Tell me, you who desire to be under the Law, do you not hear the Law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and the other by a free woman. But he who was of the slave was born according to the flesh, but he who was of the free woman, according to the promise. These things are allegorical; for these are the two covenants*, and the rest. One must observe carefully each thing said by him, for he says, *You who desire to be under the Law*, not 'you who are under the Law', and, *do you not hear the Law? To hear* is taken to mean 'to understand' and 'to know'. And in the Epistle to the Colossians, briefly abridging the intent of the whole legislation, he says, *Let no one, therefore, judge you in matters of meat or drink or with*

4.2.7. Quae cum ita sint, qualiter nobis de his singulis intellegenda sit scriptura diuina, uelut exempli et formae gratia quae nobis occurrere poterunt adumbrabimus, illud primo repetentes et ostendentes, quoniam spiritus sanctus, qui prouidentia et uoluntate dei per uirtutem unigeniti *uerbi* eius, qui
200 *erat in principio apud deum* deus, ministros ueritatis, prophetas et apostolos, inluminabat, ad cognoscenda mysteria earum rerum uel causarum, quae inter homines uel de hominibus geruntur. Homines autem nunc dico animas in corporibus positas. Quae illi mysteria, cognita sibi et reuelata per spiritum, uelut humana quaedam gesta narrantes uel legales quasdam obseruantias
205 praeceptaque tradentes figuraliter describebant; ut non qui uelit haec uelut conculcanda ante pedes haberet exposita, sed qui se huiuscemodi studiis

196 sint : sit W B : *om.* γ 197 potuerunt δ B 198 adumbrabimus *Del Koe Sim Goe Fern* : adumbrauimus ω 199 qui[1] *om. Del* 201 *post* inluminabat *lacunam signauit Koe (quem Sim Goe secuti sunt) qui proposuit* eos inprimis informare uolebat *uel quid simile in appar.* 203 spiritum : christum γ

ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νουμηνίας ἢ σαββάτων, ἅ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων. *Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους περὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς διαλεγόμενος γράφει·* ***οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων.*** *Ἀλλ' εἰκὸς διὰ ταῦτα περὶ μὲν τῶν πέντε Μωσέως ἐπιγεγραμμένων βιβλίων μὴ ἂν διστάξαι*
170 *τοὺς τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅπαξ ὡς θεῖον ἄνδρα προσιεμένους· περὶ δὲ τῆς λοιπῆς ἱστορίας βούλεσθαι μανθάνειν, εἰ κἀκείνη* ***τυπικῶς συνέβαινε.*** *Παρατηρητέον δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τό·* ***κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ,*** *κείμενον ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, ὅτι ὁ Παῦλος εἴληφεν ἀντὶ τῶν* ***κατ' ἐκλογὴν*** *Ἰσραηλιτῶν, τῷ μὴ μόνον τὰ ἔθνη*
175 *ὠφελῆσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἀλλὰ καί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου γένους.*

4.2.7. *Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τοὺς φαινομένους ἡμῖν χαρακτῆρας τῆς νοήσεως τῶν γραφῶν ὑποτυπωτέον. Καὶ πρῶτόν γε τοῦτο ὑποδεικτέον, ὅτι ὁ σκοπὸς τῷ φωτίζοντι πνεύματι προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διὰ* ***τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς***
180 ***τὸν θεὸν λόγου*** *τοὺς διακόνους τῆς ἀληθείας, προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, ἦν προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων (ἀνθρώπους δὲ νῦν λέγω τὰς χρωμένας ψυχὰς σώμασιν), ἵν' ὁ δυνάμενος διδαχθῆναι* ***ἐρευνήσας*** *καὶ* ***τοῖς βάθεσι*** *τοῦ νοῦ*

168 ὑποδείγμασι *E* 169 μωυσέως B 170 τοὺς *om.* D γὲ *post* δὲ *add.* D 171 βούλεσθε E συνέβαινεν B D 171–2 ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους δὲ παρατηρητέον τὸ D 173 τρίτῃ : γ' A 174 τῷ : τὸ B D : *om.* A 175 ὠφελεῖσθαι H D(?) ἀπὸ[1] : ἐκ D ἀπὸ[2] *om.* B 182 λόγος *post* πραγμάτων *suppl. Koe in appar.* 183 διά *post* νοῦ *add.* E

4.2.7. These things being so, we shall sketch out the manner in which holy Scripture is to be understood by us on these several points, using what may occur to us by way of illustration and example, in the first instance repeating and pointing out that the Holy Spirit, who by the providence and will of God through the power of his only-begotten *Word*, who *was in the beginning* God *with God*,[40] enlightened the ministers of the truth, the prophets and apostles,[41] to know the mysteries of those things or causes which take place among human beings or with respect to human beings. And by human beings I now mean souls that are placed in bodies.[42] These mysteries, which were made known and revealed to them through the Spirit, they portrayed figuratively, as if narrating certain human deeds or handing down certain legal observances and precepts; so that not anyone who wished might have them placed under his feet as something to be trampled upon,[43] but that one who had devoted himself to studies of this kind, with all chastity and sobriety and nights of watching,

[40] John 1:1.
[41] Koetschau, followed by other editors, suspects a lacuna at this point, suggesting something like 'wished above all to form them'.
[42] Cf. Origen, *Cels.* 7.38. [43] Cf. Matt. 7:6.

regard to a festival or a new moon or a Sabbath, which are a shadow of things to come. And again, in that to the Hebrews, discussing those who are of the circumcision, he writes, *They serve a pattern and shadow of heavenly things.* Now it is probable that, from these illustrations, those who have once for all accepted the Apostle as a divine man will have no doubt regarding the five books ascribed to Moses; but regarding the rest of the history, they wish to learn whether those things also *happened figuratively*. One must note the quotation in [the Epistle] to the Romans, *I have left for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal*, occurring in the third book of Reigns: Paul has taken it on the part of the Israelites *according to election*, for not only were the nations benefitted by the sojourn of Christ, but also some from the divine race.

4.2.7. These things being so, one must outline what seems to us the characteristics of the intellectual apprehension of the Scriptures. And in first place, it must be pointed out that the aim of the Spirit, who, by the providence of God through *the Word in the beginning with God*, illumines the ministers of the truth, the prophets and apostles, was pre-eminently concerned with the unspeakable mysteries regarding the affairs of human beings (and by human beings I now mean souls making use of bodies) in order that one who is

cum omni castimonia et sobrietate ac uigiliis dedidisset, ut per haec forte in profundo latentem sensum spiritus dei et sermonis usitata narratione aliorsum prospiciente contectum inuestigare potuisset, atque ita socius scientiae spiritus
210 et diuini consilii particeps fieret; quia nec aliter potest anima ad scientiae perfectionem uenire, nisi diuinae sapientiae fuerit inspirata ueritate. Igitur de deo, id est de patre et filio et spiritu sancto, ab his uiris diuino spiritu repletis principaliter designatur; tum uero de sacramentis filii dei, quomodo *uerbum caro factum sit*, et qua de causa usque ad *formam serui suscipiendam* uenerit, ut
215 diximus, repleti diuino spiritu protulerunt. Necessario deinde etiam de creaturis rationabilibus, tam caelestibus quam terrenis, beatioribus et inferioribus, consequens erat eos mortalium genus diuinis sermonibus edocere, sed et de differentia animarum, et unde istae differentiae ortae sunt; tum deinde qui sit hic mundus et quare factus, sed et unde malitia tanta ac talis est super terras,
220 quae utrum in terris sit tantummodo an et in aliis aliquibus locis, ex diuinis nos sermonibus discere necessarium fuit.

207 dedisset δ σ **208** narratione : ratione δ aliorsum B M[pc] : aliorum δ : alio rursum G M[ac] σ **213** tum : tunc γ **214** suscipiendam serui γ **217** edocere B : educere δ : docere γ **217–18** de differentia B : differentia A[ac] W : differentias A[pc] : differentiam G σ : de differentiam M **221** discernere δ

τῶν λέξεων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδούς, κοινωνὸς τῶν ὅλων τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ
185 *γένηται δογμάτων. Εἰς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως δυναμένων τῆς τελειότητος τυχεῖν χωρὶς τῆς πλουσίας καὶ σοφῆς περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθείας, τὰ περὶ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίως ὡς προηγούμενα τέτακται καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ· ποίας ἐστὶ φύσεως, καὶ τίνα τρόπον υἱὸς τυγχάνει θεοῦ, καὶ τίνες αἱ αἰτίαι τοῦ μέχρι σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης αὐτὸν καταβεβηκέναι καὶ πάντη*
190 *ἄνθρωπον ἀνειληφέναι, τίς τε καὶ ἡ τούτου ἐνέργεια, καὶ εἰς τίνας καὶ πότε γινομένη. Ἀναγκαίως δὲ ὡς περὶ συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογικῶν, θειοτέρων τε καὶ ἐκπεπτωκότων τῆς μακαριότητος, καὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς τούτων ἐκπτώσεως, ἐχρῆν εἰς τοὺς λόγους τῆς θείας ἀνειλῆφθαι διδασκαλίας, καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ πόθεν αἱ διαφοραὶ*
195 *αὗται ἐληλύθασι, τίς τε ὁ κόσμος καὶ διὰ τί ὑπέστη, ἔτι δὲ πόθεν ἡ κακία τοσαύτη καὶ τηλικαύτη ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν.*

185 *τῶν om.* D *οὐκ ἄλλως* : *οὐ καλῶς* B *δυναμένοις* D **186** *πλουσίας καὶ om.* D *τοῦ post περὶ add.* A **187** *ὡς om.* B **189** *ἀνθρωπίνως* D **190** *τούτου*: *τούτων* E **191** *ἀναγκαῖον* D **192** *τῶν αἰτίων* : *τὴν αἰτίαν* D **193** *ἀνειλῆφθαι τῆς θείας* E

might perhaps through these means be able to trace out the sense of the Spirit of God hidden in profundity and concealed by an ordinary narrative style, pointing in another direction, and that thus he might become an associate in the Spirit's knowledge and a partaker in the divine counsel, because the soul cannot come to the perfection of knowledge otherwise than by being inspired with the truth of divine wisdom. Therefore, it is [the teaching] about God, that is about the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which is primarily described by these men, filled with the divine Spirit; then, [the teaching] of the mysteries relating to the Son of God—how *the Word became flesh* and for what reason he went even to the point of *assuming the form of a servant*[44]—have been made known, as we have said, by those filled with the divine Spirit. It next followed, necessarily, that they should instruct the race of mortals by divine teaching concerning rational creatures, both heavenly and earthly, the more blessed ones and the lowlier ones, and also concerning the difference among souls and how these differences arose; and then what this world is, and why it was made, and also why it is that wickedness is so widespread and terrible over the world, and whether it is only upon this earth or in some other places as well, it was necessary for us to learn from the divine teaching.

[44] John 1:14; Phil. 2:7.

capable of being taught may, by *searching out* and devoting himself *to the deep things* of the sense of the words,[1] become a participant in all the doctrines of the Spirit's counsel. And in matters regarding souls, who cannot otherwise attain perfection apart from the rich and wise truth about God, the [doctrines] concerning God and his only-begotten Son are necessarily ranked as primordial—of what nature he is, and in what manner he is the Son of God, and what are the reasons he descends to human flesh and completely assumes the human being, and what also is his activity and to whom and when it is exercised. Necessarily also the subject of kindred beings and other rational beings, both those more divine and those fallen from blessedness, together with the reasons for their fall, should be included in the accounts of the divine teaching, and also that of the difference between souls, and whence these differences came about, and what is the world and why it exists, and again whence evil came to be so widespread and terrible upon the earth, and whether it is not upon the earth only but also elsewhere—[all this] it is necessary that we should learn.

[1] 1 Cor. 2:10.

4.2.8. Cum ergo de his talibus et horum similibus spiritui sancto esset intentio
inluminare sanctas animas, quae se ministerio dediderant ueritatis, secundo
loco habetur ille prospectus, ut propter eos, qui uel non possent uel nollent
225 huic se labori atque industriae tradere, quo haec tanta ac talia edoceri uel
agnoscere mererentur, sicut superius diximus, inuolueret et occultaret
sermonibus usitatis sub praetexto historiae cuiusdam et narrationis rerum
uisibilium arcana mysteria. Inducitur ergo uisibilis creaturae narratio et primi
hominis conditio atque figmentum, tum deinde ex illo per successionem
230 prosecuta progenies, nonnulla quoque rerum gestarum, quae a iustis quibusque
gesta sunt, referuntur, interdum autem etiam delicta quaedam ipsorum
commemorantur tamquam hominum, tum deinde et impiorum scribuntur
aliquanta uel inpudice uel nequiter gesta. Miro autem modo etiam proeliorum
digesta narratio est et nunc uincentium nunc uictorum descripta diuersitas,
235 per quae ineffabilia quaedam his, qui huiusmodi dicta perscrutari norunt,
sacramenta declarantur. Sed et in scriptura legali per ammirandam sapientiae
disciplinam lex ueritatis inseritur et prophetatur; quae singula diuina quadam
arte sapientiae uelut indumentum quoddam et uelamen spiritalium sensuum
texta sunt; et hoc est quod diximus scripturae sanctae corpus: ut etiam per hoc
240 ipsum quod diximus litterae indumentum, sapientiae arte contextum, possent
quam plurimi aedificari et proficere, qui aliter non possent.

225 quo : quod δ   doceri γ   227 praetextu G^{pc} M^{ac} σ : praetexti G^{ac} 229 ex illo per successionem : ex illa percussione δ   231 autem *om.* γ   236 in *om.* γ   237 prophetarum A^{pc} γ   241 quam plures γ : complures *Del*

4.2.8. *Τούτων δὴ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων προκειμένων τῷ φωτίζοντι
πνεύματι τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπηρετῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ψυχάς, δεύτερος ἦν
200 σκοπὸς διὰ τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους τὸν κάματον ἐνεγκεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ
τηλικαῦτα εὑρεῖν, κρύψαι τὸν περὶ τῶν προειρημένων λόγον ἐν λέξεσιν
ἐμφαινούσαις διήγησιν περιέχουσαν ἀπαγγελίαν τὴν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν
δημιουργημάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτίσεως καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων κατὰ
διαδοχὴν μέχρι πολλῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ ἄλλαις ἱστορίαις ἀπαγγελλούσαις
205 δικαίων πράξεις καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ποτὲ γενόμενα ἁμαρτήματα ὡς
ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνόμων καὶ ἀσεβῶν πονηρίας καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ πλεονεξίας.
Παραδοξότατα δέ, διὰ ἱστορίας τῆς περὶ πολέμων καὶ νενικηκότων καὶ
νενικημένων τινὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῖς ταῦτα βασανίζειν δυναμένοις
σαφηνίζεται. Καὶ ἔτι θαυμασιώτερον, διὰ γραπτῆς νομοθεσίας οἱ τῆς
210 ἀληθείας νόμοι προφητεύονται, μετὰ ἀληθῶς πρεπούσης θεοῦ σοφίᾳ*

200 *τὰ om.* D   201 *τὸ ante κρύψαι add.* E   207 *δι᾽ ἱστορίας* D   208 *τίνα* D
209 *διὰ γραπτῆς θαυμασιώτερον νομοθεσίας* D   210 *ἀληθείας* B   *σοφίας* E

4.2.8. Thus, while it was the intention of the Holy Spirit to enlighten those holy souls, who had devoted themselves to the service of the truth, about these and similar matters, there was, in second place, this aim, namely—for the sake of those who either could not or would not give themselves up to this labour and toil so that they might deserve to be taught and come to know things of such value—to wrap up and conceal, as we have said before, in ordinary language, under the cover of some history and narrative of visible things, hidden mysteries. There is, therefore, introduced the narrative of visible creation, and the creation and formation of the first human being,[45] and then the offspring which followed from him in succession; some of the actions done by the righteous amongst them are recounted, and occasionally also certain of their transgressions are mentioned, inasmuch as they were human; and then also a number of things done shamelessly and wickedly by the impious are described. In a wonderful manner, also, the account of battles is presented, and the alternation, now of the conquerors, now of the conquered, is described, by which certain ineffable mysteries are made known to those who know how to examine statements of that kind. But also, by the marvellous teaching of Wisdom, the law of truth is implanted and prophesied in the writings of the Law, each of which are woven by the divine art of Wisdom as a kind of covering and veil of the spiritual meanings; and this is what we have called the body of holy Scripture, so that even through this, which we have called the covering of the letter, woven by the art of Wisdom, very many may be edified and progress, who otherwise could not.

[45] The 'creation' and 'formation' refers, respectively, to Gen. 1 and 2; a distinction also made by Philo. See also, Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.182 (cited in *Princ.* 2.2.2, n.20) and the discussion in the introduction, section 3.

4.2.8. While these and similar subjects were placed before the Spirit, who enlightens the souls of the holy ministers of the truth, there was a second aim for the sake of those unable to bear the toil of investigating matters of such importance, [that is,] to conceal the doctrine regarding the previously mentioned items in words expressing an account containing a report about the visible works of creation, and the creation of the human being, and the successive descendants of the first human beings until they became numerous, and other narratives reporting the acts of the righteous and the sins occasionally committed by the same, as being human, and deeds of wickedness and licentiousness and greed done by the lawless and impious. And what is most striking is that by the narratives of wars and of conquerors and conquered certain ineffable [mysteries] are indicated to those able to examine them. And even more wonderful still, the laws of truth are prophesied through the written legislation, all these having been recorded in a series with a power truly appropriate to the wisdom

4.2.9. Sed quoniam, si in omnibus iudumenti huius, id est historiae <et> legis fuisset consequentia custodita et ordo seruatus, habentes continuatum intellegentiae cursum non utique crederemus esse aliud aliquid in scripturis
245 sanctis intrinsecus praeter hoc, quod prima fronte indicabatur, inclusum: ista de causa procurauit diuina sapientia *offendicula* quaedam uel intercapedines intellegentiae fieri historialis, *inpossibilia quaedam et inconuenientia* per medium inserendo; ut interruptio ipsa narrationis uelut obicibus quibusdam legenti resistat obiectis, quibus intellegentiae huius uulgaris iter ac transitum neget et
250 exclusos nos ac recussos reuocet ad alterius initium uiae, ut ita celsioris cuiusdam et eminentioris tramitis per angusti callis ingressum inmensam diuinae scientiae latitudinem pandat. Oportet autem etiam illud scire nos quia, cum principaliter prospectus sit spiritui sancto intellegentiae spiritalis consequentiam custodire uel in his, quae geri debent, uel quae iam transacta sunt, sicubi quidem inuenit
255 ea, quae secundum historiam gesta sunt, aptari posse intellegentiae spiritali, utriusque ordinis textum uno narrationis sermone conposuit, altius semper

242 <et> *post* historiae *suppl. Goe* 250 retusos A 256 uno : non *μ* Ab : *om.* S

δυνάμεως πάντων τούτων εἱρμῷ ἀναγεγραμμένων. Προέκειτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα τῶν πνευματικῶν, λέγω δὲ τὸ σωματικὸν τῶν γραφῶν, ἐν πολλοῖς ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἀνωφελὲς δυνάμενόν τε τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς χωροῦσι, βελτιοῦν.

4.2.9. *Ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ, εἰ δι' ὅλων σαφῶς τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας χρήσιμον αὐτόθεν*
215 *ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ γλαφυρόν, ἠπιστήσαμεν ἂν ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ πρόχειρον νοεῖσθαι δύνασθαι ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ᾠκονόμησέ τινα οἱονεὶ* ***σκάνδαλα*** *καὶ* ***προσκόμματα καὶ ἀδύνατα*** *διὰ μέσου ἐγκαταταχθῆναι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ἵνα μὴ πάντη ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως ἑλκόμενοι τὸ ἀγωγὸν ἄκρατον ἐχούσης, ἤτοι ὡς μηδὲν ἄξιον θεοῦ μανθάνοντες, τέλεον*
220 *ἀποστῶμεν τῶν δογμάτων, ἢ μὴ κινούμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ γράμματος μηδὲν θειότερον μάθωμεν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι, ὅτι τοῦ προηγουμένου σκοποῦ τυγχάνοντος τὸν ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς εἱρμὸν ἀπαγγεῖλαι γεγενημένοις καὶ πρακτέοις, ὅπου μὲν εὗρε γενόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὁ λόγος ἐφαρμόσαι δυνάμενα τοῖς μυστικοῖς τούτοις, ἐχρήσατο ἀποκρύπτων ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν*
225 *τὸν βαθύτερον νοῦν· ὅπου δὲ ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τῆς περὶ τῶν νοητῶν ἀκολουθίας οὐχ εἵπετο ἡ τῶνδέ τινων πρᾶξις ἡ προαναγεγραμμένη διὰ τὰ μυστικώτερα, συνύφηνεν ἡ γραφὴ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον, πῇ μὲν μηδὲ δυνατὸν*

214 *ἐπείπερ corr. Koe Sim Goe Fern* : *εἴπερ codd. Rob* *εἰ om.* E H 215 *ἂν om.* B 215–16 *ἄλλ' ὅτι* B D 216–17 *ᾠκονόμησεν τίνα εἰς σκάνδαλα* B 217 *οἱονεὶ om.* A *πρόσκομμα* B *ἐγκαταχθῆναι* B 218 *πάντες* E 219 *μανθάνοντες θεοῦ* D 223 *εὗρεν* B 227 *μηδὲ* : *μὴ* A D *ζ*

4.2.9. But since, if, in every detail of this covering, that is of the history <and> of the Law, the sequence had been kept and the order preserved, we would, possessing a continuous series of meaning, certainly not believe that there is anything else contained within the holy Scriptures except what was indicated on the surface, for this reason divine Wisdom took care that certain *stumbling-blocks* or interruptions of the narratival sense should occur, by inserting into the midst certain *impossibilities and incongruities*,[46] so that the very interruption of the narrative might make the reader pause, as if by casting certain obstacles before him, on account of which he might refuse to proceed along the path of the ordinary sense and, by excluding and debarring us, it might recall us to the beginning of another way, in order that, by entering upon a narrow path,[47] it might unfold, as a loftier and more sublime road, the immense breadth of divine knowledge. We must also know this, that, as the principle object of the Holy Spirit is to preserve the coherence of the spiritual sense, either in those things which ought to be done or in those things which have already been performed, whenever he found things, done according in history, capable of being adapted to a spiritual meaning, he composed a texture of both kinds in a single style of

[46] Cf. Rom. 8:3; 9:33; 14:3. [47] Cf. Matt. 7:13.

of God. For it was intended to make even the covering of the spiritual aspects, I mean the bodily part of Scripture, not profitless in many respects, but able to improve the multitude as far as they receive it.

4.2.9. But since, if the usefulness of the legislation and the sequence and the beauty of the narrative were clearly evident from the outset throughout, we would not have believed that any other meaning could be understood in the Scriptures besides the obvious, the Word of God has arranged that certain *stumbling blocks*, as it were, and *obstacles and impossibilities* be inserted into the midst of the Law and the narrative, in order that we may not be drawn away completely by the sheer attractiveness of the language and so we either completely reject the teachings, learning nothing worthy of God, or, not moving away from the letter, we learn nothing more divine. It is also necessary to know that, the principal aim being to announce the connection amongst spiritual events, both those that have happened and those to be done, wherever the Word found that things that have happened according to the narrative could be harmonized with these mystical events, he made use of them, concealing from the multitude the deeper sense; but wherever in the account the action of certain people here, recorded for the sake of the more mystical meanings, did not follow the sequence of intellectual realities, the Scripture interwove in the narrative something that did not happen, sometimes what could not happen, and sometimes what could happen but did

arcanum sensum recondens; ubi autem spiritali consequentiae rerum gestarum historia conuenire non poterat, interdum inseruit quaedam uel minus gesta uel quae geri omnino non possent, interdum etiam quae possent quidem geri, nec
260 tamen gesta sunt; et nonnumquam paucis sermonibus, qui secundum corporalem intellegentiam non uidentur seruare posse ueritatem, interdum multis insertis hoc facit, quod praecipue in legislatione frequentari inuenitur, ubi multa quidem sunt, quae in ipsis corporalibus praeceptis utilia esse manifestum est, aliquanta uero sunt, in quibus nulla prorsus ratio utilitatis ostenditur,
265 interdum uero etiam inpossibilia decernuntur. Quae omnia, ut diximus, idcirco procurauit spiritus sanctus, ut ex his, dum ea quae in prima fronte sunt uera aut utilia esse non possunt, ad inquisitionem ueritatis altius repetitae et diligentius perscrutatae reuocemur et dignum deo sensum in scripturis, quas a deo inspiratas credimus, perquiramus. Non solum autem de his, quae usque ad
270 aduentum Christi scripta sunt, haec sanctus spiritus procurauit, sed utpote unus atque idem spiritus et ab uno deo procedens, eadem similiter etiam in euangeliis et apostolis fecit. Nam ne illas quidem narrationes, quas per eos inspirauit, absque huiuscemodi quam supra exposuimus sapientiae suae arte contexuit. Vnde etiam in ipsis non parua permiscuit, quibus historialis narrandi ordo
275 interpolatus uel intercisus per inpossibilitatem sui reflecteret ac reuocaret intentionem legentis ad intellegentiae interioris examen.

258 inseruit : seruit A[ac] W : inserat A[pc2] quaedam : quidem A[ac] : quidem A[pc2] 265 possibilia δ 267–8 et diligentius perscrutatae *om.* γ 268 reuocemus γ 269 perquiremus δ 272 nec γ

γενέσθαι, πῇ δὲ δυνατὸν μὲν γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν γεγενημένον, καὶ ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν ὀλίγαι λέξεις παρεμβεβλημέναι εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀληθευόμεναι, ἔσθ'
230 *ὅτε δὲ πλείονες. Τὸ δ' ἀνάλογον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐκληπτέον, ἐν ᾗ ἔστι πλεονάκις εὑρεῖν καὶ τὸ αὐτόθεν χρήσιμον, πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς νομοθεσίας ἁρμόζον· ἐνίοτε δὲ λόγος χρήσιμος οὐκ ἐμφαίνεται. Καὶ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἀδύνατα νομοθετεῖται διὰ τοὺς ἐντρεχεστέρους καὶ ζητητικωτέρους, ἵνα τῇ βασάνῳ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπιδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς πεῖσμα ἀξιόλογον*
235 *λάβωσι περὶ τοῦ δεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄξιον νοῦν εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητεῖν. Οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμα ᾠκονόμησεν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅτε τὸ αὐτὸ τυγχάνον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ, τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων πεποίηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐδὲ τούτων πάντῃ ἄκρατον τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν προσυφασμένων κατὰ τὸ σωματικὸν ἐχόντων μὴ γεγενημένων, οὐδὲ*
240 *τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς πάντως τὸ εὔλογον ἐντεῦθεν ἐμφαίνοντα.*

228 *γενέσθαι ... μὲν*[1] *om.* B 229 *παραβεβλημέναι* D 231 *πλεονάκις* : *πολλάκις* E 232 *χρήσιμος λόγος* E 236 *ἀλλ' ἅτε* E 238 *πεποίηκεν* B 239 *γεγενημένην* D 240 *ἐντεῦθεν om.* A D H

narrative, always concealing the secret sense more deeply; but where the narrative of deeds done could not be made appropriate to the spiritual coherence, he sometimes inserted certain things which either less likely happened or could not have happened at all, and sometimes things which might happen, but however did not; sometimes he does this with a few words, which, according to their bodily sense, do not seem able to preserve the truth, at other times by inserting many words, which is principally found to happen in the legislative material, where there are many things which are manifestly useful among the bodily precepts, but also a considerable number in which no principle of utility appears at all, and sometimes even impossibilities are decreed. Now the Holy Spirit took care of all this, as we have said, in order that, when those things on the surface can be neither true nor useful, we should be recalled to the search for that truth demanding a loftier and more diligent examination, and should eagerly search for a sense worthy of God in the Scriptures that we believe to be inspired by God. Nor was it only with those Scriptures that were written up to the arrival of Christ that the Holy Spirit took care of these things, but, as being one and the same Spirit and proceeding from the one God, he has acted in the same way in the Gospels and [the writings of] the apostles.[48] For even those narratives, which he inspired through them, were not woven together without the art of that Wisdom of his, the nature of which we have explained above. And so in them also he has mingled not a few things by which, interrupting and breaking up the historical order of the narrative, he might turn about and recall the attention of the reader, by the impossibility of the case, towards an examination of the inner sense.

[48] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 10.18–20.

not, and occasionally a few words are inserted which are not true according to the bodily sense, and occasionally a greater number. A similar practice is also to be noticed in regard to the legislation, in which is often to be found what is useful in itself, appropriate to the times of the legislation; sometimes, however, no good reason is apparent. And at other times, even impossibilities are legislated for the sake of the more skilful and inquisitive, in order that, giving themselves to the toil of investigating what is written, they may gain a sound conviction concerning the necessity of seeking in such instances a meaning worthy of God. The Spirit arranged these things not only regarding the [Scriptures composed] prior to the advent [of Christ], but, as being the same Spirit and from the one God, he has done the same with the Gospels and [the writings] of the apostles, for neither is the narrative of these completely unmixed, there being things interwoven according to the bodily sense which did not happen; nor do the legislation and the commandments therein entirely exhibit what is reasonable.

4.3.1. Sed ut rebus ipsis quod dicimus agnoscatur, ipsa iam scripturae loca pulsemus. Cuinam, quaeso, sensum habenti consequenter uidebitur dictum quod dies prima et secunda et tertia, in quibus et uespera nominatur et mane,
280 fuerit sine sole et sine luna et sine stellis, prima autem dies etiam sine caelo? Quis uero ita idiotes inuenietur, ut putet uelut hominem quendam agricolam deum plantasse arbores *in paradiso, in Eden contra orientem*, et *arborem uitae* plantasse in eo, id est lignum uisibile et palpabile, ita ut corporalibus dentibus manducans quis ex ea arbore uitam percipiat et rursum ex alia arbore manducans *boni ac*
285 *mali* scientiam capiat? Sed et illud, quod deus *post meridiem deambulare* dicitur *in paradiso* et *Adam latere sub arbore*, equidem nullum arbitror dubitare quod figurali tropo haec ab scriptura proferantur, quo per haec quaedam mystica indicentur. *Cain* quoque *exiens a facie dei* manifeste prudentem lectorem mouet, ut requirat quae sit *facies dei* et quomodo *exire* quis possit ab ea. Verum ne nos
290 opus, quod habemus in manibus, iusto amplius dilatemus, perfacile est omni uolenti congregare de scripturis sanctis quae scripta sunt quidem tamquam facta, non tamen secundum historiam conpetenter et rationabiliter fieri potuisse credenda sunt. Haec uero scripturae species etiam in euangelicis libris affatim

277 *ante* sed ut *add. titulum:* exempla scripturarum de ratione intellegendae scripturae α : *sine ulla diuisione continuauerunt* γ 280 fuerint *Del* etiam *om.* γ 286 sublatere δ
287 quo : quod γ 289 quis exire γ 292 conpetenter et : conpetentem δ

4.3.1, lines 278–80

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 213.9–10), Koetschau Frag. 29:*

Τίς νοῦν ἔχων ὁρίσεται πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἑσπέραν τε καὶ πρωΐαν χωρὶς ἡλίου γεγονέναι καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων;

4.3.1. *Τίς γοῦν νοῦν ἔχων οἰήσεται πρώτην καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἑσπέραν τε καὶ πρωΐαν χωρὶς ἡλίου γεγονέναι καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων; Τὴν δὲ οἱονεὶ πρώτην καὶ χωρὶς οὐρανοῦ; Τίς δ᾽ οὕτως ἠλίθιος ὡς οἰηθῆναι τρόπον ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ* ***τὸν θεὸν πεφυτευκέναι παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ***
245 ***ἀνατολάς****, καὶ* ***ξύλον ζωῆς*** *ἐν αὐτῷ πεποιηκέναι ὁρατὸν καὶ αἰσθητόν, ὥστε διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν ὀδόντων γευσάμενον τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ ζῆν ἀναλαμβάνειν· καὶ πάλιν* ***καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ*** *μετέχειν τινὰ παρὰ τὸ μεμασῆσθαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ξύλου λαμβανόμενον; Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ θεὸς* ***τὸ δειλινὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν*** *λέγηται καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ* ***ὑπὸ τὸ ξύλον κρύπτεσθαι****, οὐκ οἶμαι διστάξειν*
250 *τινὰ περὶ τοῦ αὐτὰ τροπικῶς διὰ δοκούσης ἱστορίας καὶ οὐ σωματικῶς*

241 *δὲ ante γοῦν add.* B *ἔχων νοῦν* D 243 *τίς δὲ* B *οὗτος* D 247 *μεμισῆσθαι* D
248 *ἐν τῷ παράδεισον τὸ δειλινὸν* D 249 *διστάζειν* A D ζ

4.3.1.[49] But that what we say may be acknowledged from the matter itself, let us now consider the actual passages of Scripture. For to whom, possessed of understanding, I ask, will it seem a reasonable statement that the first day and the second and the third, in which are also mentioned both evening and morning, existed without sun and moon and stars, and the first day without even a sky?[50] And who is found so foolish as to suppose that *God*, as a human gardener, planted trees *in paradise, in Eden towards the east*, and planted *a tree of life* in it, that is, a visible and palpable tree of wood, so that anyone eating of this tree with bodily teeth would gain life, and again eating of another tree would lay hold of the knowledge of *good and evil*?[51] And again when God is said to *walk in paradise in the afternoon* and Adam to *hide himself behind a tree*,[52] no one, I reckon, really doubts that these things are related by Scripture figuratively, so that certain mystical truths are indicated through them. And *Cain going out from the presence of God* clearly stirs a careful reader such that he will seek what *the presence of God* is and how one can *go out* from it.[53] But that we do not extend the work we have in hand beyond its due limits, it is very easy for anyone who wishes to gather out of holy Scripture things which are recorded as having been done but which are not, however, appropriately and reasonably believed to have been done in history. This kind of writing is illustrated sufficiently and abundantly even in the Gospel

[49] The Latin manuscripts have here the title 'Illustrations from Scripture of the method in which Scripture should be understood', but see note to *Princ.* 4.2.1.

[50] Or 'heaven' (*caelo*); cf. Gen. 1:5–13.

[51] Gen. 2:8–9. [52] Gen. 3:8.

[53] Gen. 4:16. On the 'presence' or 'face' of God, see Origen, *Princ.* 2.10.7; *Hom. Isa.* 4.1.

4.3.1. For who possessed of understanding will suppose that the first and the second and the third day, evening and morning, happened without a sun and moon and stars? And that the first day was as it were also without a sky? And who is so foolish as to suppose that *God*, after the manner of a human farmer, *planted a paradise in Eden towards the east*, and placed in it a visible and perceptible *tree of life*, so that one tasting of the fruit by bodily teeth would obtain life, and again that one could partake of *good and evil* by chewing what was received from the tree there? And if God is said to *walk in the paradise in the afternoon*, and Adam *to hide himself behind the tree*, I do not think that anyone doubts that these figuratively indicate, through apparent narratives

abundeque signatur, cum uel *in excelsum montem* Iesum inposuisse diabolus
295 dicitur, ut inde ei *uniuersa mundi regna* monstraret *et gloriam eorum*. Quod
secundum litteram quomodo fieri potuisse uidebitur, ut uel in excelsum montem
educeretur a diabolo Iesus, uel etiam carnalibus oculis eius tamquam subiecta et
adiacentia uni monti omnia mundi ostenderet regna, id est Persarum regnum et
Scytharum et Indorum, uel quomodo etiam reges ipsorum glorificantur ab
300 hominibus? Sed et alia quam plurima his similia in euangeliis inueniet
quicumque attentius legerit, ex quo aduertet his narrationibus, quae secundum
litteram prolatae uidentur, inserta esse simulque contexta ea, quae historia
quidem non recipiat, spiritalis autem teneat intellectus.

4.3.2. Sed et in praeceptorum locis similia quaedam inueniuntur. In lege quidem
305 Moysei praecipitur exterminari omne masculinum, quod non fuerit octaua
die circumcisum; quod ualde inconsequens est, cum oporteret utique, si lex

301 ex quo : ex *μ* : et *σ* **302** ea : est *μ* : *om. σ* **305** mosei B *μ* : moysi *σ* **306** et *post* est *add.* A

γεγενημένης μηνύειν τινὰ μυστήρια. Ἀλλὰ καὶ **Κάιν ἐξερχόμενος ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ** *σαφῶς τοῖς ἐπιστήσασι φαίνεται κινεῖν τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ζητεῖν, <τί>* **πρόσωπον θεοῦ** *καὶ τὸ* **ἐξέρχεσθαί** *τινα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγειν, τῶν μὴ πάνυ ἀμβλέων μυρία ὅσα τοιαῦτα*
255 *δυναμένων συναγαγεῖν, ἀναγεγραμμένα μὲν ὡς γεγονότα, οὐ γεγενημένα δὲ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν; Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἴδους τῶν λόγων πεπλήρωται, εἰς* **ὑψηλὸν ὄρος** *τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀναβιβάζοντος τοῦ διαβόλου, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ δείξῃ* **τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν**. *Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν μὴ παρέργως ἀναγινωσκόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα*
260 *καταγινώσκοι τῶν οἰομένων τῷ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀφθαλμῷ, δεηθέντι ὕψους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατανοηθῆναι δύνασθαι τὰ κατωτέρω καὶ ὑποκείμενα, ἑωρᾶσθαι τὴν Περσῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡς δοξάζονται παρὰ ἀνθρώποις οἱ βασιλεύοντες; Παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἔνεστι τὸν ἀκριβοῦντα τηρῆσαι ὑπὲρ*
265 *τοῦ συγκαταθέσθαι συνυφαίνεσθαι ταῖς κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν γεγενημέναις ἱστορίαις ἕτερα μὴ συμβεβηκότα.*

4.3.2. *Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔλθωμεν τὴν Μωσέως, πολλοὶ τῶν νόμων, τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τηρεῖσθαι, τὸ ἄλογον ἐμφαίνουσιν,*

252 *ἐπιστήσασιν* B **253** *τί suppl. Koe Sim Goe Fern : suppl. Tarin Del in appar.* *τὸ* *om. Rob* **261** *κατώτερα* A **268** *τὸ*[1] : *τῷ* E *Rob Sim* *τῷ* : *τὸ* B *αὑτοὺς* B

books, as when the devil is said to have placed Jesus *on a high mountain*, that he might from there show him *all the kingdoms of the world and their glory*.[54] How will this appear to have possibly been done according to the letter, either that Jesus should have been led by the devil onto a high mountain, or that the devil should have shown to his fleshly eyes, as if they were lying below or adjacent to one mountain, all the kingdoms of the world, that is, the kingdoms of the Persians and Scythians and Indians, and, also, how their kings were glorified by human beings? And anyone who has read carefully will find in the Gospels many other instances similar to this, from which he will note that in those narratives, which appear to be recorded according to the letter, there are inserted and interwoven things which are not accepted as history but which may hold a spiritual meaning.[55]

4.3.2. Moreover, similar things are found in the passages containing the commandments. For in the Law it was commanded by Moses that every male who has not been circumcised on the eighth day is to be destroyed, which is most illogical, since it would certainly be proper, if the Law was delivered to be observed according to the narrative, to command that the parents who did not

[54] Cf. Matt. 4:8. [55] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 10.18–20.

and through things that did not happen bodily, certain mysteries. Moreover, *Cain*, also, *going out from the presence of God*, clearly appears to thoughtful people to move the reader to inquire <what> is *the presence of God* and *going out* from it. And what need is there to say more, as those who are not altogether blind can collect countless examples of a similar kind, recorded as having occurred, but which did not take place according to the letter? But even the Gospels are full of the same kind of passages, [as, for example,] the devil leading Jesus up *to a high mountain* in order to show him from there *the kingdoms of all the world and their glory*. For who is there among those who do not read such passages carelessly who would not condemn those who suppose that with the eye of the flesh—which requires a great height that what lies below and adjacent may be seen—the kingdoms of the Persians and the Scythians and the Indians and the Parthians, and the way in which their kings were glorified by human beings, were seen? The careful reader will observe innumerable other passages like these in the Gospels so that he will be convinced that with the narratives of things which happened according to the letter are interwoven others, which did not occur.

4.3.2. And if we come to the legislation of Moses, many of the laws exhibit the irrationality and others the impossibility as regards the observance itself.

secundum historiam obseruanda tradebatur, iuberi ut parentes punirentur, qui filios suos non circumciderent, uel hi, qui nutriunt paruulos; nunc autem dicit scriptura: *Incircumcisus masculus*, id est *qui non fuerit circumcisus octaua die,* 310 *exterminabitur de genere suo.* Si uero etiam de inpossibilibus legibus requirendum est, inuenimus *tragelafum* dici animal, quod subsistere omnino non potest, quod inter munda animalia etiam edi iubet Moyses, et *grifum*, quem nullus umquam meminit uel audiuit humanis manibus potuisse succumbere, manducari prohibet legislator. Sed et de sabbati opinatissima obseruatione ita dicit: *Sedebitis* 315 *unusquisque in domibus uestris, nullus mouebitur de loco suo in die sabbatorum.* Quod utique inpossibile est obseruari secundum litteram; nullus enim hominum potest tota die ita sedere, ut non moueatur de eo loco, in quo sederit. De quibus singulis hi quidem, qui ex circumcisione sunt, et quicumque in scripturis sanctis nihil amplius intellegi uolunt praeterquam indicatur ex littera, haec ne 320 requirenda quidem arbitrantur de *tragelafo* et *grifo* et *uulture*, fabulas autem quasdam inanes et friuolas commentantur, ex nescio quibus traditionibus proferentes de sabbato, dicentes unicuique locum suum reputari intra duo milia ulnas. Alii uero, ex quibus est Dositheus Samaritanus, notant quidem huiuscemodi expositiones, ipsi autem ridiculosius aliquid statuunt, quia

308 circumciderunt γ   311 tragilafum A^mg   312 griphum μ : gryphum B σ   313 audiit δ   320 tragelapho σ   gripo μ : gryfo B : grypho σ   321 frigidas δ *Goe* : fribolas μ

ἕτεροι δὲ τὸ ἀδύνατον. Τὸ μὲν ἄλογον, **γῦπες** ἐσθίεσθαι ἀπαγορευόμενοι, 270 οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις λιμοῖς ἐκβιασθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον φθάσαι· καὶ **ὀκταήμερα παιδία ἀπερίτμητα ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν** κελευόμενα, δέον, εἰ ὅλως ἐχρῆν τι περὶ τούτων κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν νενομοθετῆσθαι, τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν κελεύεσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἢ τοὺς παρ᾽ οἷς τρέφονται· νῦν δέ φησιν ἡ γραφή· **ἀπερίτμητος πᾶς ἄρρην, ὃς** 275 **οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ.** Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατα νομοθετούμενα βούλεσθε ἰδεῖν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα ὅτι **τραγέλαφος** μὲν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὑποστῆναι ζῷον τυγχάνει, ὃν ὡς καθαρὸν κελεύει Μωσῆς ἡμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι· **γρὺψ** δὲ οὐχ ἱστόρηταί ποτε ὑποχείριος ἀνθρώπῳ γεγονέναι, ὃν ἀπαγορεύει ἐσθίεσθαι ὁ νομοθέτης. 280 Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διαβόητον σάββατον τῷ ἀκριβοῦντι τό· **καθήσεσθε ἕκαστος εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ὑμῶν· μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐκπορευέσθω ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ**

270 ἐπὶ : ὑπὸ B   272 τί B   273 τὸ *om.* D   274 ἄρδην B   275 ὀγδόῃ : η᾽ B   280 καθίσεσθε E

circumcise their sons be punished, or else those who were bringing up the infants; but as it is Scripture says, *The uncircumcised male*, that is, *who shall not have been circumcised, shall be cut off from his people.*[56] And if the impossibilities of the Law should be investigated, we find an animal called the *goat-stag*,[57] which cannot possibly exist, but which, along with the clean animals, Moses commands to be eaten, and a *griffin*, which no one has ever recorded or has heard of as having come into human hands, but which the lawgiver forbids to be eaten.[58] Concerning the celebrated observance of the Sabbath, he speaks thus: *You shall sit, every one in your dwellings; no one shall move from his place on the Sabbath day.*[59] It is certainly impossible for this to be observed according to the letter; for no human being can sit for the whole day so as not to move from the place in which he sat down. Regarding each one of these points, those who are of the circumcision, and whoever would have it that in the holy Scripture nothing more is to be understood than what is indicated by the letter, reckon that no inquiry need be made concerning the *goat-stag* and the *griffin* and the *vulture*, but they make up certain empty and frivolous fables, drawing from I know not what traditions about the Sabbath, claiming that each one's place is calculated as inside two thousand cubits.[60] Others, again, among whom is Dositheus the Samaritan,[61] censure expositions of this kind,

[56] Gen. 17:14. [57] Deut. 14:5. [58] Lev. 11:13; Deut. 14:12.
[59] Exod. 16:5. [60] Cf. Num. 35:5.
[61] On Dositheus, see Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 13.162; *Cels.* 1.57; 6.11; *Comm. ser. Matt.* 33; *Hom Luc.* 25.4; Ps. Clement, *Recogn.* 2.8; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 13.

Examples of the irrational are these: the prohibition to eat *vultures*,[2] as no one, not even in the direst famines, was ever driven by need to turn to this animal; and, *uncircumcised eight day old infants* are ordered *to be destroyed from their kin*, it being necessary, if what is legislated regarding them is really something [meant] according to the letter, that their fathers or those by whom they were being cared for should be ordered to be put to death. But as it is, Scripture says: *Every uncircumcised male, who shall not be circumcised on the eighth day shall be destroyed from among his kin.* And if one wishes to see the impossibilities that are legislated, let us observe that the *goat-stag*, which Moses commands us to offer as a clean offering, is an animal of the class of things that cannot exist, while a *griffin*, which is not recorded ever to have come into human hands, the lawgiver forbids to be eaten. Moreover, for one who is scrupulous, the famous [injunction about the] Sabbath—*You shall sit, every one in your dwellings; no*

[2] Cf. Lev. 11:14.

325 unusquisque quo habitu, quo loco, qua positione in die sabbati fuerit inuentus, ita usque ad uesperam debeat permanere, id est uel si sedens, ut sedeat tota die, uel si iacens, ut tota die iaceat. Sed et quod ait: *Non leuare onus in die sabbati* inpossibile mihi uidetur. Ex his enim ad fabulas infinitas, sicut sanctus apostolus dicit, Iudaeorum doctores deuoluti sunt, dicentes non reputari *onus*, si 330 calciamenta quis habeat sine clauis, *onus* uero esse, si galliculas quis cum clauis habuerit; et si quidem supra unum umerum aliquid portauerit quis, *onus* iudicant, si uero supra utrumque, negabunt esse *onus*.

4.3.3. Iam uero si etiam de euangeliis similia requiramus, quomodo non uidebitur absurdum, si secundum litteram sentiatur quod dicitur: *Neminem in* 335 *uia salutaueritis*? Hoc enim putant simpliciores quique saluatorem nostrum

330 galliculas : caligulas σ

τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι φυλαχθῆναι κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, οὐδενὸς ζῴου δυναμένου δι' ὅλης καθέζεσθαι τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀκινητεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι. Διόπερ τινὰ μὲν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς καὶ ὅσοι θέλουσι πλέον τῆς 285 λέξεως δηλοῦσθαι μηδὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ζητοῦσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ **τραγελάφου** καὶ **γρυπὸς** καὶ **γυπός**, εἴς τινα δὲ φλυαροῦσιν εὑρησιλογοῦντες, ψυχρὰς παραδόσεις φέροντες, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, φάσκοντες τόπον ἑκάστῳ εἶναι δισχιλίους πήχεις, ἄλλοι δέ, ὧν ἐστι Δοσίθεος ὁ Σαμαρεύς, καταγινώσκοντες τῆς τοιαύτης διηγήσεως οἴονται ἐπὶ τοῦ 290 σχήματος, οὗ ἂν καταληφθῇ τις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου, μένειν μέχρις ἑσπέρας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ **μὴ αἴρειν βάσταγμα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου** ἀδύνατον· διόπερ εἰς ἀπεραντολογίαν οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδάσκαλοι ἐληλύθασι, φάσκοντες **βάσταγμα** μὲν εἶναι τὸ τοιόνδε ὑπόδημα, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοιόνδε, καὶ τὸ ἥλους ἔχον σανδάλιον, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀνήλωτον, καὶ 295 τὸ οὑτωσὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου φορούμενον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ὤμων.

4.3.3. *Εἰ δὲ* καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐλθόντες τὰ ὅμοια ζητήσαιμεν, τί ἂν εἴη ἀλογώτερον τοῦ· **μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε**, ὅπερ ἐντέλλεσθαι νομίζουσιν οἱ ἀκέραιοι τὸν σωτῆρα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις; Ἀλλὰ καὶ **δεξιὰ**

282 ἑβδόμῃ : ζ' B κατὰ τὴν λέξιν φυλαχθῆναι E ζῴου *post* ζῴου *add.* E **285** μηδὲν δηλοῦσθαι D ὥσπερ : ὥστε D **286** εὑρισιλογοῦντες A : εὑρεσιλογοῦντες E D H **288** ἑκάστῳ : ἑκάστου B *Rob Koe Goe* εἶναι ἑκάστῳ D καὶ Θεοδόσιος *post* Δοσίθεος *add.* D **290** τίς *B* μέχρις : ἄχρις D **292** ἀδύνατον B *Koe Sim Goe* : ἀμήχανον *Fern* **295** οὑτωσὶ : οὕτως εἰ B *Fern* φερόμενον D

but themselves decree something even more ridiculous, that everyone, in whatever posture or place or position he is found on the Sabbath day, must remain thus until the evening; that is, if he is sitting, he should sit the whole day, or if reclining, then he should recline the whole day. Moreover, the saying, *Do not bear a burden on the Sabbath day,*[62] seems to me an impossibility. From these words, the teachers of the Jews have sunk into endless fables, as the holy Apostle says,[63] saying that it is not to be counted a *burden* if someone wears shoes without nails, but it is a *burden* if someone wears galoshes with nails; and they consider it a *burden* if someone carries something on one shoulder, but if on both, they deny it is a *burden.*

4.3.3. If we now seek for similar statements in the Gospels, how will it not appear absurd if that saying, *Salute no one on the road,*[64] is taken according to the letter? Yet the more simple folk reckon that this is what our Saviour

[62] Jer. 17:21. [63] Cf. 1 Tim. 1:4. [64] Luke 10:4.

one shall go out from his place on the seventh day—is impossible to be kept according to the letter, for no one living is able to sit for the whole day and not move from a sitting position. Therefore, those who are of the circumcision and all who desire that nothing more than the actual wording is signified, do not investigate at all such matters as *the goat-stag* and *griffin* and *vulture,* while on others they sophistically trifle with words, bringing in insipid traditions, as, for example, with regard to the Sabbath, saying each one's place is two thousand cubits, while others, among whom is Dositheus the Samaritan, condemning such an interpretation, think that in whatever position someone is found on the day of the Sabbath, he is to remain until the evening. Moreover, the commandment, *Do not bear a burden on the day of the Sabbath,* is impossible, and therefore the Jewish teachers have entered into interminable arguments, saying that a shoe of such a kind was a *burden,* but not one of another kind, and that a sandal having nails was one, but not one that was without nails, and similarly that what was borne upon one shoulder was, but not that which was carried on both.

4.3.3. If we also, coming to the Gospel, seek similar examples, what could be more irrational than this, *Salute no one on the road,* which simple people think the Saviour enjoined on the apostles? But speaking of *the right cheek being*

apostolis praecepisse. Sed et illud quomodo possibile uidebitur obseruari, in his praecipue locis, ubi acerrima hiems gelidis exasperatur pruinis, ut neque duas tunicas neque calciamenta habere quis debeat? Sed et illud, quod dexteram quis maxillam percussus praebere etiam sinistram iubetur, cum omnis, qui percutit
340 dextera manu, sinistram percutiat maxillam? Sed et illud de inpossibilibus habendum est, quod in euangelio scriptum est, ut *Si oculus dexter scandalizauerit, eruatur*; quia etiamsi ponamus quod de oculis carnalibus dictum est, quomodo consequens uidebitur ut, oculo utroque cernente, ad unum scandali culpa, et hoc ad dexterum referatur? Aut quis extra maximum crimen habebitur, ipse sibi
345 inferens manus? Sed fortassis extra haec uidebuntur esse litterae apostoli Pauli. Et quid est quod dicit: *Circumcisus aliquis uocatus est? non adducat praeputium.* Quod primo quidem si qui diligentius consideret, non uidetur ad ea dictum, quae ei proposita in manibus habebantur; sermo namque ei erat de nuptiis et castitate praecipiens, et uidebuntur utique haec in tali causa superfluo memorata;
350 secundo uero quid obesset, si obscenitatis uitandae causa eius, quae ex circumcisione est, posset aliquis reuocare praeputium? tertio, quod certe fieri id omni genere inpossibile est.

337 gelicidiis exaspera G M^{ac} : gelicidiis exasperata M^{pc} σ   341 ut : quod δ : et B   te *post* scandalizauerit *add. Del*   342 quia : qui A^{ac} W : quin A^{pc2} 347 qui : quidem A

σιαγὼν τύπτεσθαι λεγομένη ἀπιθανωτάτη ἐστί, παντὸς τοῦ τύπτοντος,
300 εἰ μὴ ἄρα πεπονθώς τι παρὰ φύσιν τυγχάνει, τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τύπτοντος τὴν ἀριστερὰν σιαγόνα. Ἀδύνατον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐστὶ λαβεῖν **ὀφθαλμὸν δεξιὸν σκανδαλίζοντα**· ἵνα γὰρ χαρισώμεθα τὸ δύνασθαι ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν **σκανδαλίζεσθαί** τινα, πῶς τῶν δύο ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρώντων τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνενεκτέον ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιόν; Τίς δὲ καὶ καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ
305 ἑωρακέναι **γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι**, ἀναφέρων τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ μόνον τὸν **δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμόν**, εὐλόγως ἂν τοῦτον **ἀποβάλοι**; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος νομοθετεῖ λέγων· **περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη; Μὴ ἐπισπάσθω.** Πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος ὄψεται ὅτι παρὰ τὴν προκειμένην αὐτῷ ὁμιλίαν ταῦτά φησι· πῶς γὰρ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἁγνείας νομοθετῶν οὐ δόξει ταῦτα εἰκῇ
310 παρεμβεβληκέναι; Δεύτερον δὲ τίς ἐρεῖ ἀδικεῖν τόν, εἰ δυνατόν, διὰ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς νομιζομένην ἀσχημοσύνην ἐπὶ τῷ περιτετμῆσθαι, ἐπιδιδόντα ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἐπισπάσασθαι;

300 τι : τις D   τυγχάνοι A ζ   301 ἀδύνατον : ἃ δύνατον B   λαβεῖν : ἐκβαλεῖν D   302 δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν E   304 καὶ *om.* D   306 ἀποβάλλοι D   311 ἐπισπάσασθαι *post* περιτετμῆσθαι *add.* B   312 τῷ : τὸ B A *Fern*

prescribed for the apostles. How also can it appear possible for that order to be observed that one should not possess two coats nor shoes, especially in those countries where the winter bitterness is exacerbated by icy frost?[65] And also this, that when one is struck on the right cheek, he is ordered to present the left as well,[66] since everyone who strikes with the right hand will strike the left [cheek]? But this precept also, which is written in the Gospel, must be counted among the impossibilities, that *If the right eye offend you, let it be plucked out*;[67] since, even if we were to suppose that this was spoken of eyes of flesh, how will it seem appropriate that, when both eyes see, the blame of the offence should be attributed to one [only], and that the right one? Or who will be held free of the greatest crime, that of laying hands upon oneself? But perhaps the epistles of the Apostle Paul will seem free of these things? Yet this is what he says: *Was anyone circumcised when he was called? Let him not draw forward the foreskin.*[68] This expression, in the first place, if one considers it carefully, does not seem to be said with reference to the subjects that he had in hand, for his discourse provided precepts regarding marriage and chastity, and in such a context mention of this would certainly seem to be superfluous. In the second place, what harm is done if, for the sake of avoiding that indecency, which comes from circumcision, someone were able to draw forward the foreskin? In third place, it is certain that that is in every way impossible.

[65] Cf. Matt. 10:10. [66] Cf. Matt. 5:39.
[67] Matt. 5:29; 18:9. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.2. [68] 1 Cor. 7:18.

struck is most incredible, since everyone who strikes, unless he suffers from some unnatural defect, strikes the left cheek with his right hand. And it is impossible to accept [the precept] from the Gospel about *the right eye that offends*, for, while we grant the possibility of someone *being offended* by the faculty of sight, how, when there are two eyes that see, should the blame be laid upon the right eye? And who, condemning himself for having looked *at a woman to lust [after her]*, and attributing the blame to the *right eye* alone, would rationally *throw it away*? The Apostle, moreover, legislates, saying, *Was anyone circumcised when he was called? Let him not draw forward the foreskin.* In the first place, anyone who wishes can see that he says these things apart from the discussion set before him; for how, when legislating about marriage and purity, will it not appear that they have been introduced at random? And, second, who will say that a man does wrong who attempts to pull forward the foreskin, if it is possible, in view of the disgrace that is considered by many to attach to circumcision?

4.3.4. Haec autem omnia nobis dicta sunt, ut ostendamus quia hic prospectus est spiritus sancti, qui nobis scripturas diuinas donare dignatus est, non ut ex sola
355 littera uel in omnibus ex ea aedificari possimus, quam frequenter inpossibilem nec sufficientem sibi adesse depraehendimus, id est per quam interdum non solum inrationabilia, uerum etiam inpossibilia designantur: sed ut intellegamus contexta esse quaedam huic uisibili historiae, quae interius considerata et intellecta utilem hominibus et deo dignam proferunt legem. Ne qui autem
360 suspicetur nos hoc dicere, quia nullam historiam scripturae factam esse sentiamus, quoniam aliqua ex his non esse facta suspicamur, uel nulla praecepta legis secundum litteram stare, quoniam quaedam secundum litteram dicimus obseruari non posse, in quibus uel ratio uel rei possibilitas non admittit, uel ea, quae de saluatore scripta sunt, non putare etiam sensibiliter impleta, uel praecepta
365 eius secundum litteram non debere seruari: respondendum ergo est quoniam euidenter a nobis decernitur in quam plurimis seruari et posse et oportere historiae ueritatem. Quis enim negare potest quod Abraham in duplici spelunca

354 diuinitas A[ac] : diuinitus A[pc2] 355 in : ex *δ* 359 *ante* ne qui *add. titulum:* quod licet allegoriae recipiendae sint in scripturis diuinis tamen etiam historiae rationem constare in quam plurimis confitendum nec turbari posse spiritalem sensum ubi littera consequentiam suam seruat B qui : quis *Pa* 366 et posse et *om. Pa* 367 potest : possit *Pa*

4.3.4. *Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν πάντα εἴρηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖξαι ὅτι σκοπὸς τῇ δωρουμένῃ ἡμῖν θείᾳ δυνάμει τὰς ἱερὰς γραφάς ἐστιν οὐχὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς*
315 *λέξεως παριστάμενα μόνα ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἐνίοτε τούτων ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ῥητῷ οὐκ ἀληθῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀδυνάτων τυγχανόντων, καὶ ὅτι προσύφανταί τινα τῇ γενομένῃ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν χρησίμῳ νομοθεσίᾳ. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ὑπολάβῃ τις ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάντων τοῦτο λέγειν, ὅτι οὐδεμία ἱστορία γέγονεν, ἐπεί τις οὐ γέγονε, καὶ οὐδεμία*
320 *νομοθεσία κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν τηρητέα ἐστίν, ἐπεί τις κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἄλογος τυγχάνει ἢ ἀδύνατος, ἢ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος γεγραμμένα κατὰ τὸ αἰσθητὸν οὐκ ἀληθεύεται, ἢ ὅτι οὐδεμίαν νομοθεσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐντολὴν φυλακτέον· λεκτέον ὅτι σαφῶς ἡμῖν παρίσταται περί τινων τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας εἶναι ἀληθές, ὡς ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἐν τῷ διπλῷ σπηλαίῳ ἐτάφη ἐν*
325 *Χεβρὼν καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ ἑκάστου τούτων μία γυνή, καὶ ὅτι Σίκιμα μερὶς δέδοται τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐν ᾗ ᾠκοδόμητο ὑπὸ Σολομῶντος ναὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία. Πολλῷ γὰρ πλείονά ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθευόμενα τῶν προσυφανθέντων γυμνῶν πνευματικῶν. Πάλιν τε αὖ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι*

315 *ἐνίοτε* : *εἴποτε* B 318 *χρησίμων* E *ὑπολάβοι* D 321 *περὶ* : *παρὰ* E 322 *ἀληθεύεσθαι* A *ἐντολὰς* D 323 *ὅτι σαφῶς ἡμῖν λεκτέον* D 324 *ὡς* *om.* B *σπιλαίῳ* A 325 *γυνή* : *γῇ* B 326 *ἐστὶν* B 329 *τε* : *δὲ* D

4.3.4. All these things have been mentioned by us that we might show that the aim of the Holy Spirit, who deigned to bestow upon us the divine Scriptures, is not that we would be able to be edified by the letter alone or by it in every case—which we know to be frequently impossible and not itself sufficient; that is, not only irrational things but even impossible ones are occasionally described by it—but that we might understand that certain things were interwoven in this visible narrative which, when considered and understood in their inner meaning, provide a law beneficial to human beings and worthy of God. But that no one should suspect us of saying that, because we suspect that some of the scriptural history did not happen, we think that none of it happened, or that, because we have said that some of the precepts of the Law cannot be observed according to the letter in those cases in which either reason or the possibility of the case does not permit this, then none of them stand according to the letter, or that those things which were written of the Saviour are not even to be thought of as having been accomplished perceptibly, or that his precepts ought not to be obeyed according to the letter—it must be answered, therefore, that we are clearly resolved that the truth of history can and ought to be preserved in the majority of cases. For who can deny that Abraham was buried in the double cave at Hebron, together with Isaac and

4.3.4. We have mentioned all these instances in order to show that the aim of that divine power which bestowed on us the sacred Scriptures is that we should not accept what is presented by the letter alone, such things sometimes being not true with regard to the letter but actually irrational and impossible, and that certain things are interwoven with the narratives of things that happened and with the legislation that is useful according to the letter. But that no one may suppose that we assert that, with respect to it all, none of the narratives actually happened, because a certain part did not, and that none of the legislation is to be observed according to the letter, because a certain part is irrational or impossible according to the letter, or that what is written about the Saviour is not true on the perceptible level, or that no legislation of his or commandment is to be kept, it must be said that regarding certain things it is perfectly clear to us that the [detail] of the narrative is true, as that Abraham was buried in the double cave in Hebron, and also Isaac and Jacob, and the wives of each of them, and that Shechem was given as a portion to Joseph, and that Jerusalem is the metropolis of Judea, in which the temple of God was built by Solomon, and innumerable other statements. For the passages that are true on the level of the narrative are much more numerous than those which are woven with a purely spiritual meaning. And again, who would not say that the

sepultus est in Chebron, sed et Isaac et Iacob et singulae eorum uxores? uel quis dubitat quod Sicima in portionem data est Ioseph? uel quod Hierusalem
370 metropolis est Iudaeae, in qua constructum est templum dei a Salomone? et alia innumerabilia. Multo enim plura sunt, quae secundum historiam constant, quam ea, quae nudum sensum continent spiritalem. Tum deinde quis non adfirmet mandatum hoc, quod praecipit: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem, ut bene sit tibi*, etiam sine ulla spiritali interpraetatione sufficere et esse obseruanti-
375 bus necessarium? maxime cum et Paulus eisdem uerbis repetens confirmauerit ipsum mandatum. Quid uero oportet dicere de eo, quod dictum est: *Non adulterabis, non occides neque furtum facies, non falsum testimonium dices* et cetera huiusmodi? Iam uero de his, quae in euangelio mandata sunt, ne dubitari quidem potest quin secundum litteram perplurima obseruanda sint, sicut cum
380 dicit: *Ego autem dico uobis non iurare omnino* et cum ait: *Qui autem inspexerit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatus est eam in corde suo* et apud Paulum apostolum quae praecipiuntur: *Commonete inquietos, consolamini pusillanimos, sustinete infirmos, patientes estote ad omnes* et alia quam plurima.

368 hebron A^pc B^pc M^pc *Pa* 369 sichima σ *Pa* portione δ 371 constant : uera sunt *Pa* 373 praecepit δ B *Pa* 374 etiam *om. Pa* 379 perplurima : quamplurima M : *om. Pa* obseruanda sint : obseruentur *Pa* 380 *post* dicit *lacunam signauit Koe (Mat 5:22) quem Sim non admisit* 381 concupiscendam δ 382 quae : quaeque δ 383 pussillanimos A : pusillianimos G M^pc : pusillanimes B Ab *Pa*

330 τὴν λέγουσαν ἐντολήν· **τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἵνα εὖ γένηταί σοι**, χωρὶς πάσης ἀναγωγῆς χρησίμην τυγχάνειν καὶ τηρητέαν γε, καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου χρησαμένου αὐτῇ αὐτολεξεί; Τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ· **οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις;** Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐντολαί εἰσι γεγραμμέναι οὐ ζητούμεναι,
335 πότερον αὐτὰς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν τηρητέον ἢ οὔ, ὡς ἡ φάσκουσα· **ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν ὀργισθῇ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ** καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, καί· **ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως**. Καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ τὸ ῥητὸν τηρητέον· **νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας**, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
340 φιλοτιμοτέροις δύναται σῴζειν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, μετὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐντολήν, **βάθη σοφίας θεοῦ**.

330–1 *σοι γένηταί* E 332 *αὐτῇ* : *ταύτῇ* E *αὐτολεξί* B 333 *οὐ φονεύσεις om.* D *οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ μοιχεύσεις* B *Koe Sim Goe* : *οὐ μοιχεύσεις οὐ φονεύσεις Fern* 337 *ὀμόσαι* : *ὀμῶσαι* A 339 *ἀσθενῶν* : *ἀσθενούντων* E

Jacob and each of their wives?[69] Or who doubts that Shechem was in the portion given to Joseph?[70] Or that Jerusalem is the chief city of Judea, in which the temple of God was built by Solomon, and countless other things? For there are many more passages which stand firm according to history than those which contain a purely spiritual sense. Then again, who would not affirm that the commandment that was prescribed, *Honour your father and mother, that it may be well with you*,[71] is sufficient even without any spiritual meaning and its observance necessary, especially when Paul has also confirmed the command by repeating it in the same words?[72] And what ought to be said concerning the saying, *You shall not commit adultery, you shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness*, and others of this kind?[73] Now with respect to those things commanded in the Gospels, there can be no doubt that very many of them are to be observed according to the letter, as when he says, *But I say to you, do not swear at all*,[74] and also when he says, *Whoever looks upon a woman to lust after her, has already committed adultery in his heart*,[75] and those things enjoined by Paul, *admonish the unruly, encourage the fainthearted, support the weak, be patient towards all*,[76] and very many others.

[69] Cf. Gen. 23:2, 9, 19; 25:9–10; 49:29–32; 50:13. [70] Cf. Gen. 48:22; Josh. 24:32.
[71] Exod. 20:12. [72] Cf. Eph. 6:2–3. [73] Exod. 20:13–15.
[74] Matt. 5:34. [75] Matt. 5:28. [76] 1 Thess. 5:14.

command which says, *Honour your father and mother, that it may be well with you*, is useful apart from any higher reference and ought to be observed, the Apostle Paul also having quoted these very same words? And what need is there to mention the following: *You shall not kill, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness*? And again, there are commandments written in the Gospel that need no inquiry whether they are to be observed according to the letter or not, such as that which says, *But I say to you, whosoever is angry with his brother* and the rest;[3] and, *But I say to you, do not swear at all*. And the word from the Apostle must be kept: *Admonish the unruly, encourage the fainthearted, support the weak, be patient to all*, even if it is possible for the more ambitious to preserve each one of them, without setting aside the commandment according to the letter, [as] *the depths of the wisdom of God*.[4]

[3] Matt. 5:22. [4] Cf. Rom. 11:33; 1 Cor. 2:10.

4.3.5. Verumtamen si qui adtentius legat, non dubito quod in quam plurimis dubitabit, utrum illa uel illa historia putetur uera esse secundum litteram an minus uera, et illud uel illud praeceptum utrum secundum litteram obseruandum sit necne. Propter quod multo studio et labore nitendum est, quatenus unusquisque legentium cum omni reuerentia intellegat se diuina et non humana uerba tractare, quae sanctis libris inserta sunt. Nos ergo quam uidemus in scripturis sanctis digne et consequenter obseruari debere intellegentiam, huiusmodi esse arbitramur.

4.3.5. Ὁ μέντοι γε ἀκριβὴς ἐπί τινων περιελκυσθήσεται, χωρὶς πολλῆς βασάνου μὴ δυνάμενος ἀποφήνασθαι, πότερον ἥδε ἡ νομιζομένη ἱστορία γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἢ οὔ, καὶ τῆσδε τῆς νομοθεσίας τὸ ῥητὸν τηρητέον ἢ οὔ. Διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀκριβῶς τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τηροῦντα τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πρόσταγμα τὸ λέγον· **ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς** ἐπιμελῶς βασανίζειν, πῇ τὸ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ πῇ ἀδύνατον, καὶ ὅση δύναμις ἐξιχνεύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φωνῶν τὸν πανταχοῦ διεσπαρμένον τῆς γραφῆς νοῦν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀδυνάτου. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὡς σαφὲς ἔσται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀδύνατος μὲν ὁ ὡς πρὸς τὸ ῥητὸν εἱρμός, οὐκ ἀδύνατος δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθὴς ὁ προηγούμενος, ὅλον τὸν νοῦν φιλοτιμητέον καταλαμβάνειν, συνείροντα τὸν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἀδυνάτων λόγον νοητῶς τοῖς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀδυνάτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθέσι κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, συναλληγορουμένοις τοῖς ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ λέξει μὴ γεγενημένοις. Διακείμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς περὶ πάσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν ἔχει τὸ πνευματικόν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ τὸ σωματικόν· πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐλέγχεται ἀδύνατον ὂν τὸ σωματικόν. Διόπερ πολλὴν προσοχὴν συνεισακτέον τῷ εὐλαβῶς ἐντυγχάνοντι ὡς θείοις γράμμασι ταῖς θείαις βίβλοις, ὧν ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς νοήσεως τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν φαίνεται.

342 γε *om.* D 344 γέγονεν B 349 τὴν *om.* D 351 φιλότιμη E καταλαβεῖν B 352 τῶν : τὴν E λόγων B D[ac] 353 οὐκ *om.* B D ζ 358 θείοις E

4.3.5. Nevertheless if someone reads attentively I have no doubt that in very many cases he will be uncertain whether this or that narrative can be held to be true according to the letter or not true, and whether this or that precept ought to be observed according to the letter or not.[77] Because of this, great effort and labour are to be exercised, so that each reader may with all reverence understand that he is dealing with divine, and not human, words that are placed in the holy books. As we see it, therefore, the way of understanding the holy Scriptures which ought, rightly and consistently, to be observed, is believed by us to be of this kind.

[77] The Latin text omits a sizeable passage at this point (corresponding to 'Therefore one who reads ... to be impossible' in the *Philocalia* text); an omission which has received various assessment (Butterworth, p. 296, n.2, suggesting 'probably because he [Rufinus] could not understand it'). However, as Simonetti and Crouzel (SC 269, p. 204, n.30–30a) point out, the first words in Greek of the omitted passage are διὰ τοῦτο, and the first word of the text where the Latin resumes is διόπερ, the latter being translated *propter quod*, which is also the natural translation for the former. As such, it is most likely that Rufinus did indeed translate the passage, but that it was subsequently dropped by scribes due to the dittography.

4.3.5. Nevertheless, the precise reader will be torn regarding certain points, being unable to show without lengthy investigation whether the supposed narrative happened according to the letter or not, and whether the letter of the legislation is to be observed or not. Therefore one who reads in an exact manner must, observing the Saviour's injunction which says *Search the Scriptures*,[5] carefully ascertain where the meaning according to the letter is true and where it is impossible, and as far as possible trace out, by means of similar expressions, the sense, scattered throughout Scripture, of that which is impossible according to the letter. When, then, as will be clear to those who read, the connection taken according to the letter is impossible, yet the principal [sense] is not impossible but even true, one must endeavour to grasp the whole sense, which spiritually connects the account of things impossible according to the letter to things not only not impossible but even true according to the narrative, with as many things as did not happen according to the letter being taken allegorically. For our position is that with respect to the whole of the divine Scripture all of it has a spiritual meaning, but not all of it has a bodily meaning, for there are many places where the bodily is proved to be impossible. And therefore great attention must be given by the careful reader to the divine books, as being divine writings; the manner of understanding of which seems to us to be such as follows:

[5] John 5:39.

4.3.6. Gentem quandam praedicant super terras diuinae litterae electam esse a deo, quam gentem plurimis nominibus appellarunt: interdum enim uniuersa haec gens Israhel dicitur, interdum Iacob, et maxime cum diuisa gens ipsa a
395 Hieroboam filio Nabath in duas partes est, et decem tribus, quae sub eo factae sunt, Israhel appellatae sunt, aliae uero duae, cum quibus erat etiam Leuitica tribus et ea, quae ex Dauid regio genere descendebat, Iudas nominata est; uniuersa autem loca ipsa, quae habebat gens ista, quae a deo acceperat, Iudaea dicebantur, in qua metropolis erat Hierusalem, metropolis autem quasi
400 plurimarum urbium mater quaedam dicitur; quarum urbium nomina et aliis

394 cum *om.* *γ* 395 hieroboam : roboam G[pc] *σ* : roboan *δ* : raboam M nabath : nabad M Ab : nadab G S : naue *δ*

360 **4.3.6.** *Ἔθνος τι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ λόγοι ἐξειλέχθαι τὸν θεόν, ὃ καλοῦσιν ὀνόμασι πλείοσι. Καλεῖται γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος Ἰσραήλ, λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ὅτε δὲ διῄρητο κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἱεροβοὰμ υἱοῦ Νάβατ, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτῳ λεγόμεναι φυλαὶ δέκα ὠνομάσθησαν Ἰσραήλ, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δύο καὶ ἡ Λευιτική, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ σπέρματος τοῦ Δαυεὶδ*
365 *βασιλευόμεναι, Ἰούδας. Ὁ δὲ σύμπας τόπος, ὅντινα ᾤκουν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, δεδομένος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καλεῖται Ἰουδαία, ἧς μητρόπολις Ἱερουσαλήμ, μητρόπολις δηλονότι πλειόνων πόλεων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα πολλαχοῦ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοθι διεσπαρμένως κεῖται, ὑφ' ἓν δὲ κατειλεγμέναι εἰσὶν ἐν Ἰησοῦ τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ. Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὑψῶν τὸ διανοητικὸν*
370 *ἡμῶν ὁ ἀπόστολός φησί που·* ***βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα,*** *ὡς ὄντος τινὸς Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πνεῦμα. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει·* ***οὐ γὰρ τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐδὲ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ οὗτοι Ἰσραήλ.*** *Ἀλλ'* ***οὐδὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή· ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ***
375 ***γράμματι.*** *Εἰ γὰρ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ Ἰουδαίου* ***ἐκ τοῦ κρυπτοῦ*** *λαμβάνεται, νοητέον ὅτι, ὥσπερ Ἰουδαίων σωματικῶν ἐστι γένος, οὕτω τῶν* ***ἐν κρυπτῷ*** *Ἰουδαίων ἐστί τι ἔθνος, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν εὐγένειαν ταύτην κατά τινας λόγους ἀπορρήτους κεκτημένης. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλαὶ προφητεῖαι περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα προφητεύουσι, διηγούμεναι τὰ ἐσόμενα αὐτοῖς. Καὶ οὐ δήπου αἱ*
380 *τοσαῦται τούτοις γεγραμμέναι ἐπαγγελίαι, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ λέξει ταπειναὶ τυγχάνουσαι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνάστημα παριστᾶσαι καὶ ἀξίωμα ἐπαγγελίας θεοῦ, οὐχὶ ἀναγωγῆς μυστικῆς δέονται; Εἰ δὲ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι νοηταί εἰσι δι' αἰσθητῶν ἀπαγγελλόμεναι, καὶ οἷς αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, οὐ σωματικοί.*

360 *ἐπὶ γῆς* om. D *ἐξηλλέγχθαι* A **362** *διῄρηται* B *Rob Fern* **363** *Ναβάτ* B **364** *τοῦ om.* D **369** *Ναυή* B **370** *που* : *τοῦ* E **370–1** *Ἰσραὴλ ... τινὸς* *om* B **376** *σωματικόν ζ Rob* **377** *τι* : *τὸ* E **380–2** *ἐπαγγελίαι ... εἰ δὲ αἱ* *om.* B **380** *ἐπαγγελείαι* A **381** *τυγχάνουσι* D **382** *αἱ* *om.* D **383** *ἀπαγγελλόμεναι* : *ἐπαγγελόμεναι* B : *ἐπαγγελλόμεναι Rob*

4.3.6. The divine writings declare that a certain nation on earth was chosen by God, which they call by several names: for sometimes the nation as a whole is called Israel, and sometimes Jacob, and, in particular, when the nation was divided into two parts by Jeroboam son of Nebat,[78] and the ten tribes, which were formed under him, were called Israel, and the other two, with which were included the tribe of Levi and the one which was descended from the royal race of David, was called Judah. The entire country, which was inhabited by this race, which it had received from God, was called Judea, in which the metropolis was Jerusalem; and it is called 'metropolis' as being a kind of mother of many cities, the names of which cities you will find frequently mentioned

[78] Cf. 3 Rgns 12.

4.3.6. The accounts relate that God chose a certain nation upon the earth, which they call by many names. For the nation as a whole is called Israel, and is also spoken of as Jacob. When it was divided in the times of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the ten tribes said to be subject to him were named Israel, the remaining two together with the tribe of Levi, being ruled over by those of the seed of David, were named Judah. And the entire country which those of this nation inhabited, being given to them by God, is called Judah, the metropolis of which is Jerusalem, as, clearly, the 'mother-city' of many cities, the names of which lie scattered about in many places elsewhere, but are listed together in the book of Jesus the son of Nave.[6] Such, then, being the case, the Apostle, elevating our power of discernment, says somewhere, *Behold, Israel according to the flesh,* as if there is an Israel according to the spirit. And in another place he says, *For it is not the children of the flesh that are the children of God, for not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel.*[7] And, *Neither is he a Jew who is one in the open, nor is that circumcision which is in the open, in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one in secret, and circumcision is of the heart, in spirit not in letter.*[8] For if the determination of being a Jew depends upon what is *in secret,* it must be understood that, just as there is a race of bodily Jews, so also there is a race of those who are Jews *in secret,* the soul having acquired this nobility according to certain ineffable reasons. There are, moreover, many prophecies that make predictions concerning Israel and Judah, describing things that are going to befall them. And, indeed, do not such great promises written about on their behalf, inasmuch as they are impoverished in language and offer nothing elevated and worthy of a promise of God, need a mystical interpretation? If, then, the promises are spiritual, announced through things perceptible, those also to whom the promises are made are not bodily.

[6] Cf. Joshua 13–21. [7] Rom. 9:8, 6. [8] Rom. 2:28–9.

quidem diuinis libris sparsim frequenter inuenies nominata, simul autem in unum contexta continentur in libro Iesu Naue. Cum ergo haec ita se habeant, eleuare quodammodo ex terra et erigere intellegentiam nostram sanctus apostolus uolens ait in quodam loco: *Videte Israhel secundum carnem.* Per
405 quod significat utique quod sit et alius Israhel, qui non sit secundum carnem sed secundum spiritum. Et iterum in alio loco dicit: *Non enim omnes, qui ex Israhel, hi sunt Israhel.*

405 sit *post* israhel *trans.* γ 407 sunt hi israhelitae M : sunt hisrahelitae G : sunt sunt israehelitae σ

4.3.7. *Καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐπιδιατρίβωμεν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ* **ἐν κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαίου**
385 *καὶ τῷ περὶ* **τοῦ ἔσω ἀνθρώπου** *Ἰσραηλίτου, καὶ τούτων αὐτάρκων ὄντων τοῖς μὴ ἀκέντροις, ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανερχόμεθα καί φαμεν τὸν Ἰακὼβ πατέρα εἶναι τῶν δώδεκα πατριαρχῶν, κἀκείνους τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ ἔτι ἐκείνους τῶν ἑξῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν. Ἆρ' οὖν οἱ μὲν σωματικοὶ Ἰσραηλῖται τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς δημάρχους, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι*
390 *πρὸς τοὺς πατριάρχας, οἱ δὲ πατριάρχαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰακὼβ καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἀνωτέρω· οἱ δὲ νοητοὶ Ἰσραηλῖται, ὧν τύπος ἦσαν οἱ σωματικοί, οὐχὶ ἐκ δήμων εἰσί, τῶν δήμων ἐκ φυλῶν ἐληλυθότων, καὶ τῶν φυλῶν ἀπὸ ἑνός τινος, γένεσιν οὐ τοιαύτην σωματικὴν ἔχοντος ἀλλὰ τὴν κρείττονα, γεγενημένου κἀκείνου ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καταβεβηκότος κἀκείνου ἐκ τοῦ*
395 *Ἀβραάμ, πάντων ἀναγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, ὃν ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶναί φησι τὸν Χριστόν; Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀρχὴ πατριῶν τῶν ὡς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν*

384 *λόγῳ τῷ* : *λόγῳ τοῦ* A : *λόγῳ* B D 386 *ἐπανερχώμεθα* A D 387 *δώδεκα* : *ιβ'* B 388 *ἆρα* B 396 *θεὸν om.* B

here and there in the other divine books, but which are gathered together in a single catalogue in the book of Jesus the son of Nave.[79] These things, therefore, being so, the holy Apostle, desiring somehow to elevate and raise our understanding above the earth, says in a certain place, *Behold, Israel according to the flesh.*[80] By this he certainly indicates that there is another Israel, which is not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. And again, in another passage, he says, *For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel.*[81]

[79] Cf. Joshua 13–21. In the Greek of the LXX 'Joshua' is 'Jesus'.

[80] 1 Cor. 10:18.

[81] Rom. 9:6. From this point to the end of *Princ.* 4.3.8, the Latin text omits a great deal that has been preserved in the *Philocalia*. Although various suggestions have been made for why Rufinus would omit this passage, such as that Rufinus thought it unnecessary or repetitive, shocking, or did not understand it, none of them are really convincing: it is not more daring in its exegesis than other passages of the work and it does indeed contain ideas (such as the relation between Adam and Christ, Eve and Mary) that are not found elsewhere in this work, nor are they unorthodox. Neither can it be the result of dittography, as with the omitted passage in *Princ.* 4.3.5. Simonetti and Crouzel (SC 269, pp. 208–9, n.36–36a) conclude that the only plausible hypothesis is that a leaf of the ms with which Rufinus was working had already dropped out before reaching him, and that he then adapts the first sentence of *Princ.* 4.3.8 to tie it back to the quotation with which his ms had concluded *Princ.* 4.3.6.

4.3.7. And, so that we do not linger on the topic of the *Jew who is one in secret* and that of *the inner human being*,[9] the Israelite, this being sufficient for those not lacking acumen, we return to our subject and say that Jacob was the father of the twelve patriarchs, and they of the rulers of the people, and these again of the rest of the Israelites. So, then, the bodily Israelites have reference to the rulers of the people, and the rulers of the people to the patriarchs, and the patriarchs to Jacob and those still higher up; the spiritual Israelites, on the other hand, of whom the bodily were a type, are they not from the clans, the clans having come from the tribes, and the tribes from some one individual having a birth not of a bodily kind but of the better kind,[10] he too being born from Isaac, and he being descended from Abraham, all referring back up to Adam, whom the Apostle says is Christ?[11] For the beginning of every lineage as [referring] to the God of all

[9] Cf. Rom. 7:22; 2 Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16.

[10] Alluding clearly to Jacob, whose birth is described in Gen. 25:21–6; see also Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 12. On the two names, Jacob and Israel, see Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 15.4; *Hom. Num.* 15.2–4; 16.5–7; 17.3–4; 18.4. 'Jacob represents those who are perfect in their deeds and works, while Israel stands for those who are zealous in their pursuit of wisdom and knowledge' (*Hom. Num.* 17.4).

[11] Origen makes a similar assertion in *Comm. Jo.* 1.108: 'And perhaps for this reason, he is not only the *firstborn of all creation* [Col. 1:15], but also Adam, [which] means "human being". And because he is Adam, Paul says, *The last Adam has become a life-giving spirit*' [1 Cor. 15:45]'. See also *Cels.* 4.40. Perhaps in the background of *Princ.* 4.3.7, is the contrast between the genealogies of Matthew (1:1–17), where 'the genesis of Jesus' (Matt. 1:1, 18) is described in a descending line from Abraham, and that of Luke (3:23–38), which traces the genealogy backwards or upwards to Adam the son of God; the first genealogy describes the descent of Israel according to the flesh, the second the descent (or ascent) of the spiritual Israel.

4.3.8. Edocti igitur ab eo quia sit alius Israhel secundum carnem, et alius secundum spiritum, cum dicit saluator quia *Non sum missus nisi ad oues perditas*
410 *domus Israhel*, non ita accipimus sicut hi, qui terrena sapiunt, id est Hebionitae, qui etiam ipso nomine pauperes appellantur (Hebion namque pauper apud Hebraeos interpraetatur), sed intellegimus genus esse animarum, quae Israhel nominantur, secundum quod et nominis ipsius designat interpraetatio: Israhel namque mens uidens deum uel homo uidens deum interpraetatur. Rursum apos-
415 tolus de Hierusalem talia quaedam reuelat, quia *Quae sursum est Hierusalem libera est, quae est mater nostra*. Et in alia epistula sua dicit: *Sed accessistis ad Sion montem et ciuitatem dei uiuentis, Hierusalem caelestem et multitudinem angelorum conlaudantium et ecclesiam primitiuorum quae adscripta est in caelis*. Si ergo sunt quaedam animae in hoc mundo, quae Israhel appellantur, et in

413 nominantur : appellantur σ   414 rursus γ

κατωτέρω ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἤρξατο τοῦ μετὰ τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν καὶ πατέρα οὕτω πατρὸς ὄντος πάσης ψυχῆς, ὡς ὁ Ἀδὰμ πατήρ ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ Εὔα ἐπιτέτευκται τῷ Παύλῳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
400 *ἀναγομένη, οὐ θαυμαστόν, τοῦ Κάιν ἐκ τῆς Εὔας γεγενημένου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑξῆς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Εὔαν, ἐκτυπώματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνειν, πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προηγουμένῳ λόγῳ γεγενημένων.*

4.3.8. *Εἰ δὴ πληκτικά ἐστι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν δήμων*
405 *αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα, ἐπὰν φάσκῃ ὁ σωτήρ·* ***οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ****, οὐκ ἐκλαμβάνομεν ταῦτα ὡς οἱ πτωχοὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ Ἐβιωναῖοι, τῆς πτωχῆς διανοίας ἐπώνυμοι (ἐβίων γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται), ὥστε ὑπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς σαρκίνους Ἰσραηλίτας προηγουμένως τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιδεδημηκέναι.* ***Οὐ γὰρ τὰ τέκνα***
410 ***τῆς σαρκὸς ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ****. Πάλιν ὁ ἀπόστολος περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοιαῦτά τινα διδάσκει, ὅτι* ***ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ ἡμῶν****. Καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐπιστολῇ·* ***ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε Σιὼν ὄρει καὶ πόλει θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ, καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς****. Εἰ*
415 *τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἐν ψυχῶν γένει ὁ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ τις πόλις Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀκολουθεῖ τὰς πόλεις Ἰσραὴλ μητροπόλει χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐν οὐρανοῖς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*

398 *τῶν om.* D ζ   **399** *παύλῳ : ἀποστόλῳ* D ζ   **401** *ἐκτυπώματα* A ζ *Rob Koe Sim* : *ἐπτώματα* B D *Goe Fern*   **404** *δὴ : δὲ* A D ζ *Goe*   **405** *ἡμῖν om.* A   *εἰρημένα ἡμῖν* D   **407** *ἐβιναῖοι* D   *πτωχῆς : πτωχείας τῆς* A D ζ *Goe*   *ἐβίω* B H
411 *τοιαῦτά … Ἱερουσαλὴμ om.* A   **414** *καὶ om.* A D ζ   **416** *χρήσασθαι* D

4.3.8. Being, therefore, taught by him that there is one Israel according to the flesh, and another according to the Spirit, when the Saviour says that *I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,*[82] we do not take these words as do those who savour earthly things, that is, the Ebionites, who even by their very name are called 'poor' (for 'Ebion' means 'poor' in Hebrew),[83] but we understand that there is a race of souls, which is named 'Israel', as is indicated by the interpretation of the name itself:[84] for 'Israel' is interpreted as 'the intellect seeing God' or 'the human being seeing God'. The Apostle, again, reveals things such as this about Jerusalem, that the *Jerusalem which is above is free, she is our mother.*[85] And in another of his epistles he says, *But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to a multitude of angels praising together and to the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in the heavens.*[86] If, then, there are certain souls in this world who

[82] Matt. 15:24.

[83] On the 'Ebionites' see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.26.2; 4.33.4; Tertullian, *Carn. Chr.* 14.5; 18.1; Origen, *Cels.* 2.1; 5.61; 5.65; *Hom. Jer.* 19.2; *Comm. Matt.* 11.12; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.27; 5.8.10; 6.17.

[84] On the name 'Israel' see Origen, *Hom. Num.* 11.4; see also *Princ.* 2.11.5 and the material cited in n.24 there.

[85] Gal. 4:26.

[86] Heb. 12:22–3. Cf. Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 1.3; *Hom. Num.* 3.3; *Hom. Luc.* 7.8.

began lower down from Christ, who is next to the God and Father of all, being thus the father of every soul, as Adam is the father of all human beings. And if Eve is touched on by Paul as referring to the Church, it is not surprising—Cain being born of Eve and all after him having reference to Eve—to have here types of the Church, since they were all born from the Church in a pre-eminent sense.

4.3.8. Now, if the statements made by us regarding Israel and its tribes and clans are convincing, when the Saviour says, *I was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,* we do not take these words as the poor-minded Ebionites do, named because of their poverty of mind ('ebion' is the Hebrew word for the poor), so as to suppose that Christ came principally to the Israelites after the flesh. *For it is not the children of the flesh that are the children of God.*[12] Again, the Apostle teaches such things about Jerusalem, that, *The Jerusalem above is free, she is our mother.* And, in another epistle, *But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and to a multitude of angels in festal gathering and the church of the firstborn who are enrolled in the heavens.* If, then, Israel consists in a race of souls, and Jerusalem is a city in heaven, it follows that the cities of Israel have for their mother-city the Jerusalem in the heavens and consequently so for all Judea.

[12] Rom. 9:8.

420 caelo ciuitas aliqua, quae Hierusalem nominatur, consequens est ut hae ciuitates, quae gentis Israheliticae esse dicuntur, metropolim habeant Hierusalem caelestem, et secundum haec de omni Iudaea intellegamus, de qua putamus etiam prophetas mysticis quibusdam narrationibus elocutos, cum aliqua uel de Iudaea uel de Hierusalem prophetarunt, uel si quae sanctae historiae illa uel illa
425 incursionum genera Iudaeae uel Hierusalem praedicant accidisse. Quaecumque ergo uel narrantur uel prophetantur de Hierusalem, si Pauli uerba quasi Christi in eo loquentis audimus, secundum sententiam ipsius utique de illa ciuitate, quam dicit Hierusalem caelestem, et de omnibus locis uel urbibus, quae terrae sanctae urbes esse dicuntur, quarum Hierusalem metropolis est, dicta esse
430 intellegere debemus. Ex ipsis namque ciuitatibus etiam saluatorem putandum est uolentem nos ad altiorem prouocare intellectum promittere his, qui bene commissam sibi ab eo pecuniam dispensarunt, potestatem habere *supra decem ciuitates uel supra quinque ciuitates.*

4.3.9. Si igitur prophetiae, quae de Iudaea et Hierusalem et Israhel et Iuda et
435 Iacob prophetatae sunt, dum non a nobis carnaliter intelleguntur, mysteria quaedam diuina significant: consequens utique est etiam illas prophetias, quae uel de Aegypto et Aegyptiis uel de Babylone et Babyloniis et Sidone ac Sidoniis

423 uel[1] *om.* γ   426 *ante* quaecumque *add. titulum:* de hierusalem caelesti aliisque ciuitatibus quarum potestatum fidelis quisque seruus et bonus dispensator ac prudens in futuro saeculo dicitur accepturus B   erga B   427 ciuitate illa A   434 de *ante* israhel *add.* γ
437 babilone δ : babylonia B : babylona G : babilona M S : babilonia Ab   sydone δ   ac : et W γ   sydoniis W

καὶ ἀκολούθως τῇ πάσῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ. Ὅσα τοιγαροῦν προφητεύεται περὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ λέγεται περὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ Παύλου ὡς θεοῦ ἀκούωμεν καὶ σοφίαν φθεγγομένου, περὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου πόλεως καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τόπου
420 τοῦ περιεκτικοῦ τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἁγίας γῆς νοητέον τὰς γραφὰς ἀπαγγέλλειν. Τάχα γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπ' ἐκείνας ἡμᾶς ἀνάγων τὰς πόλεις, τοῖς εὐδοκιμήσασιν ἐν τῷ τὰς μνᾶς καλῶς ᾠκονομηκέναι ἐπιστασίαν δίδωσι **δέκα ἢ πέντε πόλεων**.

4.3.9. Εἰ τοίνυν αἱ προφητεῖαι αἱ περὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ περὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ
425 Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Ἰακώβ, μὴ σαρκίνως ἡμῶν ἐκλαμβανόντων ταῦτα, μυστήρια τοιάδε τινὰ ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ τὰς προφητείας τὰς περὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ

417 καὶ *om.* A D ζ   418 εἰ : ἐκ H   παύλου *Sim Fern* : θεοῦ *codd. Rob* : θεοῦ *Koe Goe crucem sign. et* παύλου *malit. in appar.*   421 ἀνάγων ἡμᾶς E   ἀναγαγὼν B
424 περὶ[2] *om.* D

are called Israel, and a city in heaven which is named Jerusalem, it follows that those cities, which are said to be of the nation of Israel, have the heavenly Jerusalem as their metropolis, and, in accordance with these things, we should understand it as referring to the whole of Judea, of which we reckon even the prophets have spoken in certain mystical narratives, whatever they prophesied either regarding Judea or Jerusalem or whenever the sacred narratives declare that this or that invasion had befallen Judea or Jerusalem.[87] Whatever, then, is either narrated or prophesied of Jerusalem we ought, if we hear the words of Paul as Christ speaking in him,[88] to understand, in accordance with his mind, to have been said of that city, which he calls the heavenly Jerusalem, and of all those places or cities, which are said to be cities of the holy land, of which Jerusalem is the metropolis. For it must be supposed that it is from these very cities that the Saviour, wishing to raise us to a higher level of understanding, promises to those who have managed well the money entrusted to them by him, that they are to have power *over ten or over five cities*.[89]

4.3.9. If, then, the prophecies which were prophesied concerning Judea and Jerusalem and Israel and Judah and Jacob, when they are not understood by us in a fleshly manner, signify certain divine mysteries, it certainly follows that those prophecies also which were prophesied either concerning Egypt and the

[87] See especially Origen, *Hom. Num.* and *Hom. Jes. Nav.* In *Hom. Num.* 28.2, Origen comments, 'Concerning these names very many secrets and cryptic statements are contained in the books which bear the name of Enoch. But since these books do not appear to have any recognized authority with the Hebrews, we will for the present postpone citing examples from the things that are identified in them.'

[88] Cf. 2 Cor. 13:3.

[89] Cf. Luke 19:17–19. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 11.4; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 23.4.

Whatever, therefore, is prophesied of Jerusalem and said about her, if we hear from [Paul] as from God[13] and as one speaking wisdom, one must understand that the Scriptures are reporting about the heavenly city and the whole territory included within the cities of the holy land. Perhaps it is to these cities that the Saviour refers us, when to those approved for their good administration of the pounds he gives authority over *ten or five cities*.

4.3.9. If, therefore, when we do not take them in a fleshly sense, the prophecies relating to Judea and relating to Jerusalem and Israel and Judah and Jacob suggest some such mysteries, it should follow that the prophecies also concerning Egypt and the Egyptians, and Babylon and the Babylonians, Tyre

[13] Cf. 1 Thess. 2:13; 2 Cor. 13:3. All the manuscripts have 'if we hear from God as from God'; all editors and translators have chosen to amend to 'from Paul'.

prolatae sunt, non de Aegypto ista, quae in terris posita est, uel Babylone uel Tyro
uel Sidone intellegi prophetatas. Neque enim ea, quae Hiezechiel propheta de
440 Pharaone rege Aegypti prophetauit, conuenire alicui hominum possunt, qui
regnasse uideatur in Aegypto, sicut manifeste textus ipse indicat lectionis.
Similiter et ea, quae de principe Tyri dicuntur, non possunt intellegi de aliquo
homine uelut rege Tyri dicta; sed et de Nabuchodonosor ea, quae in multis locis
ab scriptura dicuntur, et maxime in Esaia, quomodo possibile est nos de homine
445 dicta suscipere? Neque enim homo est, qui dicitur *cecidisse de caelo*, uel qui
Lucifer fuerit, uel qui *mane oriebatur*. Sed et illa nihilominus, quae in Hiezechiel
dicta sunt de Aegypto uelut *quadraginta annis exterminanda*, ita ut *pes hominis*
non inueniatur in ea, et in tantum expugnanda, ut per omnem terram eius
humanus sanguis usque ad genua exaltetur: nescio si quis intellectum habens
450 haec de Aegypto ista terrena, quae Aethiopiae adiacet, possit aduertere.

438 babilona δ : babylona B : babiolone G : babolone M[ac] : babilone M[pc]   439 prophetatas *Del Koe Sim Goe Fern* : prophetata δ B σ : propheta μ

Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Τύρου καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ Σιδωνίων ἢ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν, μὴ μόνον περὶ τῶν σωματικῶν τούτων Αἰγυπτίων καὶ
430 Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων προφητεύειν. Εἰ γὰρ Ἰσραηλῖται
νοητοί, ἀκόλουθον καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι νοητοὺς καὶ Βαβυλωνίους. Οὐδὲ
γὰρ πάνυ ἁρμόζει τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ λεγόμενα περὶ Φαραὼ βασιλέως
Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἄρξαντος ἢ ἄρξοντος τῆς Αἰγύπτου λέγεσθαι,
ὡς δῆλον ἔσται τοῖς παρατηρουμένοις. Ὁμοίως τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος
435 Τύρου οὐ δύναται νοεῖσθαι περί τινος ἀνθρώπου ἄρξοντος τῆς Τύρου. Καὶ
τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ πολλαχοῦ λεγόμενα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ
<πῶς> οἷόν τε ἐκλαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου· οὔτε γὰρ **ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ**, οὐδὲ **ἑωσφόρος** ἦν, οὐδὲ **πρωῒ ἀνέτελλεν** ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ
Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ
440 περὶ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς **τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐρημωθησομένης**, ὥστε **πόδα
ἀνθρώπου** μὴ εὑρεθῆναι ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πολεμηθησομένης ποτέ,
ὥστε δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτῆς τὸ αἷμα γενέσθαι μέχρι τῶν γονάτων, νοῦν τις ἔχων

428–9 *βαβυλωνίων … αἰγυπτίων καὶ om.* B   **430** *ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν post προφητεύειν add.* E H   **432** *Ἰεζεκιὴλ* : *Δανιήλ* A   **433** *περὶ ante ἀνθρώπου suppl. Koe (a Klosterman) Goe*   *ἄρξοντος* : *ἄρζοντος* A   **435** *οὐ* : *ὡς* A   *ἄρξαντος* A D ζ   **436** *τὰ* : *τοὺς* E   **437** *πῶς suppl. Rob Koe Sim* : *οὐχ* E H *Goe* : *om.* B A D   **437–8** *ἐξ οὐράνοῦ* D   **438** *οὐδὲ*[1] B A *Rob Fern* : *οὔτε* D ζ *Koe Sim Goe*   **440** *ἔτεσιν* : *ἔτη* D   *ἐρημηθησομένος* E   *ποτέ post ἐρημωθησομένης add.* D   **442** *τὸ αἷμα δι᾽ ὅλης αὐτῆς* E

Egyptians, or Babylon and the Babylonians, and Sidon and the Sidonians, are not to be understood as prophesied of that Egypt which is situated on earth, or Babylon or Tyre or Sidon.[90] Nor can those which the prophet Ezekiel prophesied about Pharaoh, king of Egypt, apply to any human being who may have appeared to reign in Egypt, as the context of the reading itself clearly indicates.[91] Similarly, the things said of the prince of Tyre cannot be understood as said of any human being or king of Tyre;[92] and also how could we possibly accept as said of a human being those things which are said of Nebuchadnezzar in many passages of Scripture, and especially in Isaiah? For one who is said to have *fallen from heaven* or who was *the morning star*, or who *arose in the morning*, is not a human being.[93] Moreover, those statements which are given in Ezekiel concerning Egypt—such as that it is to be *desolated for forty years*, so that the *footstep of human beings* should not be found in it, and that it shall be assaulted so greatly that throughout the whole land human blood should rise to the knees[94]—I do not know that anyone possessing understanding could refer this to that land of Egypt which adjoins Ethiopia.

[90] For interpretations of Egypt and Babylon, see Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 15.5; *Hom. Num.* 11.4; *Hom. Ezech.* 11.4; 12.2–3; 13; *Comm. Matt.* 12.1.
[91] Cf. Ezek. 29:1–9. [92] Cf. Ezek. 28; Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.4.
[93] Isa. 14:12. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.5.5. [94] Cf. Ezek. 29:11–12; 30:7, 10–12; 32:5–6, 12–13, 15.

and the Tyrians, Sidon and the Sidonians, and the rest of the nations, are prophesied not only regarding these bodily Egyptians and Babylonians and Tyrians and Sidonians. For if there are spiritual Israelites, it follows that there are also spiritual Egyptians and Babylonians. For what is said in Ezekiel about Pharaoh, king of Egypt, does not fit at all what is said regarding a human being who was the ruler or will be the ruler of Egypt, as will be clear to those who carefully examine it. Similarly, what is said about the ruler of Tyre cannot be understood of any particular human being ruling Tyre. And what is said in many places and especially in Isaiah about Nebuchadnezzar, how is it possible to take them as of that man? For Nebuchadnezzar, the human being, neither *fell from heaven*, nor was he *the morning star*, nor did he *arise* upon the earth *in the morning*. Nor indeed would anyone of understanding take what is said in Ezekiel about Egypt—that *it shall be desolated for forty years*, so that *the footstep of a human being* should not be found there, and that at some time it will be so ravaged by war that there shall be blood up to the knees throughout

Sed uidendum est ne forte ita dignius possit intellegi quod, sicut caelestis est Hierusalem et Iudaea, et gens sine dubio quae habitat in ea, quae dicitur Israhel: ita possibile est etiam uicina his loca esse quaedam, quae uel Aegyptus uel Babylon uel Tyrus uel Sidon appellari uideantur, eorumque locorum principes
455 atque animae, si quae in illis habitant locis, Aegyptii et Babylonii et Tyrii ac Sidonii appellentur; ex quibus etiam secundum illam conuersationem, quam ibi habent, captiuitas quaedam uideatur effecta, per quam de Iudaea in Babyloniam uel in Aegyptum a melioribus et superioribus locis descendisse dicuntur uel in alias quasque gentes esse dispersae.

460 **4.3.10.** Fortassis enim sicut hi, qui de hoc mundo secundum communem istam mortem recedentes pro actibus et meritis suis dispensantur, prout digni fuerint iudicati, alii quidem in locum, qui dicitur inferus, alii in *sinus Abraham* et per diuersa quaeque uel loca uel *mansiones*: ita etiam ex illis locis uelut ibi, si dici potest, morientes, a superis in hunc inferum descendunt. Nam ille

452 iudaea : iuda δ 454 princeps γ 458 babylonem δ 459 quasque : quaeque δ 462 sinu δ : sinum *Del* 463 sunt *post* mansiones *add.* δ

4.3.10, lines 460–4

Jerome, Ep. *124.11.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 112.21–113.3):*

Et fortisan, quomodo in isto mundo, qui moriuntur separatione carnis et animae, iuxta operum differentiam diuersa apud inferos obtinent loca, sic, qui de caelestis Hierusalem, ut ita dicam, administratione moriuntur, ad nostri mundi inferna descendunt, ut qualitate meritorum diuersa in terris possideant loca.

ἐκλήψεται περὶ τῆς παρακειμένης Αἰγύπτου τοῖς τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ ἡλίου μεμελανισμένοις Αἰθίοψι.

445 **4.3.10.** *Τάχα δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθνῄσκοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πεπραγμένων οἰκονομοῦνται, εἰ κριθεῖεν ἄξιοι τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου ᾅδου, τόπων διαφόρων τυγχάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· οὕτως οἱ ἐκεῖθεν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, ἀποθνῄσκοντες εἰς τὸν ᾅδην τοῦτον καταβαίνουσι, κρινόμενοι ἄξιοι τῶν τοῦ παντὸς περιγείου*

444 *μεμελανωμένοις* D : *μεμελασμένοις* H *Rob* 445 *καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα ante τάχα add.* B A E 446 *ἐνταῦθα* : *αὐτόθι* D 448 *οἱ post εἴπω add.* D 449 *τῶν om.* D

But[95] let us see whether it may not be understood more fittingly in this way, that, just as there is a heavenly Jerusalem and Judea, and undoubtedly a nation which inhabits it, which is named Israel, so also it is possible that there are certain regions near to these places which appear to be named Egypt or Babylon or Tyre or Sidon, and that the princes of these places and the souls, if there are any who dwell in them, may be called Egyptians and Babylonians and Tyrians and Sidonians; from whom, also, according to that mode of life which they have there, a kind of captivity would seem to have taken place, by which the inhabitants of Judea are said to have descended into Babylon or Egypt from better and higher places, or to have been scattered among the other nations.

4.3.10. For[96] perhaps, just as those who, departing from this world by that common death, are arranged according to their actions and merits, as they have been deemed worthy, some in the place which is called the 'lower regions', others in *the bosom of Abraham*,[97] and throughout various places and *stages*,[98] so also from those places, as if dying there, if one may so speak, they descend from the upper regions to this lower one. For that lower region, to which the souls of those who die here are led away, is, I believe, on account of this

[95] That this paragraph was omitted by the compilers of the *Philocalia*, rather than added by Rufinus, is indicated by the words, placed between *Princ.* 4.3.8 and 4.3.9, 'and after other things' (καὶ μεθ᾽ ἕτερα).

[96] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.11.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 112.21–113.3): 'And, in the fourth book, which is the last of his work, he inserts these sentences which must be condemned by the churches of Christ: And perhaps, just as those who die in this world by the separation of flesh and soul obtain diverse positions in the world below according to the difference of their works, so also, those who die in the administration of the heavenly Jerusalem, so to speak, descend to the lower regions of our world, so that they hold diverse positions on earth by the quality of their merits.'

[97] Luke 16:22.

[98] As in *Princ.* 2.11.6, the Latin word *mansiones* clearly translates the μοναί of John 14:2, and, as in *Princ.* 2.11.6, is best translated 'stages'; for the 'stages' of the Israelites, see Origen, *Hom. Num.* 27.2; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 10.1; 23.4.

the whole land—as about that Egypt lying beside the Ethiopians whose bodies are blackened by the sun.

4.3.10. Perhaps, just as those who on earth, dying that common death, are arranged according to the deeds done here, if they are judged deserving of the place called Hades, to obtain different places according to the proportion of their sins, so also those dying there, so to speak, descend into this Hades, being judged deserving of different abodes, better or worse, throughout all this

465 inferus, ad quem hinc morientium animae deducuntur, credo ob hanc distinctionem inferus inferior ab scriptura nominatur, sicut dicit in psalmis: *Et liberasti animam meam de inferno inferiori.* Vnusquisque ergo descendentium in terram pro meritis uel loco suo, quem ibi habuerat, dispensatur in hoc mundo in diuersis uel locis uel gentibus uel conuersationibus uel infirmitatibus
470 nasci uel a religiosis aut certe minus piis parentibus generari, ita ut eueniat aliquando Israheliten in Scythas descendere, et Aegyptium pauperem deduci ad Iudaeam. Verumtamen saluator noster *congregare* uenit *oues, quae perierant domus Israhel*: et cum plurimi ex Israhelitis non adquieuissent doctrinae eius, hi qui ex gentibus erant uocati sunt. Vnde consequens uidebitur etiam
475 prophetias, quae de singulis gentibus proferuntur, reuocari magis ad animas debere et diuersas mansiones earum caelestes. Sed et historias rerum gestarum, quae dicuntur uel genti Israhel uel Hierusalem uel Iudaeae accidisse, illis uel illis gentibus inpugnantibus, perscrutandum est et perquirendum, ut quoniam in quam plurimis corporaliter gesta non constant, quomodo magis ista
480 conueniant illis gentibus animarum, quae in caelo isto, quod transire dicitur, habitabant uel etiam nunc habitare putandae sunt.

4.3.11. Si uero quis euidentes et satis manifestas adsertiones horum de scripturis sanctis exposcat a nobis, respondendum est quia occultare magis haec spiritui sancto in his, quae uidentur esse historiae rerum gestarum, et

465 ad quem : atque A[ac] W : atquem G M[ac] 467 de infero δ *Koe Goe* : ex inferno *Del* 469 uel *post* infirmitatibus *add.* δ 470 a *om.* δ eueniat : eum μ : cum σ 471 israheliten : israhelitae non δ 473 israhel et cum plurimi ex *om.* γ 474 *ante* unde *add. titulum:* quod quae scribtura de gentibus et nationibus dicit haec spiritaliter aptius ad diuersitates referantur animarum quae uictae a peccato captiuae dicantur effecta B 475 de *om.* γ 476 historiae B 477 israhel uel : israhelitae δ iudaeae : iudae A 478 ut *om.* δ *Koe Goe* 480 illius gentis δ 484 haec *om.* γ

450 *τόπου διαφόρων οἰκητηρίων βελτιόνων ἢ χειρόνων, καὶ παρὰ τοῖσδε ἢ τοῖσδε τοῖς πατράσιν· ὡς δύνασθαί ποτε Ἰσραηλίτην πεσεῖν εἰς Σκύθας, καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελθεῖν. Πλὴν ὁ σωτὴρ συναγαγεῖν ἦλθε* ***τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ·*** *καὶ πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μὴ εἰξάντων τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν καλοῦνται.*

455 **4.3.11.** *Κέκρυπται δέ, ὡς ἡγούμεθα, ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ταῦτα. Καὶ γὰρ* ***ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁμοία ἐστὶ θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, ὃν ὁ εὑρὼν ἔκρυψε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπάγει καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει πωλεῖ***

451 *ἐς Rob* 452 *συνάγειν* D *ἦλθεν* B 456 *ἐστὶν* B 457 *ἄνθρωπος post εὑρων add.* E *ἔκρυψεν* B

distinction, called the 'lower Hades' by Scripture, as it says in the Psalms, *You have delivered my soul from the lower Hades.*[99] Everyone, therefore, of those who descend to earth is arranged, in accordance with his merits or with the position that he had had there, to be born in this world in a particular place or nation or walk of life or infirmity, or to be begotten from parents who are religious, or not, so that it may sometimes happen that an Israelite descends among the Scythians and a poor Egyptian is brought down to Judea.[100] Nevertheless, our Saviour came *to gather the lost sheep of the house of Israel*;[101] and as very many of the Israelites did not assent to his teaching, those who were of the Gentiles were called. From this, it would seem to follow that the prophecies, which were uttered concerning the particular nations, ought rather to be referred to the souls and to their different heavenly stages.[102] Moreover, the narratives of the events which are said to have happened either to the nation of Israel or to Jerusalem or Judea, when assailed by this or that nation, are to be examined and investigated, so that, [as] in very many cases they cannot be held to have happened in a bodily sense, [we may see] in what way they are more appropriate to those nations of souls who dwell in that heaven which is said to pass away, or who may be supposed to dwell there even now.[103]

4.3.11. If, now, anyone demand from us clear and sufficiently manifest declarations on these matters from the holy Scriptures, it must be answered that [the design] of the Holy Spirit was rather to conceal and to cover them

[99] Ps. 85:13.
[100] Cf. Plato, *Resp.* 3.414e–15c, the 'noble lie', where a golden parent may sometimes have a silver son, or vice versa.
[101] Matt. 15:24. [102] John 14:2.
[103] Koetschau places a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.11.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 113.3–20) at this point; the text is given in Appendix II as item no. 21.

earthly space, and to be from this or that lineage; so that it is possible sometimes for an Israelite to fall among Scythians and an Egyptian to descend into Judea. Nevertheless, the Saviour came to gather *the lost sheep of the house of Israel*; and since many from Israel have not yielded to his teaching, those from the nations are also called.

4.3.11. These things, as we suppose, have been concealed in the narratives. For *the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in the field, which someone found and hid, and then in his joy he goes and sells all that he has and buys that field.*

485 altius tegere consilium fuerit, in quibus descendere dicuntur in Aegyptum uel captiuari in Babyloniam uel in his ipsis regionibus quidam quidem humiliari nimis et sub seruitio effici dominorum, alii uero in ipsis captiuitatis locis clari ac magnifici habiti sunt, ita ut et potestates et principatus tenuerint regendisque populis praefuerint: quae omnia, ut diximus, abscondita et celata in scripturae
490 sanctae historiis conteguntur, quia *Et regnum caelorum simile est thesauro absconso in agro, quem cum inuenerit homo abscondit et prae gaudio eius uadit et omnia quaecumque habet uendit et emit agrum illum*. In quo diligentius considera, si non hoc indicatur, quod solum ipsum et superficies, ut ita dixerim, scripturae, id est quod secundum litteram legitur, ager est repletus et florens
495 omnium generum plantariis, ille uero altior et profundior spiritalis intellectus ipsi sunt *thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi*, quos spiritus sanctus per Esaiam *obscuros et inuisibiles et absconditos thesauros* uocat; qui ut inueniri possint, dei adiutorio opus est, qui solus potest *portas aereas*, quibus clausi sunt et absconditi, *confringere* et *seras ferreas* uectesque *comminuere*, quibus
500 prohibetur ingressus perueniendi ad ea omnia, quae in Genesi de diuersis animarum generibus scripta sunt et obtecta, et de his seminibus ac

486 captiuare *γ* babiloniam W : babylonam B G **487** captiuitatis locis : captiuitatibus *γ* **488** sunt habiti *γ* **491** absconso : abscondito Ab **493** hoc *om. γ* **497** et[2] *om. γ*

καὶ ἀγοράζει τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκεῖνον. *Καὶ ἐπιστήσωμεν εἰ μὴ τὸ βλεπόμενον τῆς γραφῆς καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιον αὐτῆς καὶ πρόχειρον ὁ πᾶς ἐστιν ἀγρὸς πλήρης*
460 *παντοδαπῶν τυγχάνων φυτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐναποκείμενα καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν ὁρώμενα ἀλλ' ὡσπερεὶ ὑπὸ τὰ βλεπόμενα φυτὰ κατορωρυγμένα* ***οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι***, *οὕστινας τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου* ***σκοτεινοὺς καὶ ἀοράτους καὶ ἀποκρύφους*** *καλεῖ, δεομένους, ἵν' εὑρεθῶσι, θεοῦ τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς κρυπτούσας αὐτοὺς* ***χαλκᾶς πύλας συντρῖψαι***
465 *καὶ τοὺς* ***σιδηροῦς*** *ἐπικειμένους ταῖς θύραις* ***μοχλοὺς συνθλάσαι***, *ἵν' εὑρεθῇ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει περὶ τῶν διαφόρων ἀληθινῶν ψυχῆς γενῶν καὶ οἱονεὶ σπερμάτων, ἐγγύς που τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἢ πόρρω τυγχανόντων, καὶ ἡ εἰς Αἴγυπτον κάθοδος τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ψυχῶν, ὅπως ἐκεῖ γένωνται* ***ὡσεὶ τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ πλήθει***. *Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν* ***φῶς εἰσι***
470 ***τοῦ κόσμου (οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ οὗτοι Ἰσραήλ)***, *γίνονται ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα* ***καὶ ὡσεὶ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀναρίθμητος***.

458 *καὶ*[2] *om.* E *ἐπιστήσομεν* D *οὖν post ἐπιστήσωμεν add.* E **459** *ἐπιπόλεον* B A **461** *κατωρωγυμένα* A **462** *τῆς ante γνώσεως add.* A E *Goe* **463** *ἀοράτους* : *ὁρατούς* A *δεομένους ἵν' εὑρεθῶσι om.* A D *ζ* **464** *πύλας χαλκᾶς* E *πύλας* : *θύρας* B **465** *μοχλοὺς ταῖς θύραις* E **466** *περὶ om.* B **468** *ἑβδομήκοντα* : *ο'* B A **469** *αὐτῶν* : *αὐτοῦ* B **471** *ἑβδομήκοντα* : *ο'* B A

deeply in those passages which seem to be a narrative of deeds done, in which they are said to descend into Egypt or be carried captive to Babylon, or when, in these countries, some are said to be brought to extreme humiliation and to be put under bondage to masters, while others, in these very countries of their captivity, were held as famous and illustrious, so that they occupied positions of power and leadership and were set to rule over the people; all these things, as we have said, are buried, hidden, and covered, in the narratives of the holy Scriptures, for, *the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field, which, when a human being finds it, he hides it, and in his joy goes and sells all that he has and buys the field.*[104] Consider carefully whether in this there is not indicated that the very soil and surface, so to speak, of Scripture, that is, its reading according to the letter, is the field, filled and flowering with all kinds of plants; while that deeper and more profound spiritual sense is that very *hidden treasure of wisdom and knowledge,*[105] which the Holy Spirit, by Isaiah, calls *the dark and invisible and hidden treasures,*[106] which, for them to be found, requires the help of God, who alone is able to *break in pieces the doors of bronze,* by which they are enclosed and hidden, and *break the iron bolts* and bars,[107] by which is prevented the way of arriving at all those things which are written and concealed in Genesis concerning the different kinds of souls, and the seeds and

[104] Matt. 13:44. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 13.14; see also Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.26.1.
[105] Col. 2:3. [106] Isa. 45:3. [107] Isa. 45:2.

Let us consider whether the apparent and superficial and surface aspect of Scripture is not the field as a whole, full of all kinds of plants, while the things lying in it and not seen by all, but as if buried under the visible plants, are *the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge,* which the Spirit through Isaiah calls *dark and invisible and hidden,* needing, for them to be found, God, who alone is able *to break in pieces the doors of bronze* that hide them and *to break the iron bars* that are upon the gates, in order that all the points in Genesis about various real kinds and, as it were, seeds of souls, near to Israel or afar off, may be discovered; and the descent into Egypt of the seventy souls, that there they become *as the stars of heaven in multitude.* But since not all who are of them are *the light of the world* (*for not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel*), from seventy they become as *the innumerable sand beside the sea shore.*

generationibus, quae uel ad propinquitatem pertinent Israhel uel quae ab eius progenie longius segregantur; sed et quae sit illa descensio in Aegyptum septuaginta animarum, quae septuaginta animae fiant in Aegypto *sicut sidera*
505 *caeli in multitudine*. Sed quia non omnes, qui ex ipsis erant, lumen sunt huius mundi (*non enim omnes, qui ex Israhel, hi Israhel sunt*), ex ipsis septuaginta animabus fiunt aliqui et *sicut arena, quae est ad oram maris innumerabilis*.

4.3.12. Quae descensio patrum sanctorum in Aegyptum, id est in hunc mundum, uideri poterit ad inluminationem ceterorum atque ad humani generis instruc-
510 tionem a prouidentia dei esse concessa, ut per eos ceterae animae inluminatae iuuarentur. *Ipsis enim primis concessa sunt eloquia dei*, quoniam solum istud est genus, quod uidere dicitur deum; hoc enim Israhelis nomen significat interpraetatum. Iam uero consequens est ut secundum haec aptari debeat et interpraetari illud, quod decem plagis Aegyptus uerberatur, ut dei populum permittat exire,
515 uel ea, quae in deserto cum populo geruntur, uel quod ex conlatione omnis populi tabernaculum construitur uel indumentum sacerdotale contexitur, uel de uasis ministerii quaecumque dicuntur, quia uere, sicut scriptum est, umbram in se formamque caelestium continent. Manifeste enim Paulus ait de illis quia *Umbrae et exemplari deseruiunt caelestium*. In hac eadem lege nihilominus
520 continetur etiam, quibus legibus quibusque institutionibus in terra sancta uiuendum sit. Sed et comminationes positae sunt his, qui praeuaricati fuerint legem; necnon et his, qui purificatione indigebant, diuersa purificationum genera, uelut qui frequentius essent polluendi, traduntur, ut per haec tandem ad illam unam purificationem ueniant, post quam pollui ultra non liceat.

506 hi *om.* δ σ **508** id est *om.* γ **524** licet γ

generations which either have a close connection to Israel or are widely separated from his progeny, as well as what is that descent of seventy souls into Egypt, which seventy souls became in Egypt *as the stars of heaven in multitude.*[108] But, as not all who are from these are a light of this world,[109] *For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel,*[110] the descendants from these seventy souls become *as the sand that is by the mouth of the sea, innumerable.*[111]

4.3.12. This descent of the holy fathers into Egypt, that is, into this world, will be seen to have been granted by the providence of God for the illumination of others and for the instruction of the human race, so that through them other souls might be aided by this illumination.[112] *For to them first were granted the oracles of God,*[113] because theirs is the only race that was said to see God; for the name Israel, when translated, means this.[114] And it follows at once that what comes next ought to be adapted and interpreted in accordance with this principle:[115] that Egypt is scourged with ten plagues in order to allow the people of God to depart,[116] or those things which happen to the people in the desert,[117] or that from the contributions from all the people the tabernacle is constructed,[118] or the priestly vestment is woven,[119] or whatever is said of the vessels of ministry,[120] because truly, as it is written, they contain within them the shadow and form of heavenly things. For Paul clearly says of them that *they serve a shadow and pattern of heavenly things.*[121] There is, moreover, contained in this same Law an account of the precepts and institutions by which one is to live in the holy land.[122] Threats, too, are held against those who shall transgress the Law; and also those different kinds of purification are delivered for those who need purification, as being frequently polluted, that by means of these they may arrive at that one purification, after which it is not permitted to be polluted.[123]

[108] Cf. Gen. 10; 11; 25; 36; 46. For the quotation, Deut. 10:22; cf. Gen. 22:17.
[109] Cf. Matt. 5:14. [110] Rom. 9:6. [111] Heb. 11:12; cf. Gen. 32:12.
[112] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.5; 2.9.7; 3.5.4; *Hom. Ezech.* 1.1–5; *Comm. Jo.* 2.175–92.
[113] Rom. 3:2. [114] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.3.8.
[115] The points that follow are also mentioned in Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.5; for the plagues, see *Hom. Exod.* 4; the tabernacle, *Hom. Exod.* 9; the priestly vestments, *Hom. Lev.* 6; the purifications, *Hom. Lev.* 8.
[116] Cf. Exod. 7–12. [117] Cf. Exod. 19ff. [118] Cf. Exod. 25ff. [119] Cf. Exod. 28.
[120] Cf. Exod. 30:17ff. [121] Heb. 8:5.
[122] On this holy land, see Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.8–9, and for its distinction from the 'dry land' of Gen. 1:10, see *Princ.* 2.3.6–7.
[123] Cf. Heb. 6:4–6; 10:26–31.

525 Sed et ad numerum populus ipse deducitur, licet non omnes: pueriles namque animae nondum tempus habent ex diuino praecepto numerari, sed ne illae quidem animae, quae non possunt fieri alterius *caput*, sed ipsae *subiectae* sunt aliis uelut *capiti*, quas *mulieres* scriptura nominauit, quae utique non adducuntur in numerum illum, qui a deo praecipitur, sed illi soli numerantur, qui *uiri*
530 appellantur, quo scilicet ostenderetur non eas posse extrinsecus numerari, sed in his, qui *uiri* appellantur, etiam ipsas conpraehendi. Praecipue tamen ad sanctum numerum ueniunt hi, qui parati sunt ad Israhelitica bella procedere, qui possunt aduersum illos *hostes inimicosque* bellare, quos *sedenti a dextris* suis filio subicit pater, ut *destruat omnem principatum ac potestatem*: ut per hos militum suorum
535 numeros, qui deo militantes *non se inplicant negotiis saecularibus*, aduersarii regna subuertat; a quibus *scuta fidei* circumferantur et sapientiae tela uibrentur, et in quibus *spes salutis galea* coruscet ac *lorica caritatis* deo plenum muniat pectus. Tales mihi quidam uidentur milites indicari et ad huiuscemodi bella praeparari hi, qui in diuinis libris per dei praeceptum numerari iubentur. Horum
540 uero multo clariores perfectioresque designantur illi, quorum etiam *capilli capitis* dicuntur esse *numerati*. Illi sane, qui puniti sunt pro peccatis, quorum corpora ceciderunt in deserto, similitudinem uidentur habere eorum, qui profecerant quidem non parum, sed ad finem perfectionis peruenire minime potuerunt diuersis ex causis: quod uel murmurasse uel idola coluisse uel fornicati esse
545 dicuntur uel tale aliquid, quale utique non liceret mente concipere.

Sed ne illud quidem sacramento aliquo uacuum puto, quod quidam multa pecora et multa animalia habentes praeueniunt et praeripiunt locum aptum pastibus et nutrimentis pecorum, quem primum omnium Israhelitici belli dextra defenderat. Quem locum a Moyse deposcentes, ultra Iordanis fluenta
550 separantur atque a terrae sanctae possessione secernuntur. Qui Iordanes uideri

528 scriptura *om.* γ 531 et *ante* praecipue *add.* A 537 spes : spei μ : spei et σ 538 quidam mihi μ : quidem mihi σ 545 cogitasse *post* aliquid *add.* B *Koe* 548 omni A^{ac} W : omnis A^{pc} 550 iordanis γ

Moreover, a census is taken of the people themselves, though not all;[124] for the childlike souls are not yet of an age to be numbered by the divine command, nor are the souls who cannot become *the head* of another but are themselves *subject* to others as to a head, which Scripture names *women*, who certainly are not included in that census ordered by God, for they alone who are called *men* are numbered;[125] by this it is clearly shown that they could not be numbered separately, but that they were to be included among those called *men*.[126] Those,[127] however, who are prepared to go forth to the Israelite battles, who are able to fight against those *enemies and adversaries* whom the Father subjects to the Son *sitting at his right hand*, that he may *destroy every principality and power*, belong especially to the sacred number,[128] that, by these numbers of his soldiers, who as fighting for God do not *take part in worldly affairs*,[129] he may overturn the kingdom of his adversary, [and] by whom *the shields of faith* are borne and the darts of wisdom are brandished, and among whom *the helmet* of *the hope of salvation* gleams and *the breastplate of love* guards the breast filled with the love of God.[130] Such soldiers seem to me to be indicated, and to be prepared for wars of this kind, in those who are ordered in the divine books to be numbered by the command of God. But far more illustrious and more perfect than these are shown to be those of whom even *the hairs on the head* are said to be *numbered*.[131] Those, however, who were punished for their sins, whose bodies fell in the wilderness, appear to bear resemblance to those who had indeed made no little progress, yet have not been able to attain the goal of perfection for various reasons, because they are said to have murmured or to have worshipped idols or to have committed fornication or to have done some other such thing which the mind ought not even to conceive.[132]

I do not reckon that even the following is devoid of some mystical meaning, that certain of the people, possessing large flocks and many animals, go and seize beforehand a suitable region for pasture and the feeding of their flocks, which was the first of all the places that the right hand of the Israelites had secured by war. Requesting this place from Moses, they are placed apart, beyond the running waters of the Jordan and set apart from the occupation of

[124] Cf. Num. 1–4; 26. See also Origen, *Hom. Num.* 1.1; 4.1.

[125] On the distinction that Origen makes between male and female, see *Hom. Gen.* 1.15; 4.4; 5.2; 8.10; *Hom. Exod.* 2.2; *Sel. Exod.* 23.17 (PG 12, 296d). In *Hom. Num.* 11.7, Origen comments, 'According to the spiritual understanding, however, this is to be related not to the distinction of sex, but that of souls'; see also *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 9.9.

[126] Num. 1:2–3, etc.; 1 Cor. 11:3; Eph. 5.22–3.

[127] Koetschau places a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.11.4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 113.25–114.6), in his critical apparatus as paralleling the following sentence; Butterworth suggests that it should be inserted after the words 'the kingdom of his adversary' later in this sentence. The text is included in Appendix II as item no. 22.

[128] Eph. 1: 20–2; 1 Cor. 15:24–7.

[129] 2 Tim. 2:4.

[130] Eph. 6:14–17; 1 Thess. 5:8.

[131] Matt. 10:30. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.5; *Dial.* 22.

[132] Cf. Num. 11, 14, 16, 21, 25; Exod. 32; 1 Cor. 10:5–10; Heb. 3:17.

potest secundum caelestium formam rigare et inundare animas sitientes et sensus adiacentes sibi. Vbi ne illud quidem otiosum uidebitur, quod Moyses quidem audit a deo ea, quae in Leuitici lege descripta sunt, populus uero in Deuteronomio auditor Moyseos efficitur et ab illo discit ea, quae a deo audire
555 non potuit. Propterea enim uelut secunda lex Deuteronomium dicitur, quod nonnullis significare uidebitur hoc ipsum, quod, cessante lege prima, quae per Moysen data est, uideatur secunda legislatio deformari, quae specialiter a Moyseo traditur Iesu, successori eius; qui utique formam seruare creditur saluatoris nostri, cuius secunda lege, id est praeceptis euangelicis, ad perfectum
560 omnia perducuntur.

4.3.13. Sed uidendum est ne forte magis illud indicare uideatur, quod sicut in Deuteronomio euidentior et manifestior legislatio declaratur quam in his, quae primo scripta sunt, ita et ab eo aduentu saluatoris, quem in humilitate conpleuit, cum *formam serui* suscepit, clarior ille et gloriosior secundus in
565 gloria patris eius indicetur aduentus, et in illo forma Deuteronomii conpleatur, cum in regno caelorum sancti omnes *aeterni* illius *euangelii* legibus uiuent; et sicut nunc adueniens legem repleuit eam, quae *umbram habet futurorum bonorum*, ita et per illum gloriosum aduentum inplebitur et ad perfectum deducetur huius aduentus umbra. Ita enim dixit propheta de eo: *Spiritus uultus*
570 *nostri Christus dominus, cuius diximus quia in umbra eius uiuemus in gentibus*, cum scilicet ab euangelio temporali dignius omnes sanctos ad *aeternum euangelium* transferet, secundum quod Iohannes in Apocalypsi de *aeterno euangelio* designauit.

551 formas δ 552 uidetur γ 554 moseos μ 556 quae : quod A[ac] W
557 uideatur : uidetur δ 558 moseo μ : moyseo σ 565 gloriam δ
569 deducetur : perducetur B γ *Koe Goe* : adducetur *Del* 570 cuius : cui Ab

the holy land.[133] And this Jordan might seem, according to the form of heavenly things, to water and flood the thirsty souls and minds adjacent to it.[134] In this context, even this point does not seem idle, that Moses indeed hears from God those things which are described in the law of Leviticus, while in Deuteronomy it is the people who are made the hearers of Moses and who learn from him things that they could not hear from God. This is why, as a second law, it is called Deuteronomy, a point that to some will seem to indicate that when the first law which was given through Moses had come to an end, so a second legislation seems to have been delineated, which was specially delivered by Moses to Jesus[135] his successor, who is certainly believed to preserve a type of our Saviour, by whose second law, that is, the precepts of the Gospel, all things are brought to perfection.[136]

4.3.13. But it is to be seen, however, whether perhaps this deeper meaning may not seem to be indicated: that, just as in Deuteronomy the legislation is disclosed more clearly and distinctly than in those which were first written, so also, from the arrival of the Saviour which he fulfilled in humility, when he assumed *the form of a servant*,[137] that more splendid and more glorious second coming in the glory of his Father may be pointed out,[138] and in it the types of Deuteronomy may be fulfilled, when in the kingdom of heaven all the saints will live according to the laws of the *eternal Gospel*;[139] and[140] just as in his coming now he has fulfilled that Law which has *a shadow of good things to come*,[141] so also by that glorious arrival the shadows of this arrival will be fulfilled and brought to perfection. For the prophet has spoken of it thus: *The breath of our face, Christ the Lord, of whom we have said that under his shadow we shall live among the nations*,[142] that is, when he will more fittingly transfer all the saints from the temporal Gospel to *the eternal Gospel*, following that which John, in the Apocalypse, designates as *the eternal Gospel*.[143]

[133] Cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 26.3–4.

[134] On Jordan as a symbol of baptism, see Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.222–32; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 4.

[135] In the Greek of the LXX 'Joshua' is 'Jesus'.

[136] For Joshua/Jesus as a type of Jesus Christ, see *Barn.* 12.8–10; Justin, *Dial.* 113, 132; Clement, *Paed.* 1.7.60; Tertullian, *Marc.* 3.16.3–4; Origen, *Hom. Num.* 28.2, and *Hom. Jes. Nav. passim.*

[137] Phil. 2:7.

[138] Cf. Matt. 16:27.

[139] Rev. 14:6. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.8; *Hom. Lev.* 4.10.

[140] Koetschau cites Jerome *Ep.* 124.12 (ed. Hilberg 3, 114.7–115.8) in his critical apparatus as paralleling the remainder of this paragraph; the last sentence of the extract from Jerome is paralleled by a sentence in Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 213.3–7), said to be from *Princ.* 4 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 30. These texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 23. Fernandez inserts the passage from Justinian into the text at the end of *Princ.* 4.3.13.

[141] Heb. 10:1. [142] Lam. 4:20. [143] Rev. 14:6.

4.3.14. Verum in his omnibus sufficiat nobis sensum nostrum regulae pietatis
575 aptare et ita sentire de sancti spiritus uerbis, quod non secundum humanae fragilitatis eloquium nitet sermo conpositus, sed sicut scriptum est: *Omnis gloria regis intrinsecus est*, et diuinorum sensuum thesaurus intra fragile uasculum uilis litterae continetur inclusus. Porro autem si quis curiosius explanationem singulorum requirat, ueniat et nobiscum pariter audiat
580 quomodo Paulus apostolus per spiritum sanctum, qui perscrutatur etiam profunda dei, *altitudinem diuinae* sapientiae ac *scientiae* scrutans nec tamen ad finem et, ut ita dixerim, ad intimam *cognitionem* praeualens peruenire, desperatione rei et stupore proclamat et dicit: *O altitudo diuitiarum sapientiae et scientiae dei.* Et quam desperatione perfectae conpraehensionis haec
585 proclamauerit, audi ipsum dicentem: *Quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia dei, et quam inuestigabiles uiae eius.* Non enim dixit difficile posse scrutari *iudicia* dei, sed omnino non posse; nec dixit difficile inuestigari posse uias eius, sed non posse inuestigari. Quantumcumque enim quis *scrutando* promoueat et studio intentiore proficiat, gratia quoque dei adiutus sensumque inluminatus, ad
590 perfectum finem eorum, quae requiruntur, peruenire non poterit. Nec omnis mens, quae creata est, possibile habet ullo genere conpraehendere, sed ut inuenerit aliquantulum ex his, quae quaeruntur, iterum uidet alia, quae quaerenda sunt: quodsi et ad ipsa peruenerit, multo iterum plura ex illis, quae requiri debeant, peruidebit. Propter quod et sapientissimus Salomon naturam
595 rerum per sapientiam contuens ait: *Dixi: sapiens efficiar; et ipsa sapientia longe facta est a me, longe plus quam erat; et altitudinem profundam quis inueniet?* Sed et Esaias sciens rerum initia a natura mortali inueniri non posse, sed ne ab his quidem naturis, quae quamuis diuiniores sint quam humana est, factae tamen et ipsae sunt uel creatae: sciens ergo quod a nulla harum neque initium
600 neque finis inueniri potest, ait: *Priora quae fuerint dicite, et sciemus quia dii estis; uel nouissima quae sunt adnuntiate, et tunc uidebimus quia dii estis.* Nam et Hebraeus doctor ita tradebat: pro eo quod initium omnium uel finis non posset ab ullo conpraehendi nisi tantummodo a domino Iesu Christo et ab spiritu sancto, aiebat per figuram uisionis Esaiam dixisse duos Seraphin solos
605 esse, qui duabus quidem alis operiunt faciem dei, duabus uero pedes, et duabus

574 *ante* uerum *add. titulum:* certum esse scripturas de diuinitus loqui et supra quam humanus capere soleat auditus et ideo neque intellectum esse in propatulo nec humanas usque quaeque assertiones in diuinis sensibus expectandas B   581 diuina δ : diuitiarum *Pa*   dei *post* scientiae *add. Pa*   582 cogitationem G σ 584 quam : qua *Pa Del*   desperationem B σ 585 proclamauerit : exclamauerit *Pa*   586 iudicia dei *post* non posse *(l. 592) trans. Pa*   588 in *ante* scrutando *add.* B γ *Koe Goe*   589 sensusque B : sensuque γ *Pa*   591 ut : cum *Pa*   594 requiri : quaeri *Pa*   600 quae fuerint : atque fuerit δ scimus μ 601 sunt : sint *Pa*   quia : quod *Pa*   602 ita *om. Pa*   initium : initia *Pa*   omnis A[ac] W   604 idcirco *ante* aiebat *add. Pa Koe*

4.3.14. But let it be sufficient for us in all these matters to conform our mind to the rule of piety[144] and to think of the words of the Holy Spirit in this way, that the text shines not because composed according to the eloquence of human fragility, but because, as it is written, *all the glory of the King is within*,[145] and the treasure of divine meanings is contained enclosed within the frail vessel of the common letter.[146] And, furthermore, if a more curious reader were to seek for an explanation of the details, let him come and hear, along with ourselves, how the Apostle Paul, scrutinizing, by the Holy Spirit who searches even the deep things of God,[147] *the depths of the* divine *wisdom and knowledge*,[148] and yet, however, not having the strength to come to the end and, so to speak, to an intimate knowledge, exclaims in despair and amazement and says, *O the depths of the riches of the knowledge and wisdom of God!*[149] And that it was from despair of attaining a perfect understanding that he uttered this, listen to him saying, *How unsearchable are the judgements of God and his ways past understanding!*[150] For he did not say that it is difficult for the *judgements* of God to be searched out, but that they cannot be searched out at all; he did not say that it is difficult for his ways to be traced out, but that they cannot be traced out. For however far one may advance in the search and make progress by intense study, assisted even by the grace of God and an enlightened mind, he will not be able to arrive at the final goal of those things that are investigated. Nor can any mind, which is created, have the possibility to comprehend everything, but as soon as it has discovered a small piece of the things which it seeks, it again sees others which are to be sought; and even if it arrives at these, it will again see many others succeeding them that must be examined.[151] Because of this, therefore, the most wise Solomon, beholding by wisdom the nature of things, says, *I said, I will become wise; and wisdom herself was removed far from me, further than it was; and a profound depth, who shall find it?*[152] Isaiah also—knowing that the beginnings of things could not be discovered by a mortal nature, and not even by those natures which, although more divine than human, were nevertheless themselves either created or formed; knowing, then, that by none of these could either the beginning or end be found—says, *Tell me the former things which have been, and we will know that you are gods; or announce what the last things are, and then we will see that you are gods.*[153] For my Hebrew teacher also used to teach thus: that as the beginning or end of all things could not be comprehended by anyone except only the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, Isaiah, speaking in the form of a vision, spoke of there being only two seraphim, who with two wings cover the face of God, and with two his feet, and

[144] On the 'rule' see Origen, *Princ.* Pr.2 and the material cited in n.7 there.
[145] Ps. 44:14. [146] Cf. 2 Cor. 4:7. [147] Cf. 1 Cor. 2:10. [148] Cf. Rom. 11:33.
[149] Rom. 11:33. [150] Ibid. [151] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.3.7; *Hom. Num.* 17.4.
[152] Eccl. 7:23–4. [153] Isa. 41:22–3.

uolant clamantes ad inuicem sibi et dicentes: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus Sabaoth, plena est uniuersa terra gloria tua.* Quod ergo sola Seraphin utraque alas suas habent in facie dei et in pedibus eius, audendum est pronuntiare quod neque exercitus sanctorum angelorum neque sanctae sedes neque dominationes
610 neque principatus neque potestates scire possunt integre initium omnium et fines uniuersitatis. Sed intellegendum est sanctos istos, quos adnumerauit, spiritus et uirtutes proximas quidem esse ipsis initiis et attingere tantum, quantum consequi non ualent reliqui: uerumtamen quodcumque illud est, quod reuelante filio dei ac spiritu sancto didicerint istae uirtutes, quam plurima
615 quidem adsequi poterunt et multo plura priores inferioribus, omnia tamen conpraehendere inpossibile eis est, quia scriptum est: *Quam plurima ex operibus dei in secretis sunt.* Vnde et optabile est ut pro uiribus se unusquisque semper *extendat ad ea quae priora sunt, ea quae retrorsum sunt obliuiscens*, tam ad opera meliora, quam etiam ad sensum intellectumque puriorem per Iesum
620 Christum, saluatorem nostrum, cui est gloria in saecula.

4.3.15. Omnis ergo, cui ueritatis cura est, parum de nominibus et sermonibus curet, quia et per singulas gentes diuersae uerborum consuetudines habentur; et hoc magis, quod significatur, quam qualibus uerbis significetur, intendat, praecipue in tam magnis et tam difficilibus rebus; sicut cum requiritur, uerbi
625 causa, si sit aliqua substantia, in qua neque color neque habitus neque tactus neque magnitudo intellegenda sit, mente sola conspicabilis, quam prout uult quis ita et nominat; nam Graeci eam ἀσώματον, id est incorpoream, dixerunt, diuinae uero scripturae inuisibilem nominarunt, quia apostolus deum inuisibilem esse pronuntiat: *imaginem* enim *inuisibilis dei* dicit esse Christum.
630 Sed et rursum per Christum *creata* dicit esse *omnia, uisibilia et inuisibilia.* Per quod declaratur esse etiam in creaturis quasdam inuisibiles secundum proprietatem suam substantias. Sed hae quamuis ipsae non sint corporeae, utuntur tamen corporibus, licet ipsae sint corporea substantia meliores. Illa uero substantia trinitatis, quae principium est et causa omnium, ex qua omnia

606 uolant : uolare eos et *Pa* et dicentes : dicere *Pa* 607 utrasque σ 608 audendum : uidendum *Pa* 611 fines : finem *Pa* adnumerauit : enumerauimus *Pa* : adnumeraui *corr. Goe (Karpp)* 613 quodcumque : quantumcumque *Pa* 620 saeculorum *post* saecula *add. Pa* 621 *ante* omnis *add. titulum:* non esse erga sermonum pugnas et differentias aegrotandum sed qualicumque sermone quid scributurae sensus indicare uoluerit requirendum B 623 intendat : intuendum est δ 627 et nominat : innominat δ 628–9 nominarunt … inuisibilem *om.* γ deum B : dominum A 630 esse dicit δ 633 sint : sunt δ

with two they fly, calling one to the other and saying, *Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of your glory.*[154] Therefore, as the seraphim alone have both their wings over the face of God and over his feet, it may be ventured to declare that neither the armies of holy angels, nor the holy thrones, nor the dominions, nor the principalities, nor the powers are able to understand fully the beginning of all things and the ends of the universe.[155] But it is to be understood that those holy spirits and powers, enumerated here, are closest to those very beginnings and attain to a height which the others are not able to follow; and yet whatever it is that these powers have learned through the revelation of the Son of God and from the Holy Spirit, and they will be able to understand a great deal and the higher ones much more than the lower ones, nevertheless it is impossible for them to comprehend all things, since it is written, *The most part of the works of God are in secret.*[156] And therefore it is to be desired that everyone, according to his strength, should always *stretch out to those things that are ahead, forgetting the things that are behind,*[157] both to better works and also to a clearer understanding and knowledge, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, to whom is glory unto the ages.

4.3.15. Let everyone, then, who cares for truth be little concerned about names and words, since in every nation different usages of words prevail; but let him attend, rather, to that which is signified rather than the nature of the words by which it is signified, especially in matters of such importance and difficulty;[158] just as, for example, when it is inquired whether there is any substance in which neither colour nor form nor touch nor magnitude is to be understood to be visible to the mind alone, which anyone names as he pleases; for the Greeks call such *ἀσώματον*, that is 'bodiless', while the divine Scriptures name it 'invisible',[159] for Paul declares that God is invisible, for he says that Christ is *the image of the invisible God*, and again he says that *all things were created* through Christ, *visible and invisible.*[160] By this it is declared that there are, even among created things, certain substances that are, by their property, invisible. But these, although they are not themselves bodily, nevertheless make use of bodies, while they themselves are better than any bodily substance.[161] But that substance of the Trinity, which is the beginning and cause of all things, from which are all things and through which are all things and in which are all things,[162] is believed to be neither a body nor in a body, but is wholly bodiless.[163]

[154] Isa. 6:2–3. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.4, and the material cited in n.28 there.
[155] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Cant.* 2 (GCS 8, p. 186); *Cels.* 6.62; *Mart.* 13.
[156] Sir. 16:21. [157] Phil. 3:13.
[158] Unlike proper names, which Origen holds are intimately connected with their bearer: see *Cels.* 1.24–5; 5.45–6; *Hom. Jes. Nav.* 23.4.
[159] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* Pr.8–9; 1.7.1. [160] Col. 1:15–16.
[161] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.7.1; 2.2.2; *Cels.* 6.71; 7.32. [162] Cf. Rom. 11:36.
[163] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.6.4; 2.2.2.

635 et per quam omnia et in qua omnia, neque corpus esse neque in corpore esse credenda est, sed ex toto incorporea.

Verum haec per excessum quendam, rei tamen ipsius consequentia commonitos breuiter dixisse sufficiat ad ostendendum id, quod sunt quaedam, quorum significatio proprie nullis omnino potest humanae linguae sermonibus 640 explicari, sed simpliciore magis intellectu quam ullis uerborum proprietatibus declaratur. Ad quam regulam etiam diuinarum litterarum intellegentia retinenda est, quo scilicet ea, quae dicuntur, non pro uilitate sermonis, sed pro diuinitate sancti spiritus, qui eas conscribi inspirauerit, censeantur.

641 declarantur B γ **643** inspirauit γ

Let it suffice to have spoken briefly on these points, although by digression because of the nature of the subject, in order to show that there are certain things the significance of which cannot be adequately explained at all by any words of human language, but which are made clear more through simple apprehension than by any properties of words. Under this rule must be brought also the understanding of the divine writings, so that what is said may not be assessed by the lowliness of the language, but by the divinity of the Holy Spirit, who inspired them to be written.

Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις

4.4.1. Tempus est iam decursis his, prout potuimus, quae supra dicta sunt, nunc commonitionis gratia eorum, quae sparsim diximus, recapitulare singula et primo omnium de patre et filio et spiritu sancto repetere.

5 Deus pater cum et in<di>uisibilis sit et inseparabilis a filio, non per prolationem ab eo, ut quidam putant, generatus est filius. Si enim prolatio est filius patris, prolatio uero dicitur quae talem significat generationem, qualis animalium uel hominum solet esse progenies, necessario corpus est et is, qui protulit, et is, qui prolatus est. Non enim dicimus, sicut haeretici putant, partem 10 aliquam substantiae dei in filium uersam, aut ex nullis substantibus filium procreatum a patre, id est extra substantiam suam, ut fuerit aliquando quando non fuerit; sed absciso omni sensu corporeo, ex inuisibili et incorporeo deo uerbum et sapientiam genitam dicimus absque ulla corporali passione, uelut si uoluntas procedat e mente. Nec absurdum uidebitur, cum dicatur *filius caritatis*, 15 si hoc modo etiam uoluntatis putetur. Sed et Iohannes indicat quia *Deus lux est*, et Paulus designat quia filius *splendor lucis* aeternae sit. Sicut ergo numquam *lux* sine *splendore* esse potuit, ita nec filius quidem sine patre intellegi potest, qui et *figura expressa substantiae* eius et uerbum et sapientia dicitur. Quomodo ergo potest dici quia fuit aliquando, quando non fuerit filius? Nihil enim aliud 20 est dicere nisi quia fuit aliquando, quando ueritas non erat, quando sapientia non erat, quando uita non fuerit, cum in his omnibus perfecte dei patris substantia censeatur. Non enim ab eo dirimi haec uel ab eius possunt umquam

4.4.1, lines 2–9

Eusebius, C. Marc. *1.4 (ed. Klostermann, 21.16–22), Koetschau Frag. 31:*

Ὥρα ἐπαναλαβόντα περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὀλίγα τῶν τότε παραλελειμμένων διεξελθεῖν· περὶ πατρὸς ὡς ἀδιαίρετος ὢν καὶ ἀμέριστος υἱοῦ γίγνεται πατήρ, οὐ προβαλὼν αὐτὸν, ὥς οἴονταί τινες. Εἰ γὰρ πρόβλημά ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ γέννημα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὁποῖα τὰ τῶν ζῴων γεννήματα, ἀνάγκη σῶμα εἶναι τὸν προβαλόντα καὶ τὸν προβεβλημένον.

1 *titulum:* anacefaleosis [B μ : ANICEFALEOSIS A : *ΑΝΑΚΕΦΑΛΕΟΣΙΣ* W : ANACHEFALEOSIS M : anacephaleosis Ab] de patre et filio et spiritu sancto ceterisque [ceteris G Ab], quae superius dicta sunt δ B μ Ab : *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S 2–3 tempus est … repetere : tempus est decursis his quae de patre et filio et spiritu sancto disseruimus de illis quoque quae nobis relicta fuerant pauca repetere *Pa* 2 iam : etiam B 5 et[1] *om.* B γ in<di>uisibilis *corr. Kl (ex graec.) Goe Fern* : inuisibilis ω *Pa uet. edd.* 6 filius *om. Pa* 9 partem : patrem A[ac] W γ 10 substantibus : subsistentibus *Ian* 11 procreatum : creatum *Ian* 12 abscisso A[ac] 16 sicut : si B 16–17 lux numquam B 17 nec : ne μ : et B 19 ergo *om.* γ fuerit : erat uel fuerat *Ian* 20 dicere nisi : nisi dicere *corr. Koe* : id dicere nisi *Merl Del* 21 fuerit : erat *Ian Koe Goe*

Recapitulation

4.4.1.[1] It[2] is now time, having traversed to the best of our ability the matters discussed above, to recapitulate, for the sake of bringing to mind what we have said in different places, the particular points, and first of all to repeat those concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

As God the Father is in<di>visible and inseparable from the Son, it is not by emanation from him, as some suppose, that the Son is generated. For if the Son is an emanation of the Father, and it is said that 'emanation' signifies such a generation as is customary in the case of the progeny of animals or human beings, then both he who emitted and he who is emitted are necessarily bodies.[3] For we do not say, as the heretics suppose, that some part of God was changed into the Son, nor that the Son was procreated by the Father from no substance at all, that is, outside his own substance, so that there was a 'when' when the Son was not; but, putting away all bodily senses, we say that the Word and Wisdom was begotten from the invisible and bodiless God apart from any bodily passion, as an act of will proceeds from the intellect.[4] Nor will it seem absurd, seeing that he is called the *Son of love*,[5] if in this way he is also regarded as Son of his will.[6] Moreover, John also indicates that *God is light*,[7] and Paul also declares that the Son is the *brightness* of eternal *light*.[8] As *light*, then, could never exist without *brightness*, so neither can the Son be understood without the Father, for he is called *the express figure of his substance*[9] and the Word and Wisdom. How, then, can it be said that there was a 'when' when the Son was not?[10] For that is nothing other than to say that there was a 'when' when Truth was not, a 'when' when Wisdom was not, a 'when' when Life was not, although in all these respects the substance of God the Father is perfectly accounted. For these things cannot be severed from him or ever separated from his substance.

[1] The title in the Latin manuscripts is: 'Recapitulation [given as a transliteration of the Greek word] concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and of other matters discussed above'.

[2] Cf. Eusebius, *C. Marc.* 1.4 (Klostermann, 21.16–22), numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 31: 'It is now time, taking up our discussion concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to go through a few points of the things previously left aside. In regard to the Father, as he is indivisible and undivided, he becomes the Father of the Son not by emitting him, as some think. For if the Son is an emanation of the Father, and an offspring from him, of the same kind as the offspring of animals, then by necessity both the one emitting and the emanation are, of necessity, bodies.' The opening sentence of this chapter, as preserved in Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen*, 104, also speaks of picking up matters previously left aside: 'Since the matters that we have discussed concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit have been traversed, it is time to recapitulate a few matters that we have left on the side.'

[3] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.6. [4] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.6; 1.2.9. [5] Col. 1:13.

[6] Koetschau, and Fernandez likewise, here inserts a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 209.12–15), which is said to be from *Princ.* 4 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 32, and a passage from Athanasius, *De decr. Nic. Syn.* 27.2 (ed. Opitz, 23.23–30), numbered as Fragment 33. Both texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 24.

[7] 1 John 1:5. [8] Cf. Heb. 1:3. [9] Heb. 1:3.

[10] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.9; *Comm. Rom.* 1.5; *Fr. Heb.* 1.8; and also the passage cited by Athanasius in *De decr. Nic. Syn.* 27.2 (in Appendix II as item no. 24[b]).

substantia separari. Quae quidem quamuis intellectu multa esse dicantur, re tamen et substantia unum sunt, in quibus *plenitudo est deitatis*.

25 Hoc autem ipsum quod dicimus, quia numquam fuit quando non fuit, cum uenia audiendum est. Nam et haec ipsa nomina temporalis uocabuli significantiam gerunt, id est quando uel numquam; supra omne autem tempus et supra omnia saecula et supra omnem aeternitatem intellegenda sunt ea, quae de patre et filio et spiritu sancto dicuntur. Haec enim sola trinitas est, quae omnem 30 sensum intellegentiae non solum temporalis, uerum etiam aeternalis excedit. Cetera uero, quae sunt extra trinitatem, in saeculis et in temporibus metienda sunt.

Hunc igitur filium dei secundum hoc, quod *uerbum est deus*, qui *erat in principio apud deum*, nemo consequenter putabit in loco aliquo contineri, 35 neque secundum quod sapientia est neque secundum quod ueritas est neque secundum quod uita est uel iustitia uel sanctificatio uel redemptio; haec enim omnia non indigent loco, ut agere quid uel operari possint, sed pro his, qui uirtutis eius inoperationisque participant, haec singula intellegenda sunt.

4.4.2. Si uero quis dicet per eos, qui participes sunt uerbi dei uel sapientiae eius 40 uel ueritatis uel uitae, etiam ipsum uerbum et sapientiam uideri in loco esse, respondendum est ei quia dubium non est quod Christus secundum quod uerbum et sapientia est uel cetera omnia, erat in Paulo, propter quod dicebat: *Aut experimentum quaeritis eius, qui in me loquitur Christus?* et iterum: *Viuo autem iam non ego, uiuit uero Christus in me*. Tunc ergo cum esset in Paulo, 45 quis dubitabit quod similiter erat et in Petro et in Iohanne et in singulis quibusque sanctorum, et non solum in his, qui in terris sunt, uerum et in his, qui in caelis sunt? Absurdum namque est dicere quia in Petro quidem et in Paulo erat Christus, in Michahelo uero archangelo et in Gabrihelo non erat. Ex quo manifeste depraehenditur quia diuinitas filii dei non in loco aliquo 50 concludebatur, alioquin in ipso tantum fuisset et in altero non fuisset; sed secundum incorporeae naturae maiestatem cum a nullo loco concludatur, in nullo rursum deesse intellegitur. Verum illa sola intellegenda est differentia, quod etiamsi sit in diuersis, sicut diximus in Petro uel Paulo uel Michahelo uel Gabrihelo, non tamen similiter est in uniuersis. Plenius enim et clarius et, ut ita 55 dixerim, apertius est in archangelis quam in aliis sanctis uiris. Quod ex eo manifestum est, quia cum ad summam perfectionem uenerint sancti quique, dicuntur similes angelis effici uel aequales secundum euangelicam sententiam.

23 re : se G M[ac] : set σ **26** nam : ne *Ian* **27** gerunt : gerant *Ian* **33** deus : dei A[ac] qui : *om.* γ : quod *Del* **34** putauit δ **36** iustitia : iustificatio δ **37** uel : et δ **44** uero : ergo δ in me Christus *Ian* cum esset in Paulo : christum esset cum paulo δ : in paulum γ **48** erat : inerat δ michahelo … gabrihelo *Koe Sim Goe Fern* : michaelo uel gabrihelo G M[ac] : michaelo uel gabrielo B S : michahele uel gabriele Ab

Although they are said to be, by our understanding, many, nevertheless in reality and substance they are one, and in them is *the fullness of divinity*.[11]

But this expression which we say—that there never was a 'when' when he was not—is to be heard with a reservation. For these very words, that is, 'when' or 'never', bear the signification of a temporal vocabulary; whereas those things said of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are to be understood as transcending all time and all ages and all eternity. For it is the Trinity alone which exceeds all comprehension of understanding, not only temporal but even eternal. Other things, however, which are external to the Trinity, are to be measured by ages and periods of times.

No one, therefore, should rationally suppose that the Son of God, inasmuch as *the Word is God* and *was in the beginning with God*,[12] is contained in any place;[13] nor yet inasmuch as he is Wisdom, or inasmuch as he is Truth, or inasmuch as he is Life or Righteousness or Sanctification or Redemption: for all these do not need a place to be able to act or to operate, but each of them is to be understood as referring to those who participate in his power and operation.

4.4.2. Now if anyone were to say that, through those who are partakers of the Word of God, or of his Wisdom or Truth or Life,[14] the Word and Wisdom itself appeared to be in a place, it must be answered that there is no doubt that Christ, inasmuch as he is the Word or Wisdom or all other things, was in Paul, according to what Paul said, *Do you seek a proof of him who speaks in me, Christ?*,[15] and again, *I no longer live but Christ lives in me*.[16] Since, then, he was in Paul, who will doubt that he was in a similar manner in Peter and in John and in each of the saints, and not only those who are on earth, but also those who are in heaven? For it is absurd to say that Christ was in Peter and in Paul, but that he was not in Michael the archangel and in Gabriel. And from this it is clearly demonstrated that the divinity of the Son of God was not shut up in some place; otherwise it would have been in it only and not in another; but that while, in accordance with the majesty of bodiless nature, it is confined to no place, in no place, on the other hand, is it understood to be absent. But this is understood to be the only difference: that although he is in different beings as we have said, in Peter or Paul or Michael or Gabriel, he is not, however, in all beings in a similar manner. For he is more fully and more clearly and, if I may so speak, more openly in archangels than in other holy men. This is clear from the following point, that when the saints reach the height of perfection they are said to be made like or equal to the

[11] Col. 2:9. On the multiplicity of 'aspects' in the one Christ, see Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.1; *Comm. Jo.* 1.119. Following this sentence, Koetschau inserts a passage from Athanasius, *De decr. Nic. Syn.* 27.3 (Opitz, 23.30–24.3) and numbered it as Fragment 34; it is included in Appendix II as item no. 25.

[12] Cf. John 1:1.

[13] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.152–9; *Cels.* 4.5; 5.12; *Or.* 32.2; see also Clement, *Strom.* 7.2.5.

[14] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.2.3; 1.3.6, 8; *Comm. Jo.* 2.20–33; *Comm. Rom.* 8.2.

[15] 2 Cor. 13:3.

[16] Gal. 2:20.

Vnde constat in singulis quibusque tantum effici Christum, quantum ratio indulserit meritorum.

60 **4.4.3.** His igitur nobis de trinitatis ratione breuiter repetitis, consequens est etiam illud pariter admonere, quod per filium *creata* dicuntur *omnia, quae in caelis sunt et quae in terra, uisibilia et inuisibilia, siue throni siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates; omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt, et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia illi constant, qui est caput.* Quibus consonat etiam 65 Iohannes in euangelio et dicit quia *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* Dauid uero totius trinitatis mysterium in uniuersorum conditione significans ait: *Verbo domini caeli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum.*

Post haec uero conpetenter admonebimus de aduentu corporali et 70 incarnatione unigeniti filii dei: in quo non ita sentiendum est, quod omnis deitatis eius maiestas intra breuissimi corporis claustra conclusa est, ita ut omne uerbum dei et sapientia eius ac substantialis ueritas ac uita uel a patre diuulsa sit uel intra corporis illius coercita et circumscripta breuitatem, nec usquam praeterea putetur operata; sed inter utrumque cauta pietatis debet esse 75 confessio, ut neque aliquid deitatis in Christo defuisse credatur, et nulla penitus a paterna substantia, quae ubique est, facta putetur esse diuulsio. Tale namque aliquid etiam baptistes Iohannes indicat, cum corporaliter absente Iesu dicebat ad turbas: *Medius uestrum stat quem uos nescitis, qui post me uenit, cuius non sum dignus soluere corrigiam calciamentorum.* Quod utique dici non poterat de 80 eo, qui absens erat, quantum ad corporalem praesentiam pertinet, quia medius staret eorum, inter quos corporaliter non aderat. Vnde ostenditur quia et in corpore totus et ubique totus aderat filius dei.

4.4.4. Ne qui tamen nos existimet per haec illud adfirmare, quod pars aliqua deitatis filii dei fuerit in Christo, reliqua uero pars alibi uel ubique; quod illi 85 sentire possunt, qui naturam substantiae incorporeae atque inuisibilis ignorant. Inpossibile namque est de incorporeo partem dici aut diuisionem aliquam fieri; sed in omnibus et per omnia et super omnia est, eo modo quo superius diximus, id est quod uel sapientia uel uerbum uel uita uel ueritas intellegitur,

58 uel spiritum sanctum *post* Christum *add.* B **60** ratione : fide B *Ian* **64** consonat[2] : consona *Ian* **65** et[1] *om. Ian* **66** uniuersorum : uniuerso mundo A[ac] W : uniuersi mundi A[pc2] **71** intra : ita μ S Ab[ac] claustro S **73** coercita : constricta B breuitate δ μ **76** esse diuulsio : diuisio *Ian* : esse diuisio *Del* **77** baptista B M[pc] σ *Ian* **78** cuius : cui δ **79** eius *post* calciamentorum *add.* δ **80** praesentiam corporalem *Ian* quia : quod *Ian* **81** aderat : erat δ **81–2** unde ... aderat *om.* γ **83** qui : quis *Ian* **84** uero *om. Ian* **86** partem dici *om. Ian* **87** omnia[2] : omnibus δ **88** quod : quo B μ *Koe Goe*

angels, according to the evangelical statement.[17] From this it is certain that Christ is in each one to such a degree as the measure of his merits allows.[18]

4.4.3. Having, then, briefly restated these points regarding the Trinity, it follows that we next recall equally that *all things* are said to *have been created* by the Son, *things which are in heaven and which are on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things were created through him and for him, and he is before all things and all these hold together in him, who is the head.*[19] John also agrees with this when in the Gospel he says that *All things were made by him and without him was not anything made.*[20] And David, pointing to the entire mystery of the Trinity in the creation of the universe, says, *By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made and all their host by the Spirit of his mouth.*[21]

After these points, we shall appropriately make mention of the bodily arrival and incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, in whom it is not to be supposed that all the majesty of his divinity is confined within the limits of a tiny body, so that the whole of the Word of God and his Wisdom and substantial Truth and Life was either separated from the Father or forced and confined within the tininess of that body, and is not considered to be working anywhere else; but the careful confession of piety ought to be between the two, so that neither is it believed that anything of divinity was lacking in Christ, nor is it supposed that there took place any separation at all from the substance of the Father, which is everywhere. For some such thing is indicated by John the Baptist, when, with Jesus bodily absent, he said to the multitude, *Among you stands one whom you do not know, who comes after me, the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to unloose.*[22] For it certainly could not be said of one who, as far as pertains to bodily presence, was absent, that he stood among them, between whom he was not bodily present.[23] Thus it is shown that the Son of God was both wholly present in the body and also wholly present elsewhere.

4.4.4. Let no one, however, suppose from this that we affirmed that some portion of the divinity of the Son of God was in Christ, while the remaining portion was elsewhere or everywhere, which may be thought by those who are ignorant of the nature of a bodiless and invisible essence. For it is impossible to speak of a part of what is bodiless or to make any division; but he is in all things and through all things and above all things, in the way that we have spoken of above,[24] that is, in the way in which he is to be understood as Wisdom

[17] Cf. Matt. 22:30; Luke 20:36; Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 17.30. [18] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.6.
[19] Col. 1:16–18. [20] John 1:3. [21] Ps. 33:6. [22] John 1:26–7.
[23] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 2.215; 6.154, 189, 257; see also *Hom. Num.* 3.2.
[24] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 4.4.2–3.

per quem intellectum omnis sine dubio conclusio localis excluditur. Volens
90 igitur filius dei pro salute humani generis apparere hominibus et inter homines conuersari, suscepit non solum corpus humanum, ut quidam putant, sed et animam, nostrarum quidem animarum similem per naturam, proposito uero et uirtute similem sibi et talem, qualis omnes uoluntates et dispensationes uerbi ac sapientiae indeclinabiliter posset implere. Quod autem habuerit
95 animam, manifestissime in euangeliis designat ipse saluator dicens: *Nemo tollit a me animam meam, sed ego pono eam abs me. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et iterum potestatem habeo adsumendi eam*, et rursum: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, et iterum: *Nunc anima mea turbata est.* Neque enim *tristis* et *turbata anima* uerbum dei intellegendum est, quod ex auctoritate deitatis dicit:
100 *Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam.* Nec tamen ita dicimus fuisse filium dei in illa anima, sicut fuit in anima Pauli uel Petri ceterorumque sanctorum, in quibus Christus similiter ut in Paulo loqui creditur. Sed de illis omnibus illud sentiendum est, quod scriptura dicit quia *Nemo mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei fuerit uita eius.* Haec uero anima, quae in Iesu fuit, *priusquam sciret*
105 *malum, elegit bonum*; et quia *dilexit iustitiam et odiit iniquitatem, propterea unxit eam deus oleo laetitiae prae participibus suis. Oleo* ergo *laetitiae* ungitur, cum uerbo dei inmaculata foederatione coniuncta est et per hoc sola omnium

4.4.4, lines 98–100

Theophilus of Alexandria apud *Theodoret of Cyrus*, Eran. *Dialogue 2, florilegia 58 (ed. Ettlinger, 172.18–22), Koetschau Frag. 36:*

Οὐ δήπου γὰρ ἡ ***τεταραγμένη*** *καὶ* ***περίλυπος*** *οὖσα* ***ψυχὴ*** *ὁ μονογενὴς καὶ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα. Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λόγος, ὡς κρείττων τῆς ψυχῆς τυγχάνων, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱός φησιν,* ***Ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω λαβεῖν αὐτήν.***

Theophilus, Ep. pasch. *2 (i.e. Jerome,* Ep. *98.16.3; Hilberg 2, 200.23–201.1):*

Anima, quae *turbata* est et *tristis* effecta, non erat ipsa unigenitus et primogenitus omnis creatura nec uerbum dei, quod condicionem animae superans et uere filius dei in euangelio loquebatur: *potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo sumendi illam.*
[Koetschau, to align the Greek text to the wording of Jerome (and the sense of Rufinus), altered *Ὁ γὰρ—φησιν* to: *οὐδὲ θεὸς λόγος, ὃς κρείττων τῆς ψυχῆς τυγχάνων* <*καὶ*> *αὐτὸς ὁ υἱός* <*θεοῦ*> *φησιν·*]

93 et dispensatione A^{ac} W : ex dispensatione A^{pc} 94 ac : et δ possit γ *post* implere *lacunam signauit Koe* 96 a me *om. Ian* abs me : absque me G^{ac} M^{ac} : *om.* σ *Ian* et *post* me *add.* M^{pc} 96–7 eam^{2} … adsumendi : animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi *Ian* 104 Iesu : Christo *Ian* 105 odit δ σ : odio habuit *Ian* 106 eam : eum δ

or Word or Life or Truth, by which mode of understanding all idea of confinement in a particular place is without doubt excluded. The Son of God, therefore, for the sake of the salvation of the human race, wanting to appear to human beings and to sojourn among them, assumed not only a human body, as some suppose, but also a soul,[25] in its nature indeed like our souls, but in intention and power like himself and such as is able to accomplish all the desires and arrangements of the Word and Wisdom.[26] Now, that he had a soul the Saviour himself most clearly shows in the Gospels, saying, *No one takes my soul from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have the power to lay it down and I have the power to take it up again*, and again, *My soul is sorrowful even unto death*, and again, *Now is my soul troubled*.[27] The[28] *sorrowful* and *troubled soul* must not be understood to be the Word of God, since with the authority of divinity he says, *I have the power to lay down my soul*. Nor, however, do we say that the Son of God was in that soul, as he was in the soul of Paul or Peter and the other saints, in whom we believe Christ spoke, as in Paul.[29] But, of all these it must be thought, as Scripture says, *No one is clean from filth, not even if his life lasted but one day*.[30] But this soul, which was in Jesus, *before it knew evil, chose the good*, and because *it loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God anointed it with the oil of gladness above its fellows*.[31] It is anointed, then, with *the oil of gladness* when it was united with the Word of God in an unblemished union and thereby alone of all souls it became incapable of sin,

[25] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.6; 2.8.2–4.

[26] Koetschau suspects an omission here, placing in his critical apparatus a sentence from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 198.31–3), numbering it as Fragment 35; the text is included in Appendix II as item no. 26.

[27] John 10:18; Matt. 26:38 *et par.*; John 12:27.

[28] Cf. Theophilus of Alexandria as quoted by Theodoret of Cyrus, *Eran.* Dialogue 2, florilegia 58 (ed. Ettlinger, 172.18–22), a passage numbered as Fragment 36 by Koetschau: 'The *troubled* and *sorrowful soul* is not, of course, the Only-begotten and First-born of all creation. For the God Word, himself the Son, as being stronger than the soul, says, *I have the power to lay it down and the power to take it up*.' This passage is also found in the Latin translation of Theophilus *Ep. pasch.* 2 (i.e. Jerome, *Ep.* 98.16.3 [ed. Hilberg 2, 200.23–201.1]).

[29] Cf. 2 Cor. 13:3. See also Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.42; 28.54.

[30] Job 14:4–5. Cf. Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 20.335; *Hom. Num.* 3.2; *Hom. Luc.* 19.1; *Comm. Rom.* 5.4.

[31] Isa. 7:15–16; Ps. 44:8.

animarum peccati incapax fuit, quia filii dei bene et plene capax fuit; ideoque et unum cum ipso est atque eius uocabulis nuncupatur et Iesus Christus
110 appellatur, per quem omnia facta esse dicuntur.

De qua anima, quoniam totam in se sapientiam dei et ueritatem uitamque receperat, etiam illud arbitror dixisse apostolum, quod ait quoniam *Vita uestra abscondita est cum Christo in deo; cum autem Christus apparuerit, uita uestra, tunc et uos cum ipso apparebitis in gloria*. Quis enim alius hic intellegendus est
115 Christus, qui in deo absconditus dicitur et postea appariturus, nisi ille, qui *oleo laetitiae unctus* refertur, id est substantialiter deo repletus, in quo nunc absconditus dicitur? Propterea enim et omnibus credentibus ad exemplum Christus exponitur, quia sicut ille semper et *antequam sciret* omnino *malum elegit bonum* et *dilexit iustitiam* atque *odio habuit iniquitatem*, et propterea
120 *unxit eum deus oleo laetitiae*: ita et unusquisque uel post lapsum uel post errorem expurget se a maculis exemplo proposito, et habens itineris ducem arduam uiam uirtutis incedat; ut si forte per hoc in quantum fieri potest per imitationem eius *participes efficiamur diuinae naturae*, sicut scriptum est quia *Qui dicit se Christo credere, debet, sicut ille ambulauit, et ipse ambulare*. Hoc
125 ergo uerbum et haec sapientia, per cuius imitationem uel sapientes uel rationabiles dicimur, omnibus fit omnia, ut omnes lucri faciat, et fit infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucri faciat; et quia infirmus efficitur, propter hoc dicitur de eo: *Etiamsi crucifixus est ex infirmitate, sed uiuit ex uirtute dei*. Denique Corinthiis, qui infirmi erant, Paulus *nihil se iudicat scire inter ipsos nisi Iesum*
130 *Christum, et hunc crucifixum*.

4.4.5. Quidam autem uolunt de ipsa anima dictum uideri, cum primum de Maria corpus adsumit, etiam illud, quod apostolus dicit: *Qui cum in forma dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo, sed semet ipsum exinaniuit, formam serui accipiens*, quo eam sine dubio in formam dei
135 melioribus exemplis et institutionibus repararet atque in eam plenitudinem, unde se exinaniuerat, reuocaret.

112–13 uestra ... uestra : nostra ... nostra σ 114 apparebitis cum ipso *Ian* 116 refertus *Ian* 119 atque : et *Ian* 123 particeps efficiatur *Ian* 126 ut *post* infirmis *add.* G σ 128 denique : de quo *Ian* 129 scire iudicat *Ian* 132 assumpsit *Ian* 134 quo : cum γ

because it was well and fully capable [of receiving] the Son of God; and therefore it was made one with him[32] and is addressed by his titles and called Jesus Christ, through whom all things are said to have been made.[33]

It was of this soul, since it had received into itself the whole Wisdom of God, and the Truth and the Life, that, I reckon, the Apostle spoke when he said that *Your life is hidden with Christ in God; but when Christ, our life, shall appear, then you shall appear with him in glory.*[34] For who else is meant to be understood by this Christ, who is said to be hidden in God and afterwards to appear, except him who is related to have been *anointed with the oil of gladness*, that is, to have been filled substantially with God, in whom he is now said to be hidden? For this reason Christ is put forward as an example to all believers, because just as he always, even *before he knew evil* at all, *chose the good* and *loved righteousness* and *hated iniquity*, and therefore *God anointed him with the oil of gladness*, so also each one ought, after a lapse or transgression, to cleanse himself from the blemishes by the example put forward, and, having him as the guide of the journey proceed along the arduous path of virtue, that so, perchance by this means, as far as is possible we may, by the imitation of him, *be made partakers of divine nature*,[35] as it is written that, *He who says that he believes in Christ ought himself to walk just as he walked.*[36] This Word, then, and this Wisdom, by the imitation of whom we are said to be either wise or rational, becomes all things to all, that he might gain all, and to the weak he becomes weak, that he might gain the weak,[37] and because he is made weak, therefore it is said of him, *Though he was crucified in weakness, yet he lives by the power of God.*[38] Finally, to the Corinthians who were weak, Paul *determines to know nothing among them except Jesus Christ and him crucified.*[39]

4.4.5. Some, indeed, want the statement—even that which the Apostle says, *Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant*[40]—to be seen as applying to the soul itself, at the moment it assumes a body from Mary, since he undoubtedly restored it to the form of God by means of better examples and precepts, and recalled it to that fullness of which he had emptied himself.

[32] Here Koetschau places, as Fragment 37, a passage from Theodoret of Cyrus, *Eran.* Dialogue 2, florilegia 58 (ed. Ettlinger, 178.5–6), which is paralleled by Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. pasch.* 2 (= Jerome, *Ep.* 98.16.1 [Hilberg 2.200.10–11]); these texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 27.

[33] Cf. John 1:3; Col. 1:16.

[34] Col. 3:3–4. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.6.7.

[35] 2 Pet. 1:4.

[36] 1 John 2:6.

[37] Cf. 1 Cor. 9:22.

[38] 2 Cor. 13:4.

[39] 1 Cor. 2:2. Koetschau places the following material in his critical apparatus to supplement this paragraph: Anathema 7 of the Second Council of Constantinople; Anathema 4 of Justinian; Jerome, *Apol.* 2.12; and Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. synod.* (= Jerome, *Ep.* 92.4.3 [ed. Hilberg 2, 152.15–23]). These texts are all included in Appendix II as item no. 28.

[40] Phil. 2:6–7.

Sicut autem participio filii dei quis in filios adoptatur et participio sapientiae in deo sapiens efficitur, ita et participio spiritus sancti sanctus et spiritalis efficitur. Vnum enim atque idem est spiritus sancti participium sumere, quod
140 est patris et filii, quippe cum una et incorporea natura sit trinitatis. Ea uero, quae de participatione animae diximus, simili ratione ut de animabus, ita etiam de angelis et caelestibus sunt intellegenda uirtutibus, quoniam omnis rationabilis creatura participio indiget trinitatis.

Sed et mundi huius uisibilis ratio, quoniam uel maxima etiam de hoc haberi
145 quaestio solet, qualiter se habeat, prout potuimus in superioribus diximus pro his, qui in fide nostra etiam credendi rationem perquirere solent, et pro his, qui haeretica aduersum nos certamina commouent et materiae nomen, quod ne ipsi quidem adhuc quale sit intellegere potuerunt, solent frequentius uentilare; de quo necessarium puto etiam nunc breuiter commonere.

150 **4.4.6.** Et primo quidem sciendum est quod nomen ipsum materiae pro ea substantia, quae subesse corporibus dicitur, positum in scripturis canonicis nusquam usque ad praesens inuenimus. Illud enim quod dicit Esaias: *Et comedet sicut faenum ὕλην*, id est materiam, dicens de eis, qui in suppliciis constituti sunt, materiam posuit pro peccatis. Sed et sicubi in alio loco scriptum
155 forte materiae nomen est, nusquam, ut ego arbitror, hoc, de quo nunc quaerimus, significare inuenietur nisi tantummodo in Sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis, qui utique liber non ab omnibus in auctoritate habetur. Ibi tamen inuenimus scriptum hoc modo: *Non enim*, inquit, *deerat omnipotenti manui tuae, quae creauerat mundum ex informi materia, inmittere eis multitudinem*
160 *ursorum uel feroces leones*. Quam plurimi sane putant ipsam rerum materiam significari in eo, quod in principio Genesis scriptum est a Moyse: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram, terra autem erat inuisibilis et incomposita*; *inuisibilem* namque et *incompositam terram* non aliud eis Moyses quam informem materiam uisus est indicare. Quodsi uere haec est materia, constat
165 exinde inconuertibilia non esse initia corporum. Nam hi, qui atomos uel ea, quae in partes uenire non possunt, uel ea, quae in aequales partes ueniunt, uel

137 filios : filium *Ian* 138 sanctus et : spiritus et μ : *om.* σ 140–1 Ea uero quae : uero quae G M[ac] : quae uero M[pc] σ : uerum quae *Del* 143 participatio μ : participatione σ 153 comedit γ hylen γ : ylen δ B 156 inuenitur δ 159 inmittere eis : mittere et δ 160 rerum ipsam γ 161 genesi γ 164 est[2] *post* esse *(l.165) transp.* A[pc2] 165 non possunt *post* exinde *add.* δ

Just as by participation in the Son of God one is adopted among the sons, and by participation in the Wisdom in God one is rendered wise, so also by participation in the Holy Spirit one is rendered holy and spiritual.[41] For this is one and the same thing as to receive participation in the Holy Spirit, who is of the Father and the Son, since the nature of the Trinity is one and bodiless. And what we have said regarding the participation of the soul is to be understood of the angels and heavenly powers in a similar way as that of the souls, since every rational creature needs a participation in the Trinity.

Moreover, regarding the plan of this visible world, since the very important question is often raised about how the world is constituted, we have spoken in the above to the best of our ability,[42] for the sake of those who are accustomed to examine the basis of belief in our religion, and also for those who stir up heretical arguments against us and who are accustomed to bring up frequently the word 'matter', which even they themselves have not yet been able to understand; regarding this I think it necessary to make mention now, even if briefly.

4.4.6. In the first place, it must be known that we have, up to the present time, nowhere found in the canonical[43] Scriptures the word 'matter' itself used for that substance which is said to underlie bodies. For what Isaiah says—*And he shall devour* ὕλη, that is, matter, *like hay*,[44] speaking of those who were appointed for punishment—used 'matter' instead of 'sins'. And even if the word 'matter' happens to be written in any other place, it will never be found, so I reckon, to signify that which we now seek, unless perhaps in the Wisdom which is said to be of Solomon, which is, in any case, a book not held in authority by all.[45] Nevertheless, we do find it written there, in this way: *For your all-powerful hand*, it says, *that created the world out of formless matter, was not at a loss to send out on them a multitude of bears or fierce lions*.[46] Very many, indeed, reckon that the matter of things itself is signified in that which is written in the beginning of Genesis by Moses, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible and unordered*;[47] for by this *invisible and unordered earth*, Moses seems to them to indicate nothing else but unformed matter. But if this is truly matter, it is evident then that the first principles of bodies are not incapable of change. For those who posited atoms—either those which cannot be divided into parts, or those which are divided into equal parts, or any one element as the first principles of bodily

[41] For participation in the Son, see Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 9.4; in Wisdom, *Princ.* 1.2.4; 1.3.8; in the Spirit, *Princ.* 1.1.3; 1.3.8; 1.7.2–4.

[42] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1–3.

[43] This expression is not used by Origen in any extant Greek text, and presumably comes from Rufinus.

[44] Isa. 10:17.

[45] Though nevertheless used extensively by Origen in *Princ.* 1.2.9–13; and cited as 'the divine word' (ὁ θεῖος λόγος) in *Cels.* 3.72.

[46] Wis. 11:17.

[47] Gen. 1:1.

unum aliquod elementum rerum corporalium principia posuerunt, nomen materiae, id est quod principaliter materiam significat, inter principia statuere non potuerunt. Neque enim cum materiam subiciunt omni corpori per
170 omnia conuertibilem substantiam uel commutabilem uel diuisibilem, extra qualitates eam secundum proprietatem suam subicient. Quibus etiam nos adquiescimus, qui omni genere abnuimus ingenitam uel infectam dici debere materiam secundum haec, quae in prioribus prout potuimus ostendimus, cum
175 etiam ex aqua et terra, aere uel calore per diuersa arborum genera diuersos proferri ostendimus fructus, uel cum ignem, aerem, aquam terramque mutari in semet ipsa inuicem ac resolui aliud in aliud elementum mutua quadam consanguinitate docuimus, sed et cum de escis uel hominum uel animalium probauimus substantiam carnis existere uel humorem seminis naturalis in carnem solidam ossaque conuerti. Quae omnia documento sunt quod substantia
180 corporalis permutabilis sit et ex omni in omnem deueniat qualitatem.

4.4.7. Verumtamen illud scire oportet, quoniam numquam substantia sine qualitate subsistit, sed intellectu solo discernitur hoc, quod subiacet corporibus et capax est qualitatis, esse materia. Quidam ergo altius de his uolentes inquirere, ausi sunt dicere nihil aliud esse naturam corpoream quam qualitates.
185 Si enim duritia et mollities, calidum et frigidum, humidum et aridum qualitas est, his autem uel ceteris huiusmodi amputatis nihil aliud intellegitur subiacere, uidebuntur qualitates esse omnia. Vnde et hi, qui haec adserunt, adseuerare conati sunt ut, quoniam omnes, qui materiam infectam dicunt, qualitates a deo factas esse confitentur, inueniatur per hoc etiam secundum ipsos nec materia
190 esse infecta, si quidem qualitates sint omnia, quae utique sine contradictione ab omnibus a deo facta esse pronuntiantur. Hi uero, qui subiacenti cuidam materiae additas extrinsecus qualitates uolunt ostendere, huiuscemodi utuntur exemplis, uerbi gratia: Paulus sine dubio aut tacet aut loquitur, aut uigilat aut dormit, uel certo quo corporis habitu consistit, aut enim sedet aut stat aut iacet.
195 Haec enim sunt hominibus accidentia, sine quibus numquam fere inueniuntur. Nec tamen sensus noster de eo manifeste aliquid horum definit, sed ita eum per haec intellegimus uel consideramus, ut non omni modo rationem status eius conpraehendamus, uel in eo quod uigilat uel in eo quod dormit, aut in quo loquitur uel tacet, et si qua alia sunt, quae accidere necesse est hominibus.
200 Sicut ergo quis Paulum sine his omnibus esse consideret, quae possunt accidere, ita et id, quod subiacet, quis intellegere sine qualitatibus poterit. Cum ergo

168 materiae : materia A[ac] inprincipaliter γ **181** numquam : num μ : nulla σ **184** qualitatem δ **187** *post* adserunt *lacunam signauit Koe, qui proposuit* mirum quoddam *uel quid simile in appar.;* nihil de materia infecta *uel* nihil aliud ac nos de materia infecta *(Karpp) uel* nihil absurdam *Goe in appar.; Sim autem non admisit lacunam* **194** certe γ quo : aliqio σ **197** non ... rationem : omni moderatione A[ac] W : in omni moderatione A[pc]

things—were not able to place among the first principles the word 'matter', that is, that which primarily signifies matter.[48] Nor, if they think matter lies beneath every body, as a substance convertible or changeable or divisible throughout all its parts, will they think it lies beneath, according to its own proper character, without qualities. With them we agree, we who in every way deny that matter should be spoken of as 'unbegotten' or 'uncreated', in conformity with what we have shown as far as we were able in the preceding pages,[49] when we pointed out that from water and earth and air and heat, different kinds of fruit are produced by different kinds of trees; or when we showed that fire, air, water, and earth are alternately changed into one another, and that one element is resolved into another by a sort of mutual relationship; and also when we proved that the substance of the flesh comes from the food either of human beings or animals or that the moisture of the natural seed was converted into solid flesh and bones. All of which are a proof that bodily substance is changeable and may pass from one quality into any others.

4.4.7. Nevertheless this must be known, that a substance never exists without a quality, but, in understanding alone, that which underlies bodies and is capable of receiving a quality is demarcated as matter. Some, indeed, wanting to investigate these subjects more profoundly, have ventured to assert that bodily nature is nothing other than qualities. For if hardness and softness, heat and cold, wetness and dryness, are qualities, and when these or all other such things are taken away nothing is conceived to lie beneath, then all things will appear to be qualities. And so those who assert this have endeavoured to maintain that, since all who say that matter was uncreated will allow that qualities were created by God, it may in this way be shown that even according to them matter is not uncreated, if indeed qualities are everything, and these are declared by all without contradiction to have been made by God. Those, however, who want to show that qualities are added from without to a certain underlying matter, make use of illustrations of this kind: for example, Paul undoubtedly is either silent or speaks or watches or sleeps or maintains a certain attitude of body, for he either sits or stands or lies down. For these are accidents of a human being, without which they are scarcely ever found. However, our mind clearly does not define a human being by any of these things; but through them we think of him and consider him in such a way that we do not at all take into account the idea of his condition, either that in which he watches or sleeps or talks or is silent, or other conditions which necessarily happen to a human being. Just as, therefore, one can consider Paul as existing without all these things that are capable of happening, so also will he be able to understand that which lies beneath without qualities. When our mind,

[48] For an account of such teachings, see Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1.3–4 (983a24–985b23).
[49] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.1.4.

sensus noster omni qualitate ab intellectu suo remota ipsum subiacentiae solius, ut ita dixerim, punctum contuetur et ipsi inhaeret, nequaquam respiciens ad duritiam uel mollitiem uel calidum uel frigidum uel humidum uel aridum
205 substantiae, tunc simulata quodammodo cogitatione his omnibus qualitatibus nudam uidebitur intueri materiam.

4.4.8. Sed fortasse requirat aliquis, si possumus etiam de scripturis occasionem
210 aliquam intellegentiae huius accipere. Videtur mihi tale aliquid significari in psalmis, cum dicitur a propheta: *Inperfectum tuum uiderunt oculi mei.* In quo uidetur mens prophetae, rerum initia intuitu perspicaciore discutiens et materiam sensu solo ac ratione a qualitatibus diuidens, inperfectum dei sensisse, quod utique adiectis qualitatibus intellegitur consummatum. Sed et
215 in libro suo Enoch ita ait: Ambulaui usque ad inperfectum, quod et ipsum puto posse similiter intellegi, quod scilicet ambulauerit mens prophetae perscrutans et disserens singula quaeque rerum uisibilium, usquequo ad principium perueniret illud, in quo inperfectam materiam absque qualitatibus peruideret; scriptum namque est in eodem libello, dicente ipso Enoch: Vniuersas materias
220 perspexi. Quod utique ita sentitur, quia omnes materiae diuisiones peruidi, quae ab una in singulas quasque diremptae sunt species, id est hominis uel animalium uel caeli uel solis uel omnium, quae in hoc mundo sunt.

Post haec iam omnia, quae sunt, a deo facta esse, et nihil esse quod factum non sit praeter naturam patris et filii et spiritus sancti, prout potuimus in
225 superioribus demonstrauimus, et quod uolens deus, qui natura bonus est, habere quibus bene faceret et qui adeptis suis beneficiis laetarentur, fecit se

204 uel humidum uel aridum *om.* γ 205 substantia δ G σ 211 a : *om.* A[ac] W B 214 quod : quo A[ac] W B 216 perueniret : uenerit γ peruiderit γ 217 Enoch : enoc μ : in hoc δ 218 ita sentitur : ista sentiuntur δ 219 direptae δ G σ : diruptae *Del* hominum B 224 fecit se : fecisse γ

therefore, having put away every quality from its conception, gazes upon the point, so to speak, of that which lies beneath alone, and clings to that, without in the least looking at the hardness or softness or heat or cold or wetness or dryness of the substance, then, by this somewhat artificial process of thought, it will appear to behold matter stripped of all these qualities.

4.4.8. But perhaps someone may ask whether we can obtain any grounds for such an understanding of this subject from Scripture. It seems to me that some such view is indicated in the Psalms, when it is said by the prophet, *My eyes have seen your imperfection.*[50] In this verse, the mind of the Prophet, examining with more piercing insight the first principles of things and distinguishing, in mind and reason alone, between matter and its qualities, perceived the imperfection of God, which is certainly understood to be perfected by the addition of qualities. Moreover, Enoch also in his book speaks as follows: 'I walked even to imperfection',[51] which, I reckon, may be understood in a similar manner, namely, that the mind of the Prophet, examining and discussing every single visible thing, walked until it arrived at that first principle in which it beheld imperfect matter without qualities; for it is written in the same book, with Enoch himself speaking, 'I beheld the whole of matter.'[52] This is assuredly understood thus, that he has seen all the divisions of matter which have, from one, been broken off into each species, that is, of human beings or of animals or of the sky or of the sun or of everything that is in this world.

Then, after these points, we proved to the best of our ability in the above pages,[53] that all things which exist were made by God, and that there is nothing that is not made except the nature of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and that God, who is by nature good, wanting to have those whom he might benefit and who might rejoice in receiving his benefits, made creatures worthy of himself, that is, who were capable of receiving him worthily, whom also, he says, he begot as sons.[54] He made all things, moreover, *by number and*

[50] Cf. Ps. 138:16: 'Your eyes beheld my unwrought state [τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν μου]'; Hilary (*Trac. in Ps. 138*, 32; CSEL 22.766ff) also renders this as *imperfectum* and *inoperatum*.

[51] 1 Enoch 21:1 (GCS 5, p. 50.4), which uses the word ἀκατασκεύαστος, no doubt taken from Gen. 1:2. Origen also cites Enoch in *Princ.* 1.3.3, and also in *Hom. Num.* 28.2; *Comm. Jo.* 6.217; *Cels.* 5.54, where he states that it is not generally held to be divine by the churches.

[52] Cf. 1 Enoch 19:3 (GCS 5, p. 48.18f), which speaks of Enoch seeing the 'extremities of all things' (πέρατα πάντων). The text is found in Clement of Alexandria, *Ecl. proph.* 2.1 (Stählin, 3.137.16–17): καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας. Cf. 2 Enoch 40:1.

[53] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.3; 1.4.3–4; 1.7.1.

[54] Cf. Isa. 1:2. Origen, *Princ.* 4.4.5.

dignas creaturas, id est quae eum digne capere possent, quos et genuisse se filios dicit. Fecit autem omnia *numero et mensura*; nihil enim deo uel sine fine uel sine mensura est. Virtute enim sua omnia conpraehendit, et ipse nullius creaturae sensu conpraehensus est. Illa enim natura soli sibi cognita est. Solus enim pater nouit filium, et solus filius nouit patrem, et solus spiritus sanctus
230 *perscrutatur etiam alta dei.*

Omnis igitur creatura intra certum apud eum numerum mensuramque distinguitur, id est uel rationabilium numerum uel mensuram materiae corporalis; ut quoniam necesse erat uti corporibus intellectualem naturam, quae et commutabilis et conuertibilis depraehenditur ea ipsa conditione, qua
235 facta est (quod enim non fuit et esse coepit, ex hoc ipso naturae mutabilis designatur et ideo nec substantialem habet uel uirtutem uel malitiam, sed accidentem), quoniam ergo, ut diximus, mutabilis et conuertibilis erat natura rationabilis, ita ut pro meritis etiam diuerso corporis uteretur indumento illius uel illius qualitatis, necessario sicut diuersitates praenoscebat deus futuras uel
240 animarum uel uirtutum spiritalium, ita etiam naturam corpoream faceret, quae permutatione qualitatum in omnia, quae res posceret, conditoris arbitrio mutaretur. Quam tamdiu necesse est permanere, quamdiu permanent ea, quae eius indigent indumento; semper autem erunt rationabiles naturae, quae indigeant indumento corporeo: semper ergo erit et natura corporea, cuius
245 indumentis uti necesse est rationabiles creaturas; nisi si quis putat posse se ullis assertionibus ostendere quod possit natura rationabilis absque ullo corpore uitam degere. Quod quam difficile sit uel paene inpossibile intellectui nostro, in superioribus singula disserentes ostendimus.

4.4.9. Puto sane operi huic nostro contrarium non uideri, si etiam de inmortalitate
250 rationabilium naturarum quam possumus breuiter repetamus. Omnis, qui participat alicuius, cum eo, qui eiusdem rei particeps est, sine dubio unius substantiae est uniusque naturae. Vt puta omnes oculi lucis participant, et ideo omnes oculi, qui de luce participant, unius naturae sunt; sed licet omnis oculus

234 qua : quae *γ* 239 necessario : necessarium fuit ut *Del* 240 uel *om. γ* 242 est : et *Goe* 244 et *om. γ* 245 si *om. Del* 248 differentes A G 257 uel[1] *om. γ*

measure,[55] for to God there is nothing without end or without measure.[56] For by his power he comprehends all things, and he himself is not comprehended by the intellect of any created being. For that nature is known to itself alone. For the Father alone knows the Son, and the Son alone knows the Father,[57] and the Holy Spirit alone *searches out even the deep things of God*.[58]

Every created thing, therefore, is distinguished by him as being within a certain number or measurement, that is, number for rational beings or measure for bodily matter; since, then, as it was necessary for intellectual beings to make use of bodies, and this nature is shown to be changeable and convertible by the very condition of its being created (for what was not and began to be, by this very circumstance is shown to be of a mutable nature, and therefore it has goodness or wickedness not as a substantial property but as an accident), since, then, as we have said, rational nature was mutable and convertible, so that it made use of a different bodily covering of this or that kind, according to its merits, it was necessary that just as God foreknew there would be variations of souls or spiritual powers, so he should also create a bodily nature which might be changed, by the will of the Creator, by an alteration of qualities, into everything that the case required. And it is necessary that this must last as long as those endure who need it for a covering; for there will always be rational beings who need a bodily covering, and there will always be a bodily nature, whose coverings must necessarily be used by rational creatures,[59] unless someone reckons that he is able to prove by any argument that a rational being can lead a life without a body at all. But how difficult, if not almost impossible, this is for our understanding, we have shown in discussing the particular points in the above.

4.4.9. It will not appear, I think, contrary to this work of ours if we also revisit, as briefly as we can, the immortality of rational beings.[60] Everyone who

[55] Wis. 11:20. See also Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.295; 32.184.

[56] Koetschau (and Fernandez similarly) inserts here, as Fragment 38, a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 209.8–10); he places a passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.13.1–2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 115.9–19), in his critical apparatus as representing a fuller version of what Rufinus translated by the following sentence ('For by his power ... created being'); then, after that sentence, he inserts, as Fragment 39, a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 209.19–23), and includes a parallel passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.13.2–3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 115.19–116.4), in his critical apparatus. All these texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 29.

[57] Cf. John 10:15; 17:25.

[58] 1 Cor. 2:10.

[59] Koetschau suggests that the remaining lines of this paragraph are paralleled by a more extensive passage from Jerome, *Ep.* 124.14.1 (Hilberg 3, 116.5–17), which he puts in his critical apparatus; the last lines of this passage from Jerome are paralleled by a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 212.16–19), said to come from *Princ.* 4 and which Koetschau places within the text as Fragment 40. Similarly Fernandez. These texts are included in Appendix II as item no. 30.

[60] The immortality of rational beings, intellects, was alluded to in *Princ.* 2.8.3, and a propos of the resurrection in 2.3.2; 3.6.4; but it has not been stated explicitly for it now to be 'revisited'.

de luce participet, tamen quoniam alius acutius, alius obtunsius uidet, non omnis
255 oculus aequaliter de luce participat. Et rursum omnis auditus uocem uel sonum recipit, et ideo omnis auditus unius naturae est; uerum pro qualitate puri et sinceri auditus unusquisque uel uelocius audit uel tardius. Transeamus ergo ab his sensibilibus exemplis ad intellectualium contemplationem.

Omnis mens, quae de intellectuali luce participat, cum omni mente, quae
260 simili modo de intellectuali luce participat, unius sine dubio debet esse naturae. Si ergo caelestes uirtutes intellectualis lucis, id est diuinae naturae, per hoc quod sapientiae et sanctificationis participant, participium sumunt, et humana anima eiusdem lucis et sapientiae participium sumit, erunt et ista unius naturae secum inuicem uniusque substantiae; incorruptae autem sunt et inmortales caelestes
265 uirtutes: incorrupta sine dubio et inmortalis erit etiam animae humanae substantia. Non solum autem, sed quoniam ipsa patris et filii et spiritus sancti natura, cuius solius intellectualis lucis uniuersa creatura participium trahit, incorrupta est et aeterna, ualde et consequens et necessarium est etiam omnem substantiam, quae aeternae illius naturae participium trahit, perdurare etiam
270 ipsam semper et incorruptibilem et aeternam, ut diuinae bonitatis aeternitas

4.4.9, lines 259–64

Cf. Jerome, Ep. *124.14.2–4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 116.17–117.7):*

Et ne parum putaremus inpietatem esse eorum, quae praemiserat, in eiusdem uoluminis fine coniungit omnes rationabiles naturas, id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, angelos, potestates, dominationes ceterasque uirtutes, ipsum quoque hominem secundum animae dignitatem unius esse substantiae. Intellectualem [inquit] rationabilemque naturam sentit deus et unigenitus filius eius et spiritus sanctus, sentiunt angeli et potestates ceteraeque uirtutes, sentit *interior homo*, qui *ad imaginem et similitudinem dei* conditus est. Ex quo concluditur deum et haec quodam modo unius esse substantiae. Unum addit uerbum 'quodam modo', ut tanti sacrilegii crimen effugeret, et, qui in alio loco filium et spiritum sanctum non uult de patris esse substantia, ne diuinitatem in partes secare uideatur, naturam omnipotentis dei angelis hominibusque largitur.

262 sanctificationis *Koe Sim Goe Fern* : sanctificationi γ G M[pc] σ *Del* : sanctificatione M[ac] 263 sumit erunt : sumit et erunt δ : sumserunt γ secum : secundum δ : ad *Del* 268 et[2] *om.* γ 270 ipsa A : *om.* γ 273 acutior : acurior B : diutior μ : clarior σ ac : et G σ

partakes of anything is without doubt of one substance and one nature with one who is a partaker of the same thing. So, for example, all eyes partake of light, and therefore all eyes which partake of light are of one nature; yet, although every eye partakes of light, as one sees more clearly and another more dimly, every eye does not equally partake of light. And again, every faculty of hearing receives voice or sound, and therefore every faculty of hearing is of one nature; but, according to the condition of purity and clarity of the faculty of hearing, each one hears more quickly or slowly. Let us now pass from these examples pertaining to the senses to the contemplation of things intellectual.

Every[61] intellect that partakes of intellectual light ought, without doubt, to be of one nature with every intellect that partakes in a similar manner of intellectual light. If then the heavenly powers receive a share of intellectual light, that is, of the divine nature, because they partake of wisdom and sanctification, and the human soul receives a share of the same light and wisdom, then they will be of one nature and of one substance with each other. But the heavenly powers are incorruptible and immortal; undoubtedly the substance of the human soul will also be incorruptible and immortal. And not only so, but since the nature of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, of whose intellectual light alone the universal creation obtains a share, is incorruptible and eternal, it is absolutely consistent and necessary that every substance which obtains a share of that eternal nature should remain forever, both incorruptible and eternal, so that the eternity of divine goodness may be understood in this respect as well, that those who obtain its benefits are also eternal. But just as, in the illustrations, a diversity in the perception of light was preserved, when the gaze of the beholder was described as duller or more

[61] Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.14.2–4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 116.17–117.7): 'And so we should not think that the impiety of these quotations was too little, at the end of the same volume he adds that all rational natures—that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, angels, authorities, dominions, and the other powers, and even the human being himself in virtue of the dignity of the soul—are of one substance. God, he says, and his only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, are conscious of an intellectual and rational nature; the angels and the authorities and the other powers also; *the inner human being*, who was made *in the image and likeness of God*, likewise. From which it is concluded that God and they are in some way of one substance. He adds this one phrase, "in some way", so as to escape the charge of sacrilege; and so he, who in another place will not allow the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of the substance with the Father, lest he should seem to be dividing the divinity into parts, bestows the nature of the omnipotent God upon angels and human beings.'

etiam in eo intellegatur, dum aeterni sunt et hi, qui eius beneficia consequuntur. Sed sicut percipiendae lucis diuersitas seruata est in exemplis, cum uel obtunsior uel acutior obtutus designatus est intuentis: ita etiam de patris ac filii et spiritus sancti participatione seruanda est pro intentione sensus uel mentis capacitate 275 diuersitas.

Alioquin consideremus, si non etiam impium uidetur ut mens, quae dei capax est, substantialem recipiat interitum: tamquam hoc ipsum, quod intellegere deum potest et sentire, non ei sufficere possit ad perpetuitatem, maxime cum, etiamsi per neglegentiam decidat mens ne pure et integre in se 280 recipiat deum, semper tamen habeat in se uelut semina quaedam reparandi ac reuocandi melioris intellectus, cum *ad imaginem et similitudinem* dei, qui creauit eum, *interior homo*, qui et rationabilis dicitur, *renouatur*. Propter quod et propheta dicit: *Reminiscentur et conuertentur ad dominum omnes fines terrae, et adorabunt in conspectu eius omnes patriae gentium.*

285 **4.4.10.** Si qui uero audet substantialem corruptionem dare ei, qui *secundum imaginem et similitudinem* dei factus est, ut ego puto, etiam in ipsum filium dei causam impietatis extendit; *imago* namque *dei* etiam ipse appellatus est in scripturis. Aut certe accuset qui haec ita uult scripturae auctoritatem, quae dicit *ad imaginem* dei factum esse hominem; in quo et manifeste diuinae 290 imaginis cognoscuntur indicia, non per effigiem corporis, quae corrumpitur, sed per animi prudentiam, per iustitiam, per moderationem, per uirtutem, per sapientiam, per disciplinam, per omnem denique uirtutum chorum, quae cum in deo insint per substantiam, in homine possunt esse per industriam et per imitationem dei, sicut et dominus designat in euangelio dicens: *Estote* 295 *misericordes, sicut et pater uester misericors est* et: *Estote perfecti, sicut et pater uester perfectus est.* Vnde euidenter ostenditur quod in deo quidem hae omnes uirtutes semper sunt nec umquam accedere possunt aut recedere, ab hominibus uero paulatim et singulae quaeque conquiruntur. Vnde et consanguinitatem quandam per hoc habere uidentur ad deum; et cum deus omnia nouerit, et 300 nihil eum rerum intellectualium ex se lateat (solus enim deus pater et unigenitus filius suus et spiritus sanctus non solum eorum, quae creauit, uerum etiam sui scientiam tenet), potest tamen etiam rationabilis mens proficiens a

276 uideretur γ 278 deum potest : domino pars est δ possit : posse A 282 renouatur : reuocatur δ *Koe* 283 *post* reminiscentur *desinit* S 292 corum δ in *om.* B μ 293 industriam : induritiam G[ac] M : indulgentiam G[pc] 295 et[2] *om.* δ et[3] *om.* μ 296 hae : haec B G[ac] 297 accidere B μ recedere : decidere B 299 et[1] : ut δ B nouerit : nominauerit δ

acute, so also a diversity of participation in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is to be preserved, in accordance with the application of the understanding and the capacity of the intellect.[62]

On the other hand, let us consider if it would not even seem impious to say that the intellect, which is capable of receiving God, should receive the destruction of its substance; as if the very fact that it is able to understand and perceive God were not able to suffice for its perpetuity, especially since, even if, through negligence, the intellect falls away from the pure and complete reception of God into itself,[63] it nevertheless always contains within itself some seeds, as it were, of being restored and recalled to a better understanding, when *the inner human being*, who is also called the 'rational' human being, is *renewed according to the image and likeness* of God who created him.[64] And therefore the prophet says, *All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord, and all the families of the nations shall worship before him.*[65]

4.4.10. If anyone indeed dares to ascribe substantial corruption to him who was made *according to the image and likeness* of God, then, I think, this impious charge extends even to the Son of God himself, for he is called in Scripture *the image of God.*[66] Or one who holds this would certainly impugn the authority of Scripture, which says that the human being was made *in the image* of God; and in him the marks of the divine image are manifestly discerned not through the form of his body,[67] which goes to corruption, but through the prudence of his mind, justice, moderation, virtue, wisdom, discipline, in sum through the whole band of virtues, which exist in God essentially and which may exist in the human being through diligence and the imitation of God, just as the Lord points out in the Gospel, saying, *Be merciful as your Father is merciful* and, *Be perfect, as your Father is perfect.*[68] From this it is clearly shown that in God all these virtues exist forever and they can never come to him or depart from him, while with human beings they are acquired slowly and one by one. From this also they are seen to have a kind of kinship,[69] through this, to God; and since God knows all things, and nothing of intellectual things can escape his notice (for God the Father alone, and his only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, not only possesses a knowledge of those things which he has created, but also of himself[70]), it is possible that a rational intellect also, advancing from small things to great, and

[62] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.3.6; 2.6.3; 4.4.2.

[63] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.4.1 and the materials cited in n.71 and n.73 there.

[64] Gen. 1.26; 2 Cor. 4:16. [65] Ps. 22:28. [66] Col. 1:15.

[67] As in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.6.1. Melito of Sardis is perhaps also in view here; see Origen, *Sel. Gen.* 1:26 (PG 12, 93).

[68] Luke 6:36; Matt. 5:48. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.6.1, and the material cited in n.5 there.

[69] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.1.7.

[70] Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.6.1; *Hom. Isa.* 1.2; 4.1; *Cels.* 6.17; *Com. Rom.* 8.13.

paruis ad maiora et a uisibilibus ad inuisibilia peruenire ad intellectum perfectiorem. Est enim in corpore posita, et necessario a sensibilibus, quae
305 sunt corporea, ad insensibilia, quae sunt incorporea et intellectualia, proficit. Verum ne cui indecenter dictum uideatur insensibilia esse quae intellectualia sunt, utemur exemplo sententiae Salomonis dicentis: *Sensum quoque diuinum inuenies*. In quo ostendit non corporali sensu, sed alio quodam, quem *diuinum* nominat, ea, quae intellectualia sunt, requirenda.

310 Hoc autem sensu intuendum nobis est etiam de his singulis quae supra diximus rationabilibus, et hoc sensu audienda sunt ista, quae loquimur, et consideranda quae scribimus. Nam diuina natura etiam taciti quid intra nos uoluamus, agnoscit. De his autem, quae diximus, uel de reliquis, quae consequentia sunt, secundum hanc formam, quam supra exposuimus, sentiendum est.

304 a *om.* μ **305** insensibilia ... et *om.* μ **311** rationabilibus : rationibus δ B et[1] *om.* δ **312** quid : quae *Del* : quidquid *Koe malit in appar.* **314** *post* sentiendum est *amanuensis codicis metensis scripsit:* De uolente et adiuante legi. Explicit liber IIII in nomine patris et fili et spiritus sancti. Qui legis memento mei cum ueneris in regno dei quod paratum est sanctis ab origine mundi

from things visible to things invisible, may attain to a more perfect understanding. For it is placed in the body, and of necessity advances from things perceptible to the senses, which are bodily, to things that are not perceptible to the senses, which are bodiless and intellectual. But lest what was said, that things intellectual are not perceptible to the senses, seem inappropriate, we will utilize, as an example, the statement of Solomon, who says, *You will find also a divine sense.*[71] By this he shows that those things which are intellectual are to be sought out not by means of a bodily sense, but by a certain other, which he calls *divine*.

It is with this sense that we must look upon each of those rational beings which we have spoken about above; and with this sense that those words which we speak must be heard and those which we write must be considered. For the divine nature knows even those silent thoughts which we turn around inside ourselves. And concerning those points about which we have spoken, or others which follow on from them, we must think in accordance with the pattern we have laid out above.[72]

[71] Prov. 2:5. Cf. Origen, *Princ.* 1.1.9.

[72] Cf. 2 Tim. 1:13.



Appendix I
Chapter Titles in the Latin Manuscripts

Preface, line 2

β quod omnis ueritas nonnisi a christo et ab his qui a christo sunt inspirati discenda sit (*antep. canones libri primi* β)
Ab de deo (*antep. canones libri primi* Ab)

Preface, line 21 *ante* quoniam

β quoniam ipsi qui christo credunt diuerse de dogmatibus sentiunt quae sint quae secundum auctoritatem scribturarum ex definito tenenda sint et quae sint quae ratione sola et coniecturis quia scribturarum auctoritate carent prudenter opinanda sint

Preface, line 112 *ante* appellation

β de appellatione asomati id est incorporei

1.1, line 1

δ de deo [*in textu*]
β de deo quod neque ipse corpus sit neque in corpore positus
μ de deo
σ *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.1, line 47 *ante* sed

β quomodo rationabilis creatura participium sancti spiritus capere dicatur

1.1, line 84 *ante* omni

β quod substantia dei quae tota mens est nec corporea nec ex diuersis composita possit intellegi

1.1, line 203 *ante* uerum

β quod penitus natura dei uisibilis non sit

1.2, line 1

δ de christo [*in textu*]
β de christo quod diuersis appellationibus nunc unum esse cum patre secundum diuinitatis naturam docetur nunc etiam cum hominibus secundum dispensationem carnis assumptae
μ Ab de christo
S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.2, line 25 *ante* quomodo

β quod sicut semper pater ita semper et filius et quomodo intellegi debeat dominus creauit me in initio uiarum suarum

1.2, line 83 *ante* uerum

β quod non corporali progenie pater filium genuit sed ut cor uerbum ut uoluntatem mens ut sapientiam sensus ut splendorem lux

1.2, line 197 *ante* uideamus

C quod omousius sit filius patri id est unius cum eo substantiae et quod uirtus aeterna de aeterna uirtute sit et quomodo omnipotens sit deus ac de omnipotente omnipotens natus sit filius

1.2, line 209 *ante* huius

B quod omousios sit filius patri id est unius cum eo substantiae et quod uirtus aeterna de aeterna uirtute sit et quomodo omnipotens sit deus ac de omnipotente omnipotens natus sit filius

1.2, line 253 *ante* audiat

β de omnipotentia christi filii dei quod eadem sit quae patris eademque substantia et inoperatio

1.2, line 332 *ante* superset

β de bonitate filii dei et quomodo intellegi debeat quod scriptum est nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater

1.3–4, line 1

δ M Ab de spiritu sancto
β de spiritu sancto quod neque creatura esse usquam in scribturis sanctis legatur neque in alio a uirtute et potestate patris ac filii differat
G S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.3–4, line 68 *ante* dicebat

β de seraphin

1.3–4, line 102 *ante* rectum

β quod spiritus sanctus tantummodo sanctis detur et quod patris et filii et spiritu sancti inoperationes uel efficientiae nunc [non C] separentur in scribturis propter personarum uel proprietatum distinctionem nunc ad unum reuocentur et indiscrete habeantur propter substantiae unitatem et cum uaria trinitatis dispensatio referatur ad unum tamen deum omnium summa reuocetur

1.3–4, line 249 *ante* ut autem

δ γ de imminutione uel lapsu
β de imminutione uel labsu rationabilium

1.3–4, line 280 *ante* hanc

δ de creaturis uel conditionibus
β de creaturis uel conditionibus et uirtutibus dei per quas creat et benefacit his quos creauit
[*deficit* γ]

1.5–6, line 1

δ de rationabilibus naturis

β de rationabilibus naturis et ordinibus earum nominibusque uel officiis
γ de rationabilibus naturis [*in textu*]

1.5–6, line 23 *ante* tum

δ μ de contrariis uirtutibus
β de contrariis potestatibus quod etiam istae a deo bonae creatae sunt et in natura quidem habeant ut et boni capaces sint sed in uoluntate non habeant et quod ordines et gradus quosdam habeant in malitia secundum quod ex [et B *cap.*] ipsis eorum uocabulis indicatur
σ *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.5–6, line 108–9 *ante* Et primo

β quid hiezechihel [quod iezechiel C] de quadam maligna uirtute et ex pristina bonitate dilabsa sub uocabulo principis tyri quid etiam de alia simili esaias propheta commemorat

1.5–6, line 224 *ante* finis

β de fine uel [ut C] consummatione nec non et de principio rerum sed et diuersitate ordinum ac restitutione in unum
γ de fine uel consumatione

1.7, line 1

δ μ Ab de incorporeis et corporibus
S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.7, line 41 *ante* primo

β de sole et luna ac stellis

1.7, line 106 *ante* sed

β quomodo secundum sermonen apostoli pauli creatura uanitate subiecta est

1.8, line 1

α μ Ab de angelis
S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

1.8, line 22 *ante* ne forte

δ μ de his qui naturas esse spiritales diuersas [diuersas *om.* δ] affirmant [*in textu*]
β de his qui diuersas naturas esse spiritales affirmant et quod omnis rationabilis creatura boni malique sit capax atque ex altero uenire possit in alterum
σ de his uero qui naturas esse spiritales diuersas affirmant aliquid dicamus [*in textu*]

1.8, line 86 *ante* puto

β quod per arbitrii libertatem tripertio modo ex rationabili creatura caelestes ac terrestres atque inferni qui sunt contrariarum potestatum ordines fact sint

2.1–3, line 2

δ μ S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

β	de rationibus causisque mundi et his quae ante ipsum uel post ipsum opinanda sint
Ab	de initio mundo et fine

2.1–3, line 131 *ante* hoc

$\alpha\ \mu$ Ab	de perpetuitate corporea naturae
S	*capitularis littera indicat diusionem*

2.1–3, line 167 *ante* superset

$\alpha\ \mu$	de initio mundi et causis eius
σ	*capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.1–3, line 187 *ante* ut ergo

β	quod semper animae usurae sint corporibus suis cum ea incorrupta et immortalia ex resurrectione receperint

2.1–3, line 240 *ante* uerumtamen

β	quae asserant hi qui putant animas quandoque corporibus carituras [sed uideamus *add.* B]

2.1–3, line 262 *ante* sed uideamus

β	quid responderi debeat his qui naturam corpoream negant esse mansuram

2.1–3, line 272 *ante* iam uero

β	quod multa sint saecula et diuersa [indiuersa C] ex quibus alia iam fuisse alia futura dicantur

2.1–3, line 323 *ante* his pro

β	quae ratio sit mundi uel uocabuli eius uel numeri quaeue uel ubi beatitudinis summa

2.4–5, line 1

$\alpha\ \mu$ Ab	quia unus est deus [spiritus δ] legis et prophetarum et domini nostri [nostri *om.* C μ Ab] iesu christi pater
S	*capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.4–5, line 86 *ante* sed quonian

α	de eo quod scriptum est deum nemo uidit unquam [β *ante* aiunt (l. 89)]

2.4–5, line 150 *ante* uerum

$\delta\ \mu$ Ab	de iusto et bono
β	de iusto et bono deo
S	*capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.6, line 1

W μ Ab	de incarnatione christi
A	de incarnatione domini

β de incarnatione christi et quod uerbum dei non nudam humanae naturae carnem sed anima mediante susceperit

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.6, line 68 *ante* igitur

β quod anima iesu non fortuito nec pro aliqua acceptione personae sed uirtutum suarum et puritatis merito ut uas uerbi dei esset electa est

2.7, line 1

α μ de spiritu sancto

Ab item de spiritu sancto

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.7, line 68 *ante* oportet

β quae sit paracleti significantia in spiritu sancto quae uera in filio dei

2.8, line 1

δ μ Ab de anima

β de animarum ratione et statu et diuersitate et ipsius nominis significantia

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.8, line 58 *ante* Paulus

β quae sit significantia animae quaeue spiritus uel mentis

2.8, line 143 *ante* addat

β quomodo intellegenda sit anima saluatoris quomodo etiam ubi ipsius dei anima in scribturis nominatur

2.9, line 1

α μ de mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum uel bonum uel malarum et de causis eorum

Ab de mundo et motibus rationabilium creaturarum

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.9, line 83 *ante* quomodo

β cum diuersa sit in hoc mundo nascendi sors et uita condicio quomodo et his qui dicunt haec pro diuersis naturis animarum bonis malisque accidere respondendum sit et prouidentia dei inculpabilis assignetur dum pro suis unam quamque animam uel mentem meritis dispensat ac motibus

2.9, line 172 *ante* quod ergo

β quod rationabilium creaturarum prima conditio diuersitatem habere non potuit quia creantis iustitia creaturis suis primos ortus dispares dare non poterat restare ut ex propriis animorum motibus in singulis quibusque nata uideatur esse diuersitas

2.10, line 1

α μ Ab de resurrectione et [de *add.* C] iudicio

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.10, line 49 *ante* nos

C quomodo ex corpore corruptibili incorruptibili resurgat et ex animali spiritale et ita gloriam incorruptionis adquirat ut ueritatem propriae substantiae enim non amittat

[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.10, line 90 *ante* si ergo

C quibus quantisque modis ignis intellegi debeat qui peccatoribus praeparatus est quid intellegi debeant tenebrae exteriores quid etiam sit diuidi et partem eius cum infidelibus poni qui carcer uel cetera suppliciorum genera

[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.10, line 91 *ante* inuenimus

Merl de igni inferni et poenis eiusdem

2.10, line 154 *ante* ut autem

C quod a deo quae fiunt sic bona sunt omnia ut etiam poena quae infertur ab eo ad emendationem inferatur non ad interitum

[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.11, line 1

α μ Ab de repromissionibus

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

2.11, line 53 *ante* haec

C quo sensu manducandi et bibendi in futuro saeculo quo etiam regnandi uel potestatem habendi super alios accipi debeat repromissio

[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.11, line 72 *ante* uerum

C quod cupiditas scientiae arcanorum dei naturaliter mentibus insita sit et per hanc omne quidquid in praesenti saeculo uidetur occultum in futuro mens et assequi gestiat et exuta pondere corruptionis facilius possit adipisci

[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.11, line 106 *ante* tale

C quod nihil sine summa ratione sit quod a deo factum est siue caelestium siue terrestriam quam ratione etiamsi in praesenti saeculo hominibus adsequi inpossibile est possibile tamen sit in futuro cum anima uel meritis uel eruditione profecerit conuenire namque bonitati dei ut eorum intellegentiam non subtrahat animae quorum intuitum praestitit aspectum
[B *in can. sed non in textu*]

2.11, line 138 *ante* ex quibus

β quod gradibus quibusdam per diuersas locorum qualitates et glorias conscendatur ad regna caelorum et simul cum locorum profectibus etiam ratio eorum proficientibus ac scientia clarescat

2.11, line 186 *ante* sic ergo

β quod cum mens ad summam perfectionis ascenderit cibus ei sit dei sapientia et potus rerum scientia [et potus rerum scientia *om.* C] et his alimentis aut incrementum capiat si adhuc indiget incrementis aut stabilitatem teneat si in id loci uentum est ubi addi iam nihil possit

3.1, line 1

δ μ de arbitrii libertate
β de arbitrii libertate cum absolutionibus quaestionum quae aduersum hoc de scribturis obtendi [ostendi B] solent
Ab capitulum I de liberi arbitrii libertate
S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

3.2–3, line 1

δ μ Ab de contrariis potestatibus
β de contrariis potestatibus quaeue sint istae et quomodo humano generi aduersentur
S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

3.2–3, line 59 *ante* unde

β quod non omne quod delinquunt homines diabolo adscribendum est, sed quaedam, immo quam plurima ex humanis uitiis exordium sumant, etiamsi finem diabolo cooperante percipiant

3.2–3, line 123 *ante* sicut

β de diuersitatibus temptationum uel agonum

3.2–3, line 172 *ante* cogitationes

β quantis uel qualibus modis siue ad bonum siue ad malum cogitatio humana moueatur

3.2–3, line 225 *ante* quod uero

β quod temptationes hominibus non sine deo ueniant et mensuras et tempus et modum certaminis et quis homo aduersum quem ex principibus uel potestatis uel rectoribus mundi certare debeat ipse statuat

3.2–3, line 324 *ante* nunc

β quae sit diuersitas inter sapientia dei et sapientiam mundi huius et sapientiam principum mundi huius uel quomodo quis decipiatur per hanc sapientiam quae est principum huius mundi

3.2–3, line 328 *ante* docere

Merl *quem edd. secuti sunt* de triplici sapientia; *titulum autem iste deest in omnibus codd.;* β *tantum habet titulum, sed alterum et non hic, uide supra l.324*

3.2–3, line 425 *ante* de his

β quomodo uel pseudoprophetae inspirentur ut hereses doceant uel prophetae ut uerbum dei annuntient

3.2–3, line 459 *ante* illud

β quia legimus nonnullos ante natiuitatem adhuc in utero matris spiritu sancto repletos, alios uero spiritu maligno ut saepe compertum est, quae huius causae habenda sit opinio magis quam ratio

3.2–3, line 500 *ante* uerum

Merl de humanis tentationibus *sed nullum capituli incipientes indicium nullumque titulum in codd. est*

3.4, line 1

δ G σ et [*om.* δ] utrum uerum sit quod quidam dicunt quasi binas animas esse per singulos [δ *rubrum*; G σ *in textu*]

β quae sint diuersorum de anima opiniones et utrum uerum sit quod quidam dicunt quasi binas animas esse per singulos [et utrum ... singulos *om.* C]
M *sine ulla diuisione*

3.5, line 1

β δ quod mundus ex tempore coeperit et finem speret [et finem speret *om.* δ; δ *rubrum*]

γ quod mundus ex tempore coeperit [*in textu*]

3.5, line 43 *ante* sed solent

β quod etiam ante hunc uisibilem mundum fuerint creaturae rationabiles quas et tunc dispensabat deus et nunc dispensat et in futurum dispensabit nec unquam ab earum dispensatione cessatur

3.5, line 112 *ante* sicut

B quae sit causa, ut uerbum dei in carne ueniret, et quomodo subiectis omnibus ipse patri subiciendus dicitur

3.6, line 1

δ μ Ab de consummatione mundi

B de consummatione mundi et quid sit summum bonum uel quae perfectio omnium

S *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

S^{mg} de consummatione

3.6, line 74 *ante* quantum

β qualiter intellegi debeat spiritale [spirituale C] corpus, quod ex resurrectione futurum promittit apostolus et quia ex hoc ipso corpore in quo nunc sumus in melius mutato [inmutato C] erit illud quod gloriosum et spiritale nominatur uel materiae

3.6, line 165 *ante* omnis

B quod ad omnem permutationem quam uoluerit dei sequax sit natura corporea et ideo in summa omnium perfectione summae claritas capax futura sit

4.1, line 2

δ G — quia scripturae diuinitus inspiratae sunt [δ *in textu*]
B — quod diuinitus inspiratae sunt scribturae
M — quod scripturae diuinitus inspiratae sunt
Ab — capitulum I quod scripturae diuinae sint id est spiritu inspiratae
S — *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

4.2–3, line 1

α μ Ab — quod multi spiritaliter non intellegentes scripturas et male intellegendo in haereses declinarint [declinarunt G : declinauerunt Ab]
S — *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem* S

4.2–3, line 98 *ante* uerum

B — quo ordine uel quo sensu intellegi debeant scribturae diuinae

4.2–3, line 277 *ante* sed ut

α — exempla scripturarum de ratione intellegendae scripturae

4.2–3, line 359 *ante* ne qui

B — quod licet allegoriae recipiendae sint in scripturis diuinis tamen etiam historiae rationem constare in quam plurimis confitendum nec turbari posse spiritalem sensum ubi littera consequentiam suam seruat

4.2–3, line 426 *ante* quaecumque

B — de hierusalem caelesti aliisque ciuitatibus quarum potestatum fidelis quisque seruus et bonus dispensator ac prudens in futuro saeculo dicitur accepturus

4.2–3, line 474 *ante* unde

B — quod quae scribtura de gentibus et nationibus dicit haec spiritaliter aptius ad diuersitates referantur animarum quae uictae a peccato captiuae dicantur effecta

4.2–3, line 579 *ante* uerum

B — certum esse scripturas de diuinitus loqui et supra quam humanus capere soleat auditus et ideo neque intellectum esse in propatulo nec humanas usque quaeque assertiones in diuinis sensibus expectandas

4.2–3, line 626 *ante* omnis

B — non esse erga sermonum pugnas et differentias aegrotandum sed qualicumque sermone quid scribturae sensus indicare uoluerit requirendum

4.4, line 1

δ B μ — Ab anacefaleosis de patre et filio et spiritu sancto ceterisque [ceteris G Ab], quae superius dicta sunt [anacefaleosis B μ : ANICEFALEOSIS A : *ΑΝΑΚΕΦΑΛΕΟΣΙΣ* W : ANACHEFALEOSIS M : anacephaleosis Ab]
S — *capitularis littera indicat diuisionem*

Appendix II

Koetschau's Fragments

As noted in the introduction, Koetschau was convinced that the 'Origenist' teaching condemned in the sixth century was an accurate representation of Origen's own thought, and so, taking his lead from Rufinus' own admission in his Preface to the translation of *On First Principles* that he had omitted various passages, Koetschau felt justified in adding to that translation various passages alleged by others to come from the work, reports of the work, and, indeed, composite passages produced from diverse later sources, so as to 'restore' the original text. This Appendix contains those passages so inserted into the text of *On First Principles*, together with a few that Koetschau placed in his critical apparatus. In some cases, the texts are from more recent editions than those used by Koetschau, in which case I have noted any variants.

1: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.1.8.

Jerome,* Jo. Hier.** ***7 (PL 23, 360):

Sicut enim incongruum est dicere quod possit filius uidere patrem, ita inconueniens est opinari quod spiritus sanctus possit uidere filium.

For as it is incongruous to say that the Son can see the Father, so it is unfitting to hold that the Holy Spirit can see the Son.

2: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO PRINC. 1.2.6, AS FRAGMENT 4.

Justinian,* Ep. ad Menam** ***(ed. Schwartz, 209.25–7), said to be from **Princ.** ***1:***

Γενόμενοι τοίνην ἡμεῖς κατ᾿εἰκόνα τὸν υἱὸν πρωτότυπον ὡς ἀλήθειαν ἔχομεν τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν καλῶν τύπων· αὐτὸς δὲ ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν, τοιοῦτος ἐστι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀλήθειαν τυγχάνοντα.

We, therefore, having been made according to the image, have the Son, the prototype, as the truth of the good things imprinted in us; and what we are to him, such is he to the Father, the truth.

3: PASSAGES IN CRITICAL APPARATUS TO COMPENSATE FOR SUSPECTED OMISSION AT END OF *PRINC.* 1.2.6.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.2.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 97.14–17):*

Deum patrem esse lumen inconprehensibile; Christum conlatione patris splendorem esse perparuum, qui apud nos pro inbecillitate nostra magnus esse uideatur.

God the Father is light incomprehensible; Christ compared with the Father is but a minute brightness, although to us by reason of our weakness he seems to be a great one.

[b] Theophilus of Alexandria, Ep. Synod. *(= Jerome,* Ep. *92.2.1; ed. Hilberg, 2, 149.2–3):*

Quantum differt Paulus et Petrus saluatore, tanto saluator minor est patre.

As much as Paul and Peter differ from the Saviour, so much is the Saviour less than the Father.

4: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.2.13, AS FRAGMENT 6.

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 210.1–6), said to be from* Princ. *1:*

Οὕτω τοίνυν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καλῶς ἂν λεχθήσεσθαι ὅτι ***εἰκὼν ἀγαθότητος θεοῦ*** *ἔστιν, ἀλλ'οὐκ αὐτοαγαθόν. καὶ τάχα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀγαθός, ἀλλ'οὐχ ὡς ἁπλῶς ἀγαθός, καὶ ὥσπερ* ***εἰκών ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*** *καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο θεός, ἀλλ'οὐ περὶ οὗ λέγει αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς* ***ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν,*** *οὕτως* ***εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος,*** *ἀλλ'οὐχ ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπαραλλάκτως ἀγαθός.*

Thus, then, I think that in the case of the Saviour it would be right for it to be said that he is *the image of the goodness of God*,[1] but not goodness itself. And perhaps also the Son is good, but yet not good simply, and that just as *he is the image of the invisible God*[2] and, in this respect, God, but not the one of whom Christ himself says *that they may know you the only true God*,[3] so also he is *the image of the goodness*, but not, as the Father, invariably good.

Cf. Jerome, *Ep.* 124.2.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 97.20–3), placed in critical apparatus:

Deum patrem omnipotentam appellat bonum et perfectae bonitatis; filium non esse bonum, sed auram quandam et imaginem bonitatis, ut non dicatur absolute bonus, sed cum additamento pastor bonus et cetera.

God the Father he calls good and of perfect goodness; the Son is not good, but is a kind of breath and image of goodness, so that he is not called good absolutely, but with an addition, such as 'the good shepherd', and so on.

[1] Wis. 7:26. [2] Col. 1:15. [3] John 17:3.

5: PASSAGES INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.3.3, AS FRAGMENT 7.

Fernandez would place this sentence in parallel with the first sentence of the third paragraph of *Princ.* 1.2.6.

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 210.9–10):*

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶν ὅτι τι ποτὲ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων γενητόν ἐστιν, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίας πειθόμεθα.

Following the same reasoning, we are persuaded therefore that everything whatsoever except the Father and God of the universe is created.

From the preceding sentence from Justinian's letter (given below), Koetschau takes the words 'ministering animals' and inserts them into the body of the text following the sentence given above.

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 210.7–9):*

Ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κτίσμα εἰπὼν συνηρίθμησε τοῖς ἄλλοις κτίσμασι, δι' ὃ καὶ λειτουργικὰ αὐτὰ ζῷα καλεῖ, ἐκ τοῦ δ [*em. Koe. πρώτου*] *λόγου τοῦ Περὶ ἀρχῶν βιβλιοῦ.*

That he called the Holy Spirit a created being along with the Son and included them in the number of the other created beings, and accordingly he calls them 'ministering animals', from the fourth [*em. Koe.* first] book of the volume *On First Principles.*

6: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.3.5, AS FRAGMENT 9.

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 208.26–32), said to be from* Princ. *1:*

Ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ συνέχων τὰ πάντα φθάνει εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων μεταδιδοὺς ἑκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἐλαττόνως δὲ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς φθάνων ἐπὶ μόνα τὰ λογικά, δεύτερος γάρ ἐστι τοῦ πατρός· ἔτι δὲ ἡττόνως τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἁγίους διικνούμενον. Ὥστε κατὰ τοῦτο μείζων ἡ δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πλείων δὲ ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν διαφέρουσα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ δύναμις παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἅγια.

The God and Father, holding all things together, is superior to every being, giving to each, from his own, to be whatever it is; the Son, being less than the Father, is superior to rational creatures alone, for he is second to the Father; and the Holy Spirit is still less, dwelling with the holy ones alone. So that in this way the power of the Father is greater than the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that of the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit, and again the power of the Holy Spirit differs greatly from other holy beings.

The following texts are given in the critical apparatus.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.2.3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 98.1–6):*

Filium quoque minorem a patre, eo quod secundus ab illo sit, et spiritum sanctum inferiorem a filio in sanctis quibusque uersari atque hoc ordine maiorem patris fortitudinem esse quam filii et spiritus sancti et rursum maiorem filii fortitudinem esse quam spiritus sancti et consequenter ipsius sancti spiritus maiorem esse uirtutem ceteris, quae sancta dicuntur.

The Son is inferior to the Father, inasmuch as he is second from him, and the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the saints, is inferior to the Son, so also in the same way the power of the Father is greater than the Son and the Holy Spirit; and the power of the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit, and, so too, that of the Holy Spirit is greater than the power of the other things called holy.

[b] Theophilus of Alexandria Ep. pasch. *(= Jerome,* Ep. *98.13; ed. Hilberg, 2, 196.26–7):*

Dicit enim spiritum sanctum non operari ea, quae inanimia sunt, nec ad inrationabilia peruenire.

He says that the Holy Spirit does not work with things that are inanimate nor extends to things irrational.

7: PASSAGES INSERTED AT END OF *PRINC.* 1.4.1.

[a] Jerome, Jo. Hier. *16 (PL 23, 368):*

[*...an Origenis doctrina sit vera, qui dixit*] *cunctas rationabiles creaturas incorporales et inuisibiles, si neglegentiores fuerint, paulatim ad inferiora labi et iuxta qualitates locorum, ad quae defluunt, adsumere sibi corpora, uerbi gratia primum aetherea deinde aerea, cumque ad viciniam terrae pervenerint, crassioribus corporibus circumdari, novissime humanis carnibus alligari.*

[... whether the doctrine of Origen is true, who said that:] all rational creatures, incorporeal and invisible, if they become negligent, gradually sink to a lower level and, according to the character of the places to which they descend, take to themselves bodies—for example, first, ethereal bodies and then aerial—and when they reach the vicinity of the earth they are enclosed in grosser bodies, and last of all tied to human bodies.

[b] Jerome, Ep. *124.3.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 98.7–12):*

[*Cumque uenisset ad rationabiles creaturas et dixisset eas per neglegentiam ad terrena corpora esse delapsas, etiam haec addidit*] *grandis neglegentiae atque desidiae est, in tantum unumquemque defluere atque euacuari, ut ad uitia ueniens inrationabilium iumentorum possit crasso corpore conligari.*

[Then when he comes to rational creatures and says that the fall through negligence is into earthly bodies, he adds even this:] It is of great negligence and sloth to descend and empty oneself so greatly that, approaching the vices of the irrational beasts of burden, it can be bound to a gross body.

Cf. Jerome, *Jo. Hier.* 19 (PL 23, 370), placed in critical apparatus:

Docet Origenes per scalam Jacob paulatim rationabiles creaturas ad ultimum gradum, id est ad carnem et sanguinem descendere.

Origen, by way of Jacob's ladder, taught that rational creatures gradually descend to the lowest level, that is, to flesh and blood.

8: PASSAGES INSERTED AT *PRINC.* 1.7.4.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.4.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 99.22–7):*

Solem quoque et lunam et astra ceterea esse animantia, immo, quomodo nos homines ob quaedam peccata his sumus circumdati corporibus, quae crassa et pinguia, sic et caeli luminaria talia uel talia accepisse corpora, ut uel plus uel minus luceant, et daemones ob maiora delicta aerio corpore esse uestitos.

The sun also and the moon and the rest of the stars are animated; indeed, just as we human beings, because of certain sins, have been enveloped in bodies which are gross and heavy, so also the lights of heaven have received bodies of one sort or another, to provide more or less light, and demons, for greater offences, have been clothed with aerial bodies.

[b] Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 212.20–3), said to come from* Princ. *1 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 13:*

Ὅτι δὲ πρεσβυτέρα ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς ἐνδέσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα, μετὰ τὸ συλλογίσασθαι ἐκ συγκρίσεως ἀνθρώπου τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν οἶμαι ἀποδεῖξαι δύνασθαι.

I think that it is possible to demonstrate that the soul of the sun is older than its covering [serving as] the body, by reasoning from a comparison of the human being with it and from the Scriptures.

9: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.7.5.

Jerome, Ep. *124.4.1–3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 100.2–17):*

[*Ac ne quis putet nostrum esse, quod dicimus, ipsius uerba ponamus*] *In fine atque in consummatione mundi, quando uelut de quibusdam repagulis atque carceribus missae fuerint a domino animae et rationabiles creaturae, alias earum tardius incedere ob segnitiem, alias pernici uolare cursu propter industriam. Cumque omnes liberum habeant*

arbitrium et sponte sua uel uirtutes possit capere uel uitia, illae multo in peiori condicione erunt, quam nunc sunt, hae ad meliorem statum peruenient, quia diuersi motus et uariae uoluntates in utramque partem diuersum accipient statum, id est, ut et angeli homines uel daemones et rursum ex his homines uel angeli fiant.

[That no one may suppose that what I say are my own thoughts, I shall give his actual words:] At the end and consummation of the world, when souls and rational creatures shall have been released from their bars and prisons by the Lord, some of them will move slowly on account of their sluggishness, while others will speed along in quick flight because of their assiduity. And as all have free will and of their own accord can acquire virtue or vice, the former will be in a much worse condition than they are now, while the latter will arrive at a better state; for diverse movement and various wills will receive diverse states in either direction, that is, angels may become humans or demons, and, in reverse, humans or angels may come from them.

10: PASSAGE INSERTED AFTER *PRINC.* 1.8.1 AS FRAGMENT 15.

This is a composite passage, made up of the following pieces:

[a] Antipater of Bostra, *apud* John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96:501d)
[b] Leontius of Byzantium, *De Sectis* 10.5 (PG 86.1:1264–5)
[c] Epiphanius, *Pan.* 64.4.6 (ed. Holl 2, 411.4–412.1)
[d] Antipater of Bostra, *apud* John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96:504a and 505c); sentence constructed by putting five words from 505c into a sentence in 504a (divisions marked by |)
[e] Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. Synod.* (=Jerome, *Ep.* 92.3; ed. Hilberg 2, 149.27–150.3)
[f] Antipater of Bostra, *apud* John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96:504a)
[g] Antipater of Bostra, *apud* John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96:504c)
[h] Antipater of Bostra, *apud* John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (PG 96:504c, 505b, division marked by |)

[a] *Οὐκ ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόας* *** [b] *Πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων νόες ἦσαν πάντες καθαροί, καὶ οἱ δαίμονες καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, λειτουργοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες. Ὁ δὲ διάβολος εἷς ὢν ἐπειδὴ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον εἶχεν ἠβουλήθη ἀντιστῆναι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν ὁ θεός. Συναπέστησαν δὲ αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πάνυ ἁμαρτήσαντες, δαίμονες ἐγένοντο· οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἔλαττον, ἄγγελοι· οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἔλαττον, ἀρχάγγελοι· καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς ἕκαστος πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπέλαβεν. Ὑπελείποντο δὲ αἱ ψυχαί, αἵτινες οὐδὲ τοσαῦτα ἦσαν ἁμαρτήσασαι, ἵνα δαίμονες γένωνται, οὐδὲ πάλιν οὕτω κουφοτέρως, ἵνα ἄγγελοι γένωνται. Ἐποίησεν οὖν <ὁ θεὸς> τὸν παρόντα κόσμον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συνέδησε τῷ σώματι πρὸς κόλασιν.* ***Οὐδὲ*** *γὰρ* ***προσωπολήπτης ὁ θεός****, ἵνα πάντα ταῦτα μιᾶς φύσεως ὄντα (πάντα γὰρ λογικά εἰσι τὰ ἀθάνατα) τοὺς μὲν ποιῆσαι δαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ ψυχάς, τοὺς δὲ ἀγγέλους· ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι ἕκαστον πρὸς ὃ ἥμαρτε τιμωρούμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐποίησε δαίμονα, τὸν δὲ ψυχήν, τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο, καὶ προϋπῆρχον αἱ ψυχαί, διὰ τί τινὰς μὲν τῶν νεωστὶ τεχθέντων εὑρίσκομεν*

τυφλούς, μηδὲν ἁμαρτήσαντας, ἄλλους δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοντας κακὸν τικτομένους; ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι προϋπῆρχόν τινες ἁμαρτίαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἀφ' ὧν ἑκάστη πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπολαμβάνει. [c] Πέμπονται δὲ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πρὸς τιμωρίαν. Ὅπως ἐνταῦθα πρώτην κρίσιν ὑποδέξωνται. Διόπερ καὶ δέμας κέκληται τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸ δεδέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι.

[d] <Ἀλλὰ> τῆς προτέρας μακαριότητος ἀποστάντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ πρώτου ἧτταν τὴν γενομένην ἐν αὐτοῖς | εἰς διάφορα τάγματα σωματωθέντες ἀπεμερίσθησαν· | <καὶ> γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ νόων ἄγγελοι *** [e] *Sicut daemones nidore hostiarum assidentes aris gentilium pascebantur, ita et angeli sanguine victimarum, quas spiritualium typus immolat Israel, <et> fumo thymiamatis delectati, versabantur prope altaria et huiuscemodi alebantur cibis.* [f] Ἀποστάντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην νέαν γραφὴν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἑνώσεως, ἄρχειν τε καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν ἐπὶ πλείω σαλευθέντων λαχόντες καὶ **εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενοι διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν,** αὐτοὶ ταύτης σαλευθέντες καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ ἐπανάξοντος, *** [g] Μὴ θέλειν ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχῆθεν τελείαν μακαριότητα· ἐπιταττόμενοι γὰρ **δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι** τυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην **ποεῖν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς** τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ· ἀψευδὴς γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος μαρτυρία. *** [h] Ἐξήλωσαν διὰ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας **τὸ καλὸν** παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καταβληθὲν **σπέρμα,** καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διόρθωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἐζήτουν, αὐτοὶ τοῦ πρώτου σπέρματος τὴν καθαρότητα ἀποβαλόντες. | Εἰ δὲ **δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι** τυγχάνουσι ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ζητοῦσιν ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὔνοιαν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν παρίστασθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν εἶναι θεοῦ σημαίνονται.

[a] God did not begin to create intellects *** [b] Before the ages all intellects were pure, both daemons and souls and angels, ministering to God and doing his commandments. But the devil, being one of them, since he possessed free will desired to oppose God, and God drove him away. With him apostatized all the other powers. Some, sinning greatly, became daemons; others, less, became angels; others, still less, became archangels; and thus each in turn received according to their own sin. But there remained some souls, who had not sinned so greatly as to become daemons, nor, on the other hand, so lightly, as to become angels. Therefore God made the present world and bound the soul to the body as a punishment. For *God is no respecter of persons*,[4] that, all these being of one nature (for all immortal beings are rational), he should make some daemons, some souls, and some angels; rather it is clear that, punishing each one according to its sin, he made one a daemon, another a soul, and yet another an angel. For if this were not so—that souls pre-exist—why do we find some newborn babies blind, when they have not sinned, while others are born having no affliction? But it is clear that certain sins pre-exist the souls, as a result of which each receives according to merit. [c] They are sent away from God as punishment; such that they receive their first judgement here; therefore the body is called a frame, because the soul is framed in the body.

[d] But when they had apostatized from their former blessedness, because of the sin of the first which had occurred in them, | becoming bodies, they were allotted to

[4] Acts 10:34.

various ranks | and from intellects they became angels *** [e] Just as the daemons, attending the altars of the Gentiles, used to feed on the fumes of the sacrifices, so also the angels—being allured by the blood of the victims, which Israel sacrificed as images of spiritual things, and by the smoke of incense—used to dwell by the altars and were nourished by food of this sort. [f] But when they apostatized, according to the New Scripture, from the unity of God, they obtained as their portion to rule and have dominion over those falling further still, and *being sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation*,[5] though they had fallen away from this and were in need of the one who would lead [them] back, *** [g] not wishing to command them to return to their original perfect blessedness, for being commanded they would be *mighty in power*, according to the prophet, *to do his word and to hear the voice of his words*;[6] and the witness of the Spirit cannot lie. *** [h] They were zealous for the sake of those who had lost *the good seed* sown by the Lord,[7] and they sought to be entrusted by the Lord with the restoration of these, although they themselves had cast away the purity of their first seed. | But if they become *mighty in power*[8] to do the will of God, and seek the destruction of the wicked, this indicates that it is because of their goodwill towards the divine that they stand before God and serve him and are at his right hand.

11: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.8.3, AS FRAGMENT 16.

Antipater of Bostra apud *John of Damascus,* Sacra Parallela *(PG 96, 505):*

Ἀλλ' ὁ διάβολος δέδεικται ὅτι τοιοῦτος μὲν οὐκ ἐκτέσθη, ἐξ ἰδίας δὲ πονηρίας εἰς τοῦτο κατέπεσε· δῆλον οὖν ὅτι κἀκεῖνοι ἐξ ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθον.

But the devil, it has been shown, was not created such, but fell into this by his own wickedness; it is clear, therefore, that they also came into this by their own virtue.

12: PASSAGE INSERTED IN *PRINC.* 1.8.4, AS FRAGMENT 17A.

This is a composite passage, made up of the following pieces:

[a] Gregory of Nyssa, *anim. et res.* (PG 44:112c)
[b] Gregory of Nyssa, *hom. opif.* 28 (PG 44:229b)
[c] Gregory of Nyssa, *anim. et res.* (PG 44:112c–113a)
[d] Gregory of Nyssa, *anim. et res.* (PG 44:113cd)
[e] Gregory of Nyssa, *hom. opif.* 28 (PG 44:232bc)

[a] *Ἔθνη τινὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀποτίθεται ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ τινὶ πολιτείᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἐν σώματι ζωὴν βιοτεύοντα ἐν τῷ λεπτῷ τε καὶ εὐκινήτῳ τῆς φύσεως ἑαυτῶν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς συμπεριπολοῦντος δινήσει.* [b] *Προκεῖσθαι δὲ κἀκεῖ τά τε τῆς κακίας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποδείγματα· καὶ παραμένουσαν μὲν ἐν τῷ καλῷ τὴν ψυχήν, τῆς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπλοκῆς μένειν ἀπείρατον·* [c] *ῥοπῇ δέ τινι τῇ πρὸς κακίαν πτερορρυούσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν σώμασι γίνεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν*

[5] Heb. 1:14. [6] Ps. 102:20. [7] Cf. Matt. 13:24ff. [8] 1 Macc. 8:1; 1 Suppl. 12:31.

ἀνθρωπ‹ίν›οις εἶθ' οὕτως διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν παθῶν ὁμιλίας μετὰ ‹τὴν› τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου ἐγχώρησιν ἀποκτηνοῦσθαι, κἀκεῖθεν μέχρι τῆς φυσικῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀναισθήτου καταπίπτειν ζωῆς, ὡς τὸ τῇ φύσει λεπτὸν καὶ εὐκίνητον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή, πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβριθές τε καὶ κατωφερὲς γίνεσθαι, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις σώμασι διὰ κακίας εἰσοικιζόμενον· εἶτα τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως ἀποσβεσθείσης τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἐμβιοτεύειν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν αἰσθήσεων χάριτος ἀφαιρεθείσης, τὴν ἀναίσθητον ταύτην ζωὴν τὴν ἐν φυτοῖς μεταλαμβάνειν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ πάλιν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι βαθμῶν, καὶ πρὸς οὐράνιον χῶρον ἀποκαθίστασθαι. [d] Ἐντεῦθεν δι' ἀρετῆς πτεροφυήσασαι μετεωροποροῦσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ κακίας τῶν πτερῶν ἐκπιπτόντων χαμαιπετεῖς πρόσγειοι γίνονται, τῇ παχύτητι τῆς ὑλικῆς καταμιγνύμεναι φύσεως.

[e] Εἰ γὰρ διά τινος κακίας ἀποσπασθεῖσα τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας ἡ ψυχὴ πολιτείας, μετὰ τὸ (καθώς φασιν) ἅπαξ γεύσασθαι τοῦ σωματικοῦ βίου πάλιν ἄνθρωπος γίνεται· ἐμπαθέστερος δὲ πάντως ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ βίος ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ τὸν ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀσώματον· ἀνάγκη πᾶσα, τὴν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γινομένην βίῳ, ἐν ᾧ πλείους αἱ πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν εἰσὶν ἀφορμαί, ἐν πλείονί τε κακίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμπαθέστερον ἢ πρότερον διατεθῆναι· ἀνθρωπίνης δὲ ψυχῆς πάθος, ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἄλογόν ἐστιν ὁμοίωσις· τούτῳ δὲ προσοικειωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν, εἰς κτηνώδη φύσιν μεταρρυῆναι· ἅπαξ δὲ διὰ κακίας ὁδεύουσαν, μηδὲ ἐν ἀλόγῳ γενομένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν προόδου λῆξαί ποτε· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ στάσις ἀρχὴ τῆς κατ' ἀρετήν ἐστιν ὁρμῆς· ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐν ἀλόγοις οὐκ ἔστιν· οὐκοῦν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀλλοιωθήσεται, πάντοτε πρὸς τὸ ἀτιμότερον προϊοῦσα καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ἐν ᾗ ἐστι φύσεως ἐξευρίσκουσα· ὥσπερ δὲ τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὑποβέβηκεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ἡ μετάπτωσις γίνεται.

[a] Certain nations of souls are laid aside somewhere, in a realm of their own, living comparably to the life in the body; they spin around, in the subtlety and mobility of their natures, with the rotation of the universe. [b] Set before them there are the examples of evil and of virtue; and while the soul continues remaining in the good, it remains without experience of conjunction with the body. [c] But, losing their wings, through some inclination towards evil, the souls come to be in bodies, first in human beings, then, after that, because of their association with the beasts of the passions, after passing out of human life, they become animals, and from which they sink even as far as this, the insensate natural life: so that what is subtle and mobile by nature, that is the soul, first becomes heavy and weighed down, coming to dwell in human bodies because of evil; thereupon, its power of reason being extinguished, it takes up life in irrational animals; thereupon, with even this gift of the senses being withdrawn, it takes in exchange this insensate life of plants; from this it rises again through the same steps, and is restored to its heavenly place. [d] Growing wings through virtue here below, <souls> soar aloft; but there, their wings falling off because of evil, falling to the ground, they become earthbound, commingled with the density of material nature.

[e] For if the soul, being torn away, by some evil, from the more exalted realm, and after (as they say) having once tasted of corporeal life, again becomes a human being; and life in the flesh is acknowledged to be wholly impassioned compared to the eternal and incorporeal life; it necessarily follows that that which comes to be in such a life, in which the occasions of sin are more numerous, also comes into the midst of greater evil and is rendered more impassioned than before. A passion of the human

soul is a similarity to the irrational; the soul, being assimilated to this, descends to an animal nature; and once it has set out on its way through wickedness, it never ceases its advance towards evil, not even when in an irrational state; for the standing still of evil is the beginning of the impulse towards virtue; but in irrational creatures there is no virtue; therefore, of necessity, the soul will continually be changed for the worse, always proceeding to what is more dishonourable, and always finding out what is worse than the nature in which it is; and just as the sensible nature is lower than the rational, so too there is a fall from this into the insensate.

13: PASSAGE INSERTED INTO *PRINC.* 1.8.4, AS FRAGMENT 17B.

Justinian,* Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 211.19–23), said to be from* Princ. *2:

Ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπορρέουσα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῇ κακίᾳ προσκλινομένη καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐν ταύτῃ γινομένη, εἰ μὴ ὑποστρέφοι, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνοίας ἀποκτηνοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πονηρίας ἀποθηριοῦται. [Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·] καὶ αἱρεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἀλογωθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἔνυδρον, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, βίον· καὶ τάχα κατὰ ἀξίαν τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον πτώσεως τῆς κακίας ἐνδύεται σῶμα τοιοῦδε ἢ τοιοῦδε ζῴου ἀλόγου.

With the soul falling away from the good and inclining towards the evil, and coming to be ever more in this state, if it doesn't turn back it becomes bestial by its folly and brutish by its wickedness. [And after a little] and it is carried towards becoming irrational and towards, so to speak, the watery life; and perhaps as befits its evil fall towards the worse, it is clothed with the body of this or that animal.

14: PASSAGE INSERTED IN *PRINC.* 2.8.3, AS FRAGMENT 22.

Epiphanius,* Pan. *64.4.7–8 (ed. Holl 2, 412.5–11):

Τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν [φησί], τὸν προφήτην ***πρὶν ἢ ταπεινωθῆναί με ἐγὼ ἐπλημμέλησα,*** *[ἐξ] αὐτῆς, φησί, τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἄνω ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπλημμέλησε, πρὶν ἢ ἐν τῷ σώματι τεταπεινῶσωαι· καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν* ***ἐπίστρεψον ἡ ψυχή μου εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου,*** *ὡς τοῦ ἀνδραγαθήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ, ἐπιστρέφοντος εἰς τὴν ἄνω ἀπάπαυσιν διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐργασίας δικαιοπραγίαν.*

[He says] when the prophet says, *Before I was humbled, I went wrong,*[9] the saying, he claims, is from the soul itself, as it went wrong in heaven on high before it was humbled in the body; and when he says, *Turn unto your rest, O soul,*[10] it means that he who has been manly down here in good deeds turns to the rest on high on account of the uprightness of his conduct.

Cf. Jerome, *Jo. Hier.* 7 (PL 23, 360), placed in critical apparatus:

Secundum quod in hoc corpore, quasi in carcere sint, animae religatae, et antequam homo fieret in paradiso, inter rationales creaturas in coelestibus commoratae sunt. Vnde

[9] Ps. 119:67. [10] Ps. 116:7.

postea in consolationem suam anima loquitur in Psalmis: Priusquam humiliarer ego deliqui, *et,* Reuertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam, *et,* Educ de carcere animam meam, *et cetera his similia.*

According to which, souls are bound in this body as in a prison, and that before the human being was made in paradise, they dwelt among the rational creatures in the heavens. Whence, afterwards, in order to console itself, the soul says in the Psalms, *Before I was humbled, I went wrong,* and, *Turn unto your rest, O soul,* and *Bring my soul out of prison,*[11] and other similar utterances.

15: PASSAGES INSERTED AT END OF *PRINC.* 2.8.3.

[a] Anathemas 2 to 6a of the Second Council of Constantinople, 553 (ACO 4.1, 248)*, with an extra sentence, following anathema 4, taken from Justinian,* Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 202.13–14); these are given as Fragment 23a:*[12]

2: [*Εἴ τις λέγει*] *πάντων τῶν λογικῶν τὴν παραγωγὴν νόας ἀσωμάτους καὶ ἀΰλους γεγονέναι δίχα παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ καὶ ὀνόματος, ὡς ἑνάδα πάντων τούτων γενέσθαι τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λόγον ἑνώσει τε καὶ γνώσει· κόρον δὲ αὐτοὺς*[13] *λαβεῖν τῆς θείας*[14] *θεωρίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον τραπῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ῥοπῆς, καὶ εἰληφέναι σώματα λεπτομερέστερα ἢ παχύτερα καὶ ὄνομα κληρώσασθαι διὰ τὸ ὡς ὀνομάτων οὕτω καὶ σωμάτων διαφορὰς εἶναι τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς μὲν χερουβίμ, τοὺς δὲ σεραίμ*[15] *τοὺς δὲ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ κυριότητας ἢ θρόνους καὶ ἀγγέλους καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν οὐράνια τάγματα γεγονένα τε καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι,* [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*]

[If anyone says that] the production of all rational beings resulted in incorporeal and material intellects without number or name, such that there was a henad of them all in identity of substance and power and activity and in union with and knowledge of God the Word, but that they arrived at satiety of divine contemplation and turned to what is worse, according to the proportion of the inclination of each to this, and that they took more subtle or denser bodies and were allotted names, as among the heavenly powers there is a difference of names just as there is also of bodies, and thence some became and were named cherubim, others seraphim, others principalities, and powers or dominions, thrones, angels, and whatever heavenly orders there are, [let him be anathema.]

3: [*Εἴ τις λέγει*] *τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν λογικῶν ἑνάδος ὄντα, ἐκ παρατροπῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον γεγονέναι τοῦτο, ὅπερ εἰσίν,*[16] [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*]

[If anyone says that] the sun and the moon and the stars, being themselves of the same henad of rational beings, became what they are through turning towards what is worse, [let him be anathema.]

[11] Ps. 114:7; 141:8. [12] Koetschau does concede that these texts are 'nicht wörtliches'.
[13] Koe. *αὐτὰς* [14] *ἀγάπης* post *θείας* add. Koe; *καὶ* apud Justinian (536B)
[15] Koe. om. *τοὺς δὲ Σεραίμ* [16] Koe. *ἐστίν*

4: [*Εἴ τις λέγει*] *τὰ λογικὰ τὰ τῆς θείας ἀγάπης ἀποψυγέντα*[17] *σώμασι παχυτέροις τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνδεθῆναι*[18] *καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασθῆναι· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κακίας ἐληλακότα ψυχροῖς καὶ ζοφεροῖς ἐνδυθῆναι σώμασι καὶ δαίμονας ἢ* **πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας** *εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι,* [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*]

Justinian: <*οὐκοῦν*> *ἐκ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἁμαρτιων*[19] *λόγῳ κολάσεως ἤτοι τιμωρίας ἐδέξατο τὸ σῶμα ἡ ψυχή.*

[If anyone says that] the rational beings who grew cold in divine love were bound to our more dense bodies and were named human beings, while those who had reached the lowest point of evil were bound to cold and dark bodies and are called demons and *spiritual hosts of wickedness*,[20] [let him be anathema.]

Justinian: <Therefore> the soul received its body on account of previous sins, by way of punishment or retribution.

5: [*Εἴ τις λέγει*] *ἐξ ἀγγελικῆς*[21] *καταστάσεως καὶ ἀρχαγγελικῆς ψυχικὴν κατάστασιν γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ψυχῆς*[22] *δαιμονιώδη καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην, ἐκ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀγγέλους πάλιν καὶ δαίμονας γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἕκαστον τάγμα τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἢ ὅλον ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω συνεστηκέναι,* [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*]

[If anyone says that] the state of the soul comes from the angelic and archangelic state, and the demonic and human from that of the soul, and from that of the human come angels and demons again, and that each order of the heavenly powers is constituted either entirely from those below or from those above or from those above and those below [let him be anathema.]

6a: [*Εἴ τις λέγει*] *διττὸν πεφηνέναι τὸ γένος τῶν δαιμόνων, συγκροτούμενον ἔκ τε ψυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ ἐκ κρειττόνων καταπιπτόντων εἰς τοῦτο πνευμάτων· ἕνα δὲ νοῦν ἐκ πάσης τῆς δῆθεν ἑνάδος τῶν λογικῶν ἀκίνητον μεῖναι τῆς θείας ἀγάπης καὶ θεωρίας, ὃν Χριστὸν καὶ βασιλέα γεγονότα πάντων τῶν λογικῶν παραγαγεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν σωματικὴν φύσιν, οὐρανόν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ·* [... *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*]

[If anyone says that] the race of demons displays a double origin, being compounded both from human souls and from superior spirits who had descended to this, but that from the whole henad of rational beings one intellect remained in unmoved divine love and contemplation, which, becoming Christ and king of all rational beings, produced the whole of corporeal nature, heaven and earth and what is in between [... let him be anathema.]

[17] *καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ψυχὰς ὀνομασθέντα τιμωρίας χάριν* post *ἀποψυγέντα* add. Koe.
[18] Koe. *ἐνδυθῆναι* [19] Koe. *ἁμαρτημάτων* [20] Eph. 6:12.
[21] *μὲν* post *ἀγγελικῆς* add. Koe. [22] Koe. *ψυχ*<*ικ*>*ῆς*

[b] Justinian Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 190.19–24):*

[Καὶ ὅτι] τῶν[23] *λογικῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήσαντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκπεσόντα τῆς ἐν οἷς*[24] *ἦσαν καταστάσεως, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων τιμωρίας χάριν σώμασιν ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ καθαιρόμενα πάλιν ἀνάγονται ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ἦσαν καταστάσει, πατελῶς*[25] *ἀποτιθέμενα*[26] *τὰ σώματα. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου καὶ πλεονάκις διαφόροις ἐμβάλλονται σώμασι πρὸς τιμωρίαν. Ὑποτίθεται δὲ καὶ*[27] *διαφόρους κόσμους συστῆναί τε καὶ συνίστασθαι, τοῦτο μὲν παρελθόντας τοῦτο δὲ μέλλοντας.*

[And that] those rational beings who sinned, and on that account fell from the state in which they were, according to the proportion of their own sins, were enveloped in bodies as retribution; and when they are purified they rise again in the state in which they formerly were, completely putting away the bodies. And, again, a second time or a third or many times they are thrown into different bodies for retribution. It must be supposed that different worlds also were constituted and will be constituted, some in the past and some in the future.

[c] Justinian Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 212.5–8), said to come from* Princ. *2, and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 23b:*

Παρὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν καὶ τὴν ψύξιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆν τῷ πνεύματι γέγονεν ἡ νῦν λεγομένη ψυχή, οὖσα καὶ δεκτικὴ τῆς ἐπανόδου τῆς ἐφ' ὅπερ ἦν ***ἐν ἀρχῇ****· ὅπερ νομίζω λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου ἐν τῷ* ***ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου****· ὥστε ὅλον τοῦτο εἶναι νοῦς.*

Along with the falling away and the cooling from life in the Spirit came what is now called 'soul,' which is also capable of an ascent to the state in which it was *in the beginning.*[28] This I think is spoken of by the prophet in the verse, *Turn unto your rest, O my soul;*[29] so that this becomes wholly intellect.

[d] Jerome, Ep. *124.6.5–6 (ed. Hilberg 3, 104.2–16):*

Νοῦς, id est mens, corruens facta est anima, et rursum anima instructa uirtutibus mens fiet. Quod et de anima Esau scrutantes possumus inuenire, propter antiqua peccata cum in deteriori vita esse damnatum. Et de caelestibus requirendum est quod non eo tempore, quo factus est mundus, solis anima uel quodcumque eam appellari oportet, esse coeperit, sed antequam lucens illud et ardens corpus intraret. De luna et stellis similiter sentiamus, quod ex causis praecedentibus licet inuitae conpulsae sint subici uanitati, *ob praemia futurorum non suam facere sed creatoris uoluntatem, a quo in haec officia distributae sunt.*

Intellect, that is, mind, when it fell was made soul, and soul in its turn provided with virtues will become intellect. This we can find by considering the soul of Esau, who was condemned to a worse life for ancient sins. And in regard to celestial beings, it must be

[23] <*δὲ*> post *τῶν* add. Koe. [24] Koe. *ᾗ* [25] *τὴν κακίαν* post *πατελῶς* add. Koe.
[26] *καὶ* post *ἀποτιθέμενα* add. Koe. [27] *ὑποτίθεται δὲ καὶ* : Koe. <*εἰκὸς γὰρ*>
[28] Gen. 1:1; John 1:1. [29] Ps. 116:7.

inquired how the soul of the sun, or whatever it ought to be called, began to exist not at the time that the world was made, but before it entered that shining and burning body. Let us also think similarly for the moon and the stars, that although they have been compelled unwillingly to be *subject to vanity*,[30] as a result of antecedent causes, yet it is in the hope of future reward that they do not their own will, but that of the Creator, by whom they have been apportioned to these duties.

16: PASSAGE PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS TO SUPPLEMENT PERCEIVED OMISSION AT END OF *PRINC.* 2.10.3.

Anathema 10 of the Second Council of Constantinople, 553 (ACO *4.1, 249):*

[Εἴ τις λέγει], ὡς τὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐξ ἀναστάσεως σῶμα αἰθέριόν τε καὶ σφαιροειδὲς τῷ σχήματι καὶ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἔσται σώματα καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἀποτιθεμένου τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ πάντων ὁμοίως εἰς τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον χωρήσει ἡ τῶν σωμάτων φύσις, [ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.]

[If anyone says] that the Lord's body after the resurrection was ethereal and spherical in form, and that such shall be the bodies of others after the resurrection, and that, with the Lord himself laying aside his own body and all likewise [thereafter], the nature of bodies will pass into non-existence, [let him be anathema.]

17: PASSAGES INSERTED AT END OF *PRINC.* 2.10.8.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.7.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 104.25–105.2):*

[*Et iterum:*] *nisi forte corpus hoc pingue atque terrenum caligo et tenebrae nominandae sunt, per quod consummato hoc mundo, cui necesse fuerit in alium transire mundum rursum nascendi sumet exordia.*

Perhaps, however, the gloom and darkness should be taken to mean this coarse and earthly body, through which, at the consummation of this world, each one that must pass into another world will receive the beginnings of birth.

[b] After a short intervening sentence, the following composite passage is inserted, as Fragment 25:

[i] *De Sectis* attributed to Leontius (PG 81.1, 1265)
[ii] Justinian *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 205.8–10)

[i] *Γίνεται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις, καὶ γίνεται κόλασις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπέραντος. Κολαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μικρὸν καθαίρεται ἡ ψυχή, καὶ οὕτως ἀποκαθίσταται εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν.*
[ii] *Πάντων ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρός γε δαιμόνων ἡ κόλασις πέρας ἔχει καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσονται ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ δαίμονες εἰς τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν τάξιν.*

[30] Rom. 8.20.

[i] There is a resurrection of the dead and there is punishment, but not everlasting. For when the body is punished the soul is gradually purified, and so is restored back to the primordial rank.
[ii] The punishment of all wicked human beings, and for demons, has an end, and both the wicked and demons shall be restored to their former rank.

18: PASSAGES RELATED TO FINAL PARAGRAPH OF *PRINC.* 3.6.1.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.8[9].9 (ed. Hilberg 3, 109.19–110.1), in Koetschau's critical apparatus:*

[*Cumque de fine disputare coepisset, haec intulit*] *quia—ut crebro iam diximus—principium rursum ex fine generatur, quaeritur, utrum et tunc futura sint corpora an sine corporibus aliquando uiuendum sit, cum redacta in nihilum fuerint, et incorporalium uita incorporalis esse credenda sit, qualem et dei nouimus. Nec dubium est, quin, si omnia corpora ad mundum istum sensibilem pertineant, quae appellantur ab apostolo* uisibilia, *futura sit uita incorporalium incorporalis.*

[And when he begins a discussion on the end, he produced this:] since, as we have frequently said before, a new beginning arises from an end, it must be asked whether there will be bodies then or whether, when they have been brought to nothing, we will live without any bodies, and whether it is to be believed that the life of incorporeal beings is incorporeal, such as we know God to be. Now there is no doubt that if all bodies, which are called by the apostle *things visible*, belong to this sensible world, the life of incorporeal beings will be incorporeal.

*[b] Anathema 11 of the Second Council of Constantinople, 553 (*ACO *4.1, 249), in Koetschau's critical apparatus:*

[*Εἴ τις λέγει,*] ὅτι ἡ μέλλουσα κρίσις ἀναίρεσιν παντελῆ τῶν σωμάτων σημαίνει καὶ ὅτι τέλος ἐστι τοῦ μυθευομένου ἡ ἄϋλος φύσις καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν τῆς ὕλης ὑπάρξει, ἀλλὰ γυμνὸς ὁ νοῦς, [*ἔστω ἀνάθεμα*].

[If anyone says that] the coming judgement signifies the total destruction of bodies and that the end of the story will be an immaterial nature, and that in the future nothing that is material will exist but only pure intellect, [let him be anathema].

[c] Theophilus of Alexandria, Ep. Synod. *(= Jerome,* Ep. *92.2.2; ed. Hilberg 2, 149.12–14) in Koetschau's critical apparatus:*

[*dicit quod*] *post multos saeculorum recursus corpora nostra paulatim redigantur in nihilum et in auram tenuem dissoluantur ...*

[He said that] after many ages our bodies gradually return into nothingness and dissolve into a tenuous breath ...

[d] Jerome, Ep. *124.8[9].10–12 (ed. Hilberg 3, 110.1–111.5), inserted into text at end of* Princ. *3.6.1:*

Illud quoque, quod ab eodem apostolo dicitur: Omnis creatura liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei, *sic intellegimus, ut primam creaturam rationabilium et incorporalium esse dicamus, quae nunc*[31] *seruiat corruptioni, eo quod sit*[32] *uestita corporibus et, ubique corpora fuerint, statim corruptio subsequatur; postea autem* liberabitur de seruitute corruptionis, *quando receperit* gloriam *filii* dei *et* deus fuerit omnia in omnibus.

[*et in eodem loco*] *Vt autem incorporeum finem omnium rerum esse credamus, illa nos saluatoris oratio prouocat, in qua ait:* Vt, quomodo ego et tu unum sumus, sic et isti in nobis unum sint. *Etenim scire debemus, quid sit deus et quid sit futurus in fine saluator et quomodo sanctis similitudo patris et filii repromissa sit, ut, quomodo illi in se unum sunt, sic et isti in eius unum sint. Aut enim suscipiendum est uniuersitatis deum uestiri corpore et, quomodo nos carnibus, sic illum qualibet materia circumdari, ut similitudo uitae dei in fine sanctis possit aequari, aut, si hoc indecens est—maxime apud eos, qui saltim ex minima parte dei sentire cupiunt maiestatem et ingenitae atque omnia excedentis naturae gloriam suspicari—, e duobus alterum suscipere cogimur, ut aut desperemus similitudinem dei, si eadem sumus corpora semper habituri, aut, si beatitudo nobis eiusdem cum deo uitae promittitur, eadem, qua uiuit deus, nobis condicione uiuendum est.*

That also which was said by the same apostle, *The whole creation will be set free from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God,*[33] we understand in such a way as to say that the first creation of rational beings was also incorporeal; it is now in bondage to corruption, because it is also clothed with bodies, for wherever there are bodies, corruption immediately follows; but afterwards *it will be set free from the bondage of corruption*, when it has received *the glory* of the Son *of God* and when *God shall be all in all.*[34]

[And in the same place] And that the end of all things is incorporeal we believe because of that statement in our Saviour's prayer, in which he says, *That as I and you are one, so may they also be one in us.*[35] For we ought to know what God is and what the Saviour will be in the end, and how the likeness of the Father and the Son has been promised to the saints, so that as the Father and the Son are one in themselves, so too the saints may be one in them. For either the God of the universe must be supposed to be clothed with a body and, as we are with flesh, enveloped with some sort of matter, so that the likeness of the life of God may in the end be assimilated by the saints, or, if this is unseemly—as it most certainly is for those who desire, even in the smallest degree, to think of the majesty of God and to apprehend the glory of his unbegotten and all-transcendent nature—we are compelled to accept one of two alternatives: either despair of ever attaining the likeness of God, if we are always to have bodies, or, if there is promised to us the blessedness of the same life of God, then we must live in the same condition in which God lives.

[31] As Hilberg, following Engelbrecht; the mss have *non*.
[32] As Hilberg; one group of mss have *non sit*.
[33] Rom. 8:21. [34] 1 Cor. 15:28. [35] John 17:21.

19: PASSAGE PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS AS PARALLELING *PRINC.* 3.6.3.

Jerome, Ep. *124.10.1–4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 111.6–112.5):*

[*Rursumque de mundorum uarietatibus disputans et uel ex angelis daemones uel ex daemonibus angelos siue homines futuros esse contestans et e contrario ex hominibus daemones et omnia ex omnibus sententiam suam tale fine confirmat*] *nec dubium est, quin post quaedam interualla temporum rursum materia subsistat et corpora fiant et mundi diuersitas construantur propter uarias uoluntates rationabilium creaturarum, quae post perfectam beatitudinem usque ad finem omnium rerum paulatim ad inferiora delapsae tantam malitiam receperunt, ut in contrarium uerterentur, dum nolunt seruare principium et incorruptam beatitudinem possidere. Nec hoc ignorandum, quod multae rationabiles creaturare usque ad secundum et tertium et quartum mundum seruent principium nec mutatione in se locum tribuant, aliae uero tam parum de pristino statue amissurae sint, ut paene nihil perdidisse uideantur, et nonnullae grandi ruina in ultimum praecipitandae sint baratrum. Nouitque dispensator omnium deus in conditione mundorum singulis abuti iuxta meritum et oportunitates et causas, quibus mundi gubernacula sustentantur et initiantur, ut, qui omnes uicerit nequitia et penitus se terrae coaequauerit, in alio mundo, qui postea fabricandus est, fiat diabolus,* principium plasmationis domini, ut inludatur ei ab angelis, *qui exordii amisere uirtutem.*

[And again, when arguing for a variety of worlds, and maintaining that angels may become demons and demons angels or human beings, or that, on the contrary, human beings may become demons and any being may become any other, at the end he confirms that such is his opinion:] there is no doubt that after certain intervals of time matter will exist again and bodies will be created and a different world constructed in conformity with the varying wills of rational beings, who, after being perfected in blessedness at the end of all things, gradually falling to lower levels have accepted evil to such an extent that they have been turned into the opposite, for they were unwilling to preserve their first state and to retain their blessedness incorrupt. Nor must one be ignorant of this, that many rational beings preserve their first state to the second and third and fourth world, and give no ground for change in their condition; others deteriorate so little that they appear to have lost scarcely anything; while some have to be hurled in complete ruin into the lowest abyss. And God, the dispenser of all things, alone knows how to use each class, according to their merit and opportunity and motives, in the constitution of worlds, and by whom the courses of the world are initiated and sustained, so that one who has surpassed everyone in wickedness and has reduced himself to the level of the earth may, in another world which will be constructed later, become a devil, *the beginning of something moulded by the Lord, to be mocked by the angels,*[36] who have lost their original virtue.

[36] Job 40:19, LXX.

20: PASSAGES PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS TO SUPPLEMENT THE END OF *PRINC*. 3.6.4.

Anathemas 12, 14, 15 of the Second Council of Constantinople, 553 (*ACO *4.1, 249) (Koetschau refers to these as the Anathemas of 543 rather than 553, and mentions Anathema 13, saying that it is 'similar' to 12, but does not reproduce its text):

12: [*Εἴ τις λέγει ὅτι*] *ἑνοῦνται τῷ θεῷ*[37] *λόγῳ οὕτως ἀπαραλλάκτως αἵ τε ἐπουράνιοι*[38] *δυνάμεις καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὁ διάβολος καὶ* ***τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας****, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν Χριστὸς καὶ* ***ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ κενώσας****, ὥς φασιν,* ***ἑαυτόν****, καὶ πέρας ἔσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ* [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*].

[If anyone says that] the heavenly powers and all human beings and the devil and *the spirits of wickedness*[39] are united to God the Word in just the same way as the intellect which is called by them Christ and which *is in the form of God and emptied itself*, as they assert, and that the kingdom of Christ will have an end, [let him be anathema].

14: [*Εἴ τις λέγει,*] *ὅτι πάντων τῶν λογικῶν ἑνὰς μία ἔσται, τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν συναναιρουμένων τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ὅτι τῇ γνώσει τῇ περὶ τῶν λογικῶν ἕπεται κόσμων τε φθορὰ καὶ σωμάτων ἀπόθεσις καὶ ὀνομάτων* <*ἂν*>[40] *αἵρεσις* <*καὶ*>[41] *ταυτότης ἔσται τῆς γνώσεως, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ὑποστάσεων, καὶ ὅτι τῇ μυθευομένῃ ἀποκαταστάσει ἔσονται μόνοι γυμνοὶ* <*οἱ νόες*>,[42] [*καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν ληρωδουμένῃ προϋπάρξει ἐτύγχανον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*].

[If anyone says] that there will be one henad of all rational beings, when the hypostases and numbers are annihilated together with bodies, and that knowledge about rational beings will be accompanied by the destruction of the world and the setting aside of bodies and the abolition of names, and there will be identity of knowledge just as of hypostases, and that in this mythical restoration there will be only naked intellects [just as there were in the pre-existence blathered about by them, let him be anathema].

15: [*Εἴ τις λέγει,*] *ὅτι ἡ ἀγωγὴ τῶν νοῶν ἡ αὐτὴ ἔσται τῇ προτέραι, ὅτε οὔπω ὑποβεβήκεσαν ἢ καταπεπτώκεισαν, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῷ τέλει καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρχῆς μέτρον εἶναι,* [*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*].

[If anyone says] that the way of life of the intellects will be identical to the earlier one when they had not yet descended or fallen, so that the beginning is identical to the end and the end is the measure of the beginning [let him be anathema].

[37] Koe. *θεοῦ* [38] Koe. *ἐπουράνιαι* [39] Eph. 6:12.
[40] Koe. *om.* [41] Koe. *om.* [42] Koe. *om.*

21: PASSAGE PLACED AT THE END OF 4.3.10.

Jerome, Ep. *124.11.2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 113.3–20):*

[Et iterum:] et quia conparauimus de isto mundo ad inferna pergentes animas his animabus, quae de superiori caelo ad nostra habitacula uenientes quodam modo mortuae sunt, prudenti inuestigatione rimandum est, an hoc ipsum possimus etiam in natiuitate dicere singularum, ut, quomodo, quae in ista terra nostra nascuntur animae, uel de inferno rursum meliora cupientes ad superiora ueniunt et humanum corpus adsumunt uel de melioribus locis ad nos usque descendunt, sic et ea loca, quae supra sunt in firmamento, aliae animae possideant, quae de nostris sedibus ad meliora proficiant, aliae, quae de caelestibus ad firmamentum usque delapsae sunt nec tantum fecere peccati, ut ad loca inferiora, quae incolimus, truderentur.

[And again:] And since we have compared the souls who pass from this world to the infernal regions to those souls who, by a kind of death, come from the heights of heaven to our dwelling places, it must be thoughtfully inquired whether we might make this same claim even regarding the birth of every single soul, so that just as souls that are born on this earth of ours would either come from the lower world, by desiring better things, to a higher place again and assume a human body, or else descend to us from better places, so also those places, which are above in the firmament, may be occupied by some souls who have advanced from our seats to better things, and by others, who, while having fallen from the heavenly places to the firmament, yet have not sinned enough to be thrust into the lower places in which we dwell.

22: PASSAGE PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS AS SUPPLEMENTING *PRINC.* 4.3.12.

Jerome, Ep. *124.11.4 (ed. Hilberg 3, 113.25–114.6):*

[Nec hac disputatione contentus dicit] in fine omnium rerum, quando ad caelestem Hierusalem reuersuri sumus, aduersariarum fortitudinum contra populum dei bella consurgere, ut non sit eorum otiosa uirtus, sed exerceantur ad proelia et habeant materiam roboris, quam consequi non possint, nisi fortes primum aduersariis restiterint, quos ratione et ordine et sollertia repugnandi in libro Numerorum legimus esse superatos.

[And not content with this argument, he says] at the end of all things, when we shall have returned to the heavenly Jerusalem, wars of hostile powers will rise against the people of God, so that their power will not be idle, but be exercised in battles and gain firmness, which they cannot do, unless they had first resisted their adversaries, who are overcome, as we read in the book of Numbers, by reason and order and by skill in fighting.

23: PASSAGES RELATING TO *PRINC.* 4.3.13.

[a] Jerome, Ep. *124.12 (ed. Hilberg 3, 114.7–115.8), placed in critical apparatus as supplementing* Princ. *4.3.13:*

[Cumque dixisset iuxta Iohannis Apocalypsin euangelium sempiternum, *id est futurum in caelis, tantum praecedere hoc nostrum euangelium, quantum Christi praedicatio, legis*

ueteris sacramenta, ad extremum intulit—quod et cogitasse sacrilegium est—pro salute daemonum Christum etiam in aere et in supernis locis esse passurum. Et, licet ille non dixerit, tamen, quod consequens sit, intellegitur: sicut pro hominibus homo factus est, ut homines liberaret, sic et pro salute daemonum deum futurum, quod sunt hi, ad quos uenturus est liberandos. Quod ne forsitan de nostro sensu putemur adserere, ipsius uerba ponenda sunt:] sicut enim per umbram euangelii umbram legis inpleuit, sic, quia omnis lex exemplum et umbra est cerimoniarum caelestium, diligentius requirendum, utrum recte intellegamus legem quoque caelestem et cerimonias superni cultus plenitudinem non habere sed indigere euangelii ueritate, quod in Iohannis Apocalypsi euangelium *legimus* sempiternum, *ad conparationem uidelicet huius nostri euangelii, quod temporale est et in transituro mundo ac saeculo praedicatum. Quod quidem etiam si usque ad passionem domini saluatoris uoluerimus inquirere, quamquam audax et temerarium sit in caelo eius quaerere passionem, tamen, si* spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus *sunt et non erubescimus crucem domini confiteri propter destructionem eorum, quae sua passione destruxit, cur timeamus etiam in supernis locis in consummatione saeculorum aliquid simile suspicari, ut omnium locorum gentes illius passione saluentur?*

[And when he has said that, according to the Apocalypse of John, *the eternal Gospel*,[43] which shall exist in the heavens, is as far superior to our Gospel as the preaching of Christ is to the mysteries of the old law, he goes to the extreme length of inferring (which is sacrilegious even to think) that Christ will also suffer in the air and in the realms above for the salvation of the demons. And although he does not actually say so, nevertheless it must be understood to follow logically, that just as he was made human being for the sake of humans, to set human beings free, so also for the salvation of the demons God will be made what they are, for whose liberation he is then to come. Lest we be thought to have added our own interpretation, we must give his very own words:] For just as he fulfilled the shadow of the Law through the shadow of the Gospel, so also, because all law is a pattern and shadow of the heavenly ceremonies, it must be carefully inquired whether we ought not to understand rightly even the heavenly <law> and the ceremonies of the heavenly worship not to possess completeness, but to need the truth of the Gospel which in the Apocalypse of John is called *the eternal Gospel*, in comparison, that is, with this Gospel of ours, which is temporal and was preached in a world and an age that shall pass away. But if we wish to continue our inquiries as far as the passion of the Lord <and> Saviour, although it is an audacious and impetuous thing to seek for his passion in the heavens, nevertheless if there are *spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavens*,[44] and if we are not ashamed to confess that the Lord was crucified in order to destroy those whom he destroyed through his passion, why should we fear to suspect that something similar may happen in the heavenly realms at the consummation of the ages, that the nations of all realms may be saved by his passion?

[43] Rev. 14:6. [44] Eph. 6:12.

[b] Justinian,* Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 213.3–7), said to come from* Princ. *4 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 30, paralleling the last sentence, said to be Origen's own words, in passage from Jerome above; inserted into text at end of* Princ. *4.3.13:

Ἀλλὰ κἂν μέχρι τοῦ πάθους τις ζητήσῃ, τολμηρὸν δόξει ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν[45] τόπον αὐτῷ[46] ζητῶν. Ἀλλ' εἰ ἔστι ***πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας*** *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, ὅρα εἰ ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε οὐκ αἰδούμεθα σταυρούμενον ὁμολογεῖν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει ὧν καθεῖλε διὰ τοῦ πεπονθέναι, οὕτως[47] κἀκεῖ τὸ παραπλήσιον διδόντες γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα.*

But if we continue our inquiries as far as the passion, to seek for this in the heavenly places will seem a bold thing to do. Yet if there are *spiritual forces of wickedness* in the heavenly places, consider whether, just as we are not ashamed to confess that he was crucified here in order to destroy those whom he destroyed through his suffering, so also we should not fear to allow that a similar event also happens there and in what follows, until the consummation of the whole age.

24: TWO PASSAGES INSERTED IN *PRINC.* 4.4.1.

[a] Justinian (ed. Schwartz, 209.12–15), said to be from* Princ. *4 and numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 32:

Οὗτος δὴ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ θελήματος τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθείς,[48] ***ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*** *καὶ* ***ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ τε τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως,*** *κτίσμα σοφία. Αὕτη[49] γὰρ ἡ σοφία φησίν·* ***ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ.***

Now this Son was begotten of the Father's will, for *he is the image of the invisible God,*[50] and the *effulgence of his glory, the impress of his substance,*[51] *the firstborn of all creation,*[52] a thing created, Wisdom. For Wisdom herself says, *God created me, the beginning of his ways for his works.*[53]

[b] Athanasius,* De decr. Nic. syn. *27.2 (ed. Opitz, 23.23–30), numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 33:

Εἰ ἔστιν ***εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου,*** *ἀόρατος εἰκών· ἐγὼ δὲ τολμήσας προσθείην ἄν, ὅτι καὶ ὁμοιότης τυγχάνων τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Πότε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην φῶς λεγόμενος (* ***ὁ θεὸς*** *γὰρ* ***φῶς ἐστιν*** *)* ***ἀπαύγασμα*** *οὐκ εἶχε* ***τῆς*** *ἰδίας* ***δόξης,*** *ἵνα τολμήσας τις ἀρχὴν δῷ εἶναι υἱοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ὄντος; Πότε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀφθέγκτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκών, ὁ* ***χαρακτήρ,*** *<ὁ>[54] λόγος ὁ γινώσκων τὸν*

[45] Koe. *οὐράνιον* [46] Koe. *αὐτὸ* [47] Koe. *οὕτω* [48] Koe. *ἐγενήθη*
[49] Koe. *Αὐτή* [50] Col. 1:15. [51] Heb. 1:3. [52] Col. 1:15. [53] Prov. 8:22.
[54] Koe. *om.*

πατέρα οὐκ ἦν; Κατανοείτω γὰρ ὁ τολμῶν καὶ λέγων· ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός, ὅτι ἐρεῖ καὶ τό σοφία ποτὲ οὐκ ἦν καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἦν καὶ ζωὴ οὐκ ἦν.

If he is *the image of the invisible God*,[55] he is an invisible image; and I dare to add, that as he is a likeness of the Father, there is never a 'when' when he was not. For when did God, who according to John is called light (for *God is light*[56]), not have *the effulgence of his* own *glory*,[57] such that some daring person might assign a beginning to the existence of the Son, before which he was not? And when did the image of the ineffable and unnameable and unutterable being of the Father, his *impress*,[58] the Word who knows the Father, not exist? Let the one who dares to say 'there was a "when" when he was not' understand that he asserts that once Wisdom also was not and Word was not and Life was not.

25: PASSAGE INSERTED IN *PRINC*. 4.4.1, AS FRAGMENT 34.

Athanasius, De decr. Nic. syn. *27.3 (ed. Opitz, 23.30–24.3):*

Ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀποστερεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ἀεὶ συνόντος αὐτῷ λόγου μονογενοῦς, σοφίας ὄντος ᾗ προσέχαιρεν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀεὶ χαίρων νοηθήσεται.

But it is not proper nor free of danger if, because of our weakness, we deprive God, as far as in us lies, of the only-begotten Word, eternally coexisting with him, the Wisdom in which he rejoiced;[59] for in this way he would be understood as not eternally rejoicing.

26: PASSAGE PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS AT *PRINC*. 4.4.4, AS FRAGMENT 35.

Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 198.31–3):*

[Ὠριγένους βλασφημιῶν εἴρηται] ὅτι ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ψυχὴ προυπῆρχε καὶ ταύτῃ ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἥνωτο πρὸ τῆς ἐκ παρθένου σαρκώσεως, ...

[Origen, blaspheming, said that] the soul of the Lord pre-existed, and that the God Word was united to it before he took flesh from the Virgin.

27: PASSAGE INSERTED IN *PRINC*. 4.4.4, AS FRAGMENT 37.

Theodoret of Cyrus, Eran. *Dialogue 2, florilegia 58 (ed. Ettlinger, 178.5–6):*

*... ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς **ἕν ἐστιν**, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἕν εἰσιν, ...*

... as the Father and the Son *are one*,[60] so also the soul of the Son and the Son are one ...

[55] Col. 1:15. [56] 1 John 1:5. [57] Heb. 1:3. [58] Heb. 1:3. [59] Cf. Prov. 8:30–1.
[60] John 10:30.

Cf. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Ep. pasch.* 2 (= Jerome, *Ep.* 98.16.1; ed. Hilberg 2, 200.10–11]):

Etenim, si, sicut pater et filius unum sunt, *sic et anima filii et ipse filius unum sunt, unum erit pater et anima saluatoris et ipsa dicere poterit:* qui uidit me, uidit patrem.

Indeed, if, just as the Father and the Son *are one*,[61] so also the soul of the Son and the Son himself are one, the Father and the soul of the Saviour will be one, and so the soul itself is able to say, *He who sees me sees the Father*.[62]

28: PASSAGES PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS, AS SUPPLEMENTING *PRINC.* 4.4.5.

[a] Anathema 7 of the Second Council of Constantinople, 553[63] *(*ACO *4.1, 249):*

[Εἴ τις λέγει] Χριστὸν λεγόμενον ***ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*** *ὑπάρχειν καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἑνωθέντα τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* ***κενῶσαι ἑαυτὸν*** *πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐλεήσαντα τήν, ὥς φασιν, γενομένην πολυσχεδῆ κατάπτωσιν τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἑνάδος καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς βουλόμενον διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καὶ σώματα διάφορα μεταμφιάσασθαι καὶ ὀνόματα κληρώσασθαι, πάντα πᾶσι γεγενημένον, ἐν ἀγγέλοις ἄγγελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμεσι δύναμιν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τάγμασιν ἢ εἴδεσι τῶν λογικῶν ἁρμονίως ἑκάστοις μεταμορφῶσθαι,*[64] *εἶτα παραπλησίως ἡμῖν μετεσχηκέναι σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος καὶ γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄνθρωπον [καὶ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν θεὸν λόγον κενωθῆναι τε καὶ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω].*

[If anyone says] that Christ, said to be *in the form of God* and united to the God Word before all the ages, in the last days *emptied himself*[65] into what is human, took pity, as they put it, upon the various falls of those of the same henad, and, wishing to lead them back up, he passed through everything and took on different bodies and obtained various names, becoming all things to all, among angels an angel, among powers a power, and among other orders or classes of rational beings took on appropriately the form of each, then, like us, partook of flesh and blood and became for human beings a human being, [if anyone says this and does not profess that the God Word emptied himself and became a human being, let him be anathema].

[b] Anathema 4 of Justinian, Ep. ad Menam *(ed. Schwartz, 213.22–4):*

[Εἴ τις λέγει ἢ ἔχει] πᾶσι τοῖς οὐρανίοις τάγμασιν ἐξομοιωθῆναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, γενόμενον τοῖς χερουβὶμ χερουβὶμ καὶ τοῖς σεραφὶμ σεραφὶμ καὶ πάσαις ἁπλῶς ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσιν ἐξομοιωθέντα [ἀνάθεμα ἔστω].

[If anyone says or has it that] the Word of God has become like all the heavenly orders, having become a cherub for the cherubim, a seraph for seraphim, and become likened to every one of the powers above [let him be anathema].

[61] John 10:30. [62] John 14:9, 12:45.

[63] Koetschau misattributes this canon to the Synod of 543.

[64] Koe. *μεταμεμορφῶσθαι,* [65] Phil. 2:6–7.

[c] Jerome, **Ruf.** *2.12 (ed. Lardet, 46.6–9):*

[*Probo ego inter multa Origenis mala haec maxime haeretica: ...*] *animam saluatoris fuisse antequam nasceretur ex Maria, et hanc esse* quae, cum in forma dei esset, non est rapinam arbitrata aequalem se esse Deo, sed se exinaniuit, formam serui accipiens.

[I reckon among the many bad things said by Origen, these to be especially heretical: ...] the soul of the Saviour existed before it was born of Mary and that it was this *which was in the form of God and thought it not robbery to be equal to God but emptied itself, taking the form of a servant.*[66]

[d] Theophilus of Alexandria, **Ep. synod.** *(= Jerome,* **Ep.** *92.4.3; ed. Hilberg 2, 152.15–23):*

[*Praeterea in libris περὶ ἀρχῶν etiam hoc persuadere conatur, quod uiuens dei sermo non adsumpserit corpus humanum, et contra apostoli uadens sententiam scripsit, quo,*] qui in forma dei aequalis erat deo, *non fuerit uerbum dei, sed anima de caelesti regione descendens et se de forma aeternae maiestatis* euacuans *humanum corpus adsumpserit.* [*Quae dicens Iohanni apertissime contradicit scribenti:* et uerbum caro factum est. *Nec potest anima credi saluatoris et non deus uerbum et* formam *et* aequalitatem *paternae maiestatis habuisse.*]

[Besides, in the books *On First Principles*, he even tries to persuade us that the living Word of God did not assume a body, for he writes, contrary to the statement of the apostle, that] *he who, in the form of God, was equal to God*, was not the Word of God, but a soul descended from the heavenly region and *emptying itself* of the form of its eternal majesty assumed a human body.[67] [In saying this he most clearly contradicts John who writes, *And the Word was made flesh.*[68] Nor is it to be believed that it was the soul of the Saviour and not the Word of God who possessed *the form* of and *equality* with the Father's majesty.]

29: PASSAGES RELATED TO *PRINC.* 4.4.8.

[a] Justinian, **Ep. ad Menam** *(ed. Schwartz, 209.8–10), said to be from* **Princ. 4**, *numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 38, and inserted into* **Princ.** *4.4.8:*

Μηδεὶς προσκοπτέτω τῷ λόγῳ, εἰ μέτρα ἐπιτίθεμεν καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει. Ἄπειρα γὰρ περιλαβεῖν τῇ φύσει ἀδύνατον τυγχάνει. Ἅπαξ δὲ πεπερασμένων ὄντων ὧν περιδράττεται αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, ἀνάγκη ὅρον εἶναι μέχρι πόσων πεπερασμένων διακρεῖ.

Let no one stumble at the saying, if we put limits even to the power of God. For to encompass things that are endless is by nature an impossibility. But when once the things which God himself grasps have been bounded, necessity suffices as a boundary to the amount that has been bounded.

[66] Phil. 2:6–7. [67] Phil. 2:6–7. [68] John 1:14.

[b] Jerome, **Ep.** *124.13.1–2 (ed. Hilberg 3, 115.9–19), placed in critical apparatus as representing a fuller version of what Rufinus translated by the following sentence ('For by his power ... created being'):*

[Rursumque blasphemans de filio sic locutus est:] si enim patrem cognoscit filius, uidetur in eo, quod nouit patrem, posse eum conprehendere, ut si dicamus artificis animum artis scire mensuram. Nec dubium, quin, si pater in *filio, et conprehendatur ab eo, in quo est.*

Sin autem conprehensionem eam dicimus, ut non solum sensu quis et sapientia conprehendat, sed uirtute et potentia cuncta teneat, qui cognouit, non possumus dicere, quod conprehendat filius patrem.

[And again he blasphemes against the Son by speaking thus:] for if the Son knows the Father, it would seem that by the fact that he knows the Father he is able to comprehend the Father, as if we were to say that the mind of a craftsman knows the measure of his craft. Nor can we doubt that if *the Father is in* the Son,[69] he is also comprehended by him in whom he is.

But if we mean that kind of comprehension by which one comprehends someone not only by understanding and wisdom, but holds them under authority and power, then we cannot say that the Son comprehends the Father.

[c] Justinian, **Ep. ad Menam** *(ed. Schwartz, 209.19–23), said to be from* **Princ.** *4, numbered by Koetschau as Fragment 39, and inserted into* **Princ.** *4.4.8 one sentence after [a] above:*

[*Εἰ δὲ*] *ὁ δὲ πατὴρ*[70] *ἐμεριέχει τὰ πάντα τῶν δὲ πάντων ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν υἱόν. Ἄλλος δέ τις ζητήσει εἰ ἀληθὲς τὸ ὁμοίως τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ γινώσκεσθαι τῷ γινώσκεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ μονογενοῦς, καὶ ἀποφανεῖται ὅτι τὸ εἰρημένον* ***ὁ πατὴρ***[71] ***ὁ πέμψας με μείζων μού ἐστιν*** *ἐν πᾶσιν ἀληθές, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῷ νοεῖν ὁ πατὴρ μείζων, ὃς*[72] *καὶ τρανοτέρως καὶ τελειοτέρως νοεῖτα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ.*

[But if] the Father comprehends all things and the Son is among all things, it is clear that he also comprehends the Son. But someone else will inquire whether it is true that God being known by himself is similar to his being known by the only-begotten, and he will declare that the saying, *My Father who sent me is greater than I*,[73] is true in every respect, so that the Father is great even in knowing, and is known more clearly and more perfectly by himself than by the Son.

[d] Jerome, **Ep.** *124.13.2–3 (ed. Hilberg 3, 115.19–116.4), placed by Koetschau in his critical apparatus as parallel to [c]:*

[Pater uero omnia conprehendit, inter omnia autem et filius est: ergo et filium conprehendit. Et ut sciremus causas, quibus pater conprehendat filium et filius patrem

[69] Cf. John 14:11. [70] *Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ* : Koe. *Εἰ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ* [71] Koe. *add. μοῦ*
[72] *μείζων, ὃς* : Koe. *μειζόνως* [73] John 14:24, 28.

non queat conprehendere, haec verba subnectit:] curiosus lector inquirat, utrum ita a semet ipso cognoscatur pater, quomodo cognoscitur a filio, sciensque illud, quod scriptum est: pater, qui me misit, maior me est, *in omnibus uerum esse contendet, ut dicat et in cognitione filio patrem esse maiorem, dum perfectius et purius a semet ipso cognoscitur quam a filio.*

[The Father, however, comprehends all things, but among all things is the Son, and therefore he comprehends the Son. And that we may know the reasons why the Father comprehends the Son, whereas the Son is not able to comprehend the Father, he adds these words:] the careful reader will inquire whether the Father is known by himself in the same way as he is known by the Son; and knowing what is written, *The Father who sent me is greater than I*, he will affirm it to be true in every respect, so that he will say that even in his knowledge the Father is greater than the Son, being more perfectly and more clearly known by himself than by the Son.

30: PASSAGE PLACED IN CRITICAL APPARATUS AS SUPPLEMENTING *PRINC.* 4.4.8.

Jerome, Ep. *124.14.1 (ed. Hilberg 3, 116.5–17):*

[Μετεμψύχωσιν quoque et abolitionem corporum hic rursum sentire conuincitur:] si quis autem potuerit ostendere incorporalem rationabilemque naturam, cum expoliauerit se corpore, uiuere per semet ipsam et in peiori condicione esse, quando corporibus uestiebatur, in meliori, quando illa deponit, nulli dubium est corpora non principaliter subsistere, sed per interualla ob uarios motus rationabilium creaturarum nunc fieri, ut, qui his indigent, uestiantur, et rursum, cum illa deprauatione lapsuum se ad meliora correxerint, dissolui in nihil et hac semper successione uariari.

[By this passage also he is proved to hold the transmigration of souls and the annihilation of bodies:] if anyone can show that an incorporeal and rational being, when deprived of a body, can live by itself, and that it is in a worse condition when clothed with a body and in a better condition when it lays it aside, then there is no doubt that bodies do not subsist primordially, but are now made at intervals on account of the various movements of rational creatures, in order to clothe those who need it, and, in reverse, when these have been amended from the degradation of their falls to a better condition, the bodies are dissolved into nothing and this succession of changes continues for ever.

The last lines of this passage from Jerome are paralleled by a passage from Justinian, *Ep. ad Menam* (ed. Schwartz, 212.16–19), which Koetschau places in the text as Fragment 40:

Ἀνάγκη μὴ προηγουμένην τυγχάνειν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ὑφίστασθαι διά τινα συμπτώματα γινόμενα περὶ τὰ λογικὰ δεόμενα σωμάτων, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τελείως γινομένης εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀναλύεσθαι ταῦτα, ὥστε τοῦτο ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι.

Necessarily the nature of bodies is not primordial, but is caused to subsist at intervals on account of certain falls that happen with rational beings who need bodies; and, again, when the restoration is perfectly accomplished, they are dissolved into nothing, so that this happens for ever.

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